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POETRY

MY FAITH

Translated from the Bulgarian of NIKOLA VAPTSAROV (1919-42)
by VIVIAN PINTO JR.

Here am I. breathing,
Working
And living,
Writing poems, composing
(As well as I'm knowing).
We glare, life and I
Across the table.
As far as I'm able
Against him I'm battling.

But don't dare imagine
I hate him. O, no—
The very reverse !
Were I actually dying,
Life with its brutish
Claws of steel
Still I'd be loving !
Still I'd be loving !

Should they fasten the noose
And ask :
" Shall we loose
You to live yet an hour ? "
I should instantly cry :
" Unloosen,
Quick, loosen,
Unloosen the rope,
You cowering swine ! "

For life there is nothing
I would not dare.
I would fly
Testing planes through the sky.
Into a rocket
Alone I would leap
And soar through the spheres
To some distant
Planet.

For still I would feel
The quivering mirth
Of watching the earth :
And, high
Up above, the blue sky.
I'd still feel the mirth
Of living,
Continuing
Existence alive.

Now suppose you took—what ?
A mere jot—no more
Than a grain
Of my faith :
Then I'd roar and I'd start,
I'd scream out in pain
Like a panther
Pierced to the heart.

What would remain
Of me after the theft ?
In a flash I'd be smashed
Into fragments.
Or really,
More clearly : you'd see
An instant after the theft
My entity end.

Perhaps you may hanker
To conquer
My faith
In the rainbow'd days—

Our tomorrows, where
Life will have wisdom,
Life will be fair.

Precisely how would you plan to assault it ?
With bullets ?
No useless—
Away then, it's hopeless !
It lies in my breast in armour undented,
Solidly welded.
Even bullets, steel-piercing,
Against it
Are yet uninvented !
Are yet uninvented !

WHERE IS BULGARIA

Translated from the Bulgarian of IVAN VASOV by VIVIAN PINTO JR.

Should they ask where first the morning
Dawned upon my waking eyes,
Should they ask me which the country
Dearest in this world I prize,

Straightway I shall give this answer :
Where the silver Danube streams,
Where to eastward, flecked and foaming
Stormily the Black Sea gleams ;

Where in splendour proudly towering
Stands the massive Balkan chain,
Where Maritsa softly gliding,
Wanders through the Thracian plain.

There was I born and now my fathers
Calmly in those acres lie :
There their names like rolling thunder
Pealed in peace and battle-cry.

Bulgaria, my beloved country,
You who reared me straight and strong,
To your loveliness I gladly
Dedicate this humble song.

THE TORRENT

Translated from the Russian of MICHAEL LERMONTOV
by MICHAEL WHITTOCK

Through me, with its impetuous race,
A stream of passion flows ;
Its bed is silver sand, its face
The heavens' image shows :
Unceasingly the current's rout
Turns and twists the sand about ;
The sky above the flood
Is overcast with cloud.

This torrent with my life is come,
And will with life depart ;
In some more feeble, strong in some—
It flows in every heart :
The first have luck ; yet, were I so,
My peace of mind I might forgo
If only to attain
Some fleeting joy or pain.

ON THE ROAD

Translated from the Russian of IVAN TURGENEV
by W. K. MATTHEWS

Mists of the morning on long and forsaken
Fields with dispassionate snow for their covering,
What recollections of times that are taken,
What recollections of eyes past recovering !

Listen to words that were tender and gracious,
Spoken with passionate love's spontaneity.
Here were the meetings, the shining and spacious
Visions, the voice and the footsteps of Deity.

How I recall the last sorrowful meeting,
Bitter and wet with the tears of finality,
Lost in the thunder of wheels, and the beating
Hoofs, and the wakening shapes of reality !

WOLF

Translated from the Finnish of HEIKKI ASUNTA
by W. K. MATTHEWS

The moon rides. Hoarfrost mists the sleeping shire,
Flowering in stars and scales of silver fire.
Across the marshes limps a shuddering creature,
His hot breath warring with a grim misfeature,
His pain muffling the cry of strengthless ire.

His tongue lolls out, brushing the frozen ground,
And at each step he takes, not looking round,
Red ominous spots grow, slowly multiplying.
Yet though his brain is dark with dreams of dying,
He moves undaunted, challenging night with sound.

Towards the low moon lifting a heavy head
And from his jaws coughing great clots of red,
He howls a song of waning hate and anger,
And then, as silence smothers swamp and hangar,
He skulks into the shadow of the dead.

FABLES

Translated from the Polish of IGNACY KRASICKI
by W. J. ROSE

I

A youth there was who led a temperate life
An aged man, disliking spleen and strife;
A miser rich, who shared of all he had;
An author, who of others' fame was glad;
An honest publican, a cobbler sober,
A modest soldier and a gentle robber;
A public servant thinking not of gain;
A poet too, whose verse gave no one pain—
What tales are these? They may, perhaps, be true;
But I should call them *fables*—wouldn't you?

2

The Ox was Chancellor, and a prudent one :
 Things went on slowly, but they did get done !
 In time this even tenour bored the King ,
 The Ox resigned, the Ape now held the ring
 The court was happy, happy for a time
 The people, until grave disorders came .
 Lion and Monkey smiled, the commons wept ,
 Still more alarms ensued ; the Ape inept
 Was promptly sacked ; to stop the growing trouble
 The Fox was called. He tricked both King and rabble.
 Traitor and Playboy went, as rascals should ;
 The Ox came back, to make the mischief good.

3

A doctor, having found a wondrous cure,
 Renewed the dose,—if only to make sure :
 The patient was the worse, for all he tried ;
 A third dose followed, and the patient died.

4

“ Shut in your cage, uncomfortable too ! ”
 The mouse reproached the turtle. “ As for you,”
 The turtle answered, “ keep you mansion fine
 And grand ! My shell is narrow, but it’s mine.”

5

Thank Heaven ! a marriage like we knew of old,
 A harmony of spirits in one mould,
 Whose love was lasting and beyond all praise.
 Too bad ! the groom lived only seven days.

THE FAMILY OF IVANOV*

Translated from the Russian of ANDREI PLATONOV
by DONALD TREADGOLD

ALEXEI ALEXEIVICH IVANOV, guard sergeant, was leaving the army to be demobilised. In the unit where he had served throughout the war, they all saw him off, as needs be, with regrets, affection, respect, with music and wine. His close friends and comrades accompanied Ivanov to the railroad station and, saying goodbye to him at last, left Ivanov alone. The train, however, was several tedious hours late and then, when those hours had passed, still did not arrive!

By the railroad siding stood a switchman's box. On a bench near that box sat a woman in a thick cotton jacket and warm kerchief; she had sat there yesterday as well beside all her belongings and now remained sitting, waiting for the train. When Ivanov had been in the station yesterday, he had thought, "Shouldn't I invite this lone woman to spend the night with the nurses in the warm hut, why should she freeze all night; who knows whether she could get warm in the switchman's box?" But while he was thinking his truck started up and Ivanov forgot about the woman.

Now that woman sat as before, unmoving, in her place of yesterday. Ivanov approached her; maybe she would not be so bored with him as by herself.

The woman turned her face toward Ivanov and he recognised who she was. She was the girl they called Masha. Ivanov had used to meet her from time to time during the war when he used to visit a B.A.O., where this Masha had served as a volunteer in a mess as cook's helper.

In the bare autumn surroundings it was sad and dismal at that hour. No one knew where the train was which should have carried both Masha and Ivanov homewards.

Ivanov began to chat with Masha and it made him feel good. Masha was nice-looking, simple-hearted. She also was going home and was thinking how she would now begin a new civilian life; she was used to her girl friends in the army, to the fliers who loved her like a sister. But now for Masha it was unfamiliar, strange, even fearsome to go home to her relatives, with whom she was already out of touch.

* From *Hosstü Mup* Nos. 10-11, 1946, pp. 97-108.

Now, being out of the army, Ivanov and Masha were feeling just like orphans. Still, Ivanov could not long remain in a melancholy mood : it seemed to him that in such moments someone was laughing at him from afar off and was feeling happy instead of him. Therefore Ivanov would quickly turn back to the business of living, that is, he would find himself some kind of occupation or distraction and through it find a way out of his melancholy.

He moved close to Masha and asked if she would let him give her a kiss on the cheek in a comradely fashion.

"Just a little one," said Ivanov, "just because that train is late and it's so dull waiting for it."

"Only because the train is late?" asked Masha and gazed attentively into Ivanov's face.

The ex-sergeant appeared to be about thirty-five ; the skin of his face, coarsened by the wind and parched by the sun, was brown-coloured ; Ivanov's grey eyes looked at Masha modestly, even bashfully, and he spoke, though frankly, yet delicately and courteously. Masha was pleased with his dull, hoarse voice, like that of an older man, with his dark plain face and its expression of strength, yet helplessness. Ivanov put out his pipe with his thumb, insensitive to the glowing coals, and sighed, anticipating being given permission. Masha moved away a little from Ivanov.

"Imagine that I'm your uncle."

"I have already imagined . . . I imagined that you were my dad, and not my uncle."

"Have you? So you'll let me . . ."

"Fathers don't ask their children," Masha laughed.

Afterwards Ivanov realised that Masha's hair smelled like fallen leaves in the autumn forest, and he could never forget it. . . . Going a little way from the railroad bed, Ivanov lighted a small fire to prepare some scrambled eggs for Masha's and his supper.

During the night the train came and bore off Ivanov and Masha to their destination, to their homeland. For two days and nights they travelled together, and on the third day Masha arrived in the city where, twenty years ago, she was born. Masha gathered together her belongings in the car and asked Ivanov to adjust the haversack on her back, but Ivanov took it on his own shoulders and went out of the car after Masha, though he still had more than twenty-four hours to travel to get home himself.

Masha was surprised and touched by Ivanov's attention. She was afraid of being suddenly left alone, though it was the city where she was born and had lived her life. Masha's mother and father

had been expelled by the Germans and had perished in some unknown place. Now there remained to Masha in her native community only a cousin and two aunts, and Masha felt no deep attachment to them.

Ivanov arranged a two-day stop-over with the railroad commandant and remained with Masha, feeling at home with her, but not knowing what would happen next ; for the time being he wished for nothing better. He knew he ought to have gone on home at once, where waited his wife and two children whom he had not seen for four years. Yet Ivanov had stopped off on the way, putting off the happy but anxious moment of seeing his family again. He himself did not know why he did so . . . perhaps because after these family joys would follow long cares, and he wished to have his fling a while longer.

Masha did not know Ivanov had a family and refrained out of bashfulness from asking him. She trusted Ivanov out of her goodness of heart, thinking of nothing else.

Two days later Ivanov resumed the journey to his own home. Masha went with him to the station. Ivanov kissed her and promised that he would remember her always and that he would surely meet her some time, when they need never part again.

Masha smiled at him in answer and said, "Why remember me always? There's no need for that, and you will forget me anyway. . . ."

"My darling Masha! Where were you before, why didn't I meet you long, long ago?"

"Before the war I was in grammar school, and long, long ago I wasn't born yet. . . ."

The train came, and they said goodbye. Ivanov went away and did not see how Masha cried when left alone: she could forget no one, whether girl friend or fellow-worker, whom she had ever befriended.

Ivanov looked through the window of the car at the wayside homes of a town he would most likely never see again and thought that in a little house like that, only in another town, his wife Liuba lived with his children Petka and Nastenka, and that they were waiting for him. He had already sent his wife a telegram from the regiment that he was starting for home immediately and could not wait to kiss his dear wife and children.

Liubov Vasilevna, Ivanov's wife, met every train arriving from the West for three days running. She got off work and at night could not sleep for joy, listening to the slow and indifferent tick of

the clock. On the fourth day Liubov Vasilevna sent to the station the children Peter and Anastasia, so they could meet their father if he arrived during the day, and she again went alone herself to meet the night train

On the sixth day Ivanov arrived. His son Peter met him ; Peter had just turned twelve, and his father did not at once recognise as his this serious lad who seemed older than his age. His father noticed that Peter was a stunted and spare little fellow, but yet had a large head and brow. His face was calm, as if already fatigued from life's cares, and his little hazel eyes looked out on the wide world darkly and discontentedly. His clothes and shoes were neat and precise, his boots were worn but still wearable, pants and jacket old, made over from his father's civilian clothes, but without a rent—mended here, patched there—and Peter all in all looked like a poor, but proper little peasant.

His father sighed in astonishment.

"What went wrong, Dad?" asked Peter, when Ivanov had snatched him up to hug and kiss him. "Is it you, Dad?"

"Dad? . . . hello, Peter Alexeevich!"

"Hello . . . Why did you take so long? We've been waiting and waiting."

"That train was a slow one, Petka. . . . How are Mamma and Nastenka . . . alive and well?"

"Oh, so so," replied Peter. "How many decorations have you got?"

"Two, Petka, and three medals."

"But Mother and I thought—you wouldn't have any space left on your chest! Mother has two medals too. They gave them to her for meritorious service. . . . My, you only have a little luggage—one handbag!"

"I don't need any more."

"Who'd want a trunk, anyway? It'd be hard to fight with," said his son.

"It'd be hard to fight with," his father agreed. "It's lighter with just one haversack. No one there has any trunks."

"But I thought—they had. I would keep my things in a trunk: in a bag they get broken and crumpled up."

He took his father's haversack and carried it home, and his father walked behind him.

Mother met them on the porch; she had gotten off work again since she had a feeling that her husband would arrive that day. From the plant she had first come home, intending to go to the

station from there. She was afraid Semion Petrovich would appear at home: he liked sometimes to walk in during the day; he had the habit of coming at midday and sitting for awhile with five-year-old Anastasia and Peter. True, Semion Petrovich never came empty-handed; he always brought something for the children—candy or sugar, or a white loaf, or an order for goods. Liubov Vasilevna herself could see nothing wrong in Semion Petrovich; for all of those two years they had known each other Semion Petrovich had been kind to her and behaved toward the children as a father should, or even more solicitous than a father. But today Liubov Vasilevna did not want her husband to see Semion Petrovich. She had tidied up the kitchen and room, the home must be clean and there should be nothing out of the ordinary. And later, tomorrow or the day after, she would tell her husband the whole truth about herself. Luckily, Semion Petrovich had not come that day.

Ivanov came up to his wife, embraced her and stood for a long time, not separating, feeling that half-forgotten, familiar warmth of a man who is loved.

Little Nastenka came out of the house and, looking at her father whom she did not remember, began to push him away from her mother by shoving against his leg, and then she cried.

Peter stood silent beside his father and mother, with his father's bag on his shoulders; after waiting a little, he said:

"You're happy, and that's why Nastenka is crying. She doesn't understand."

The father stepped back from the mother and took Nastenka, crying with fear, in his arms.

"Anastasia!" cried Peter. "Remember! The one I told you about! This is our dad!"

In the house Father washed and sat down at the table. He stretched out his legs, closed his eyes and felt a quiet joy in his heart and calm contentment. The war was over! He had walked thousands of versts during those years, there were wrinkles of fatigue in his face and pain stabbed at his eyes under closed lids . . . now he wanted rest in the twilight, the darkness.

While he sat, all his family chattered in the hall and kitchen, getting ready for a holiday treat. Ivanov looked at the objects in the house, all in order . . . the clock, the cupboard, the thermometer on the wall, the chairs, the flowers in the window-boxes, the Russian cook-stove. . . . For a long time these things had waited here without him and had got lonesome for him. Now he had come back and looked at them, again making the acquaintance

of each object, as with a member of his family who had been melancholy waiting without him. He breathed in the settled familiar smell of home—the rotting wood, warm from the bodies of his children, the smell of the stove cooking. This smell was the same as before, four years ago, and it had not dispersed and vanished without him. Nowhere else had Ivanov smelled this smell, although during the war he had been in different lands and hundreds of places ; there the smell had always been different, and there were not the features of his native home. Ivanov still remembered the smell of Masha, the smell of her hair : but it smelled of forest leaves, of the wild overgrown road, not of home and turbulent life again. What was she doing now and how would she manage to live a civilian life ? God be with her . . .

Ivanov saw that Peter counted for most of all in the home. Not only did he work himself, he gave orders to his mother and Anastasia—what to do and what not to do, and how to do things right. Anastasia had listened to Peter submissively and no longer feared her father as an outsider. She had the lively, tense face of a child who did everything in earnest, and a kind heart, so she did not take offence at Peter.

“Anastasia, empty the pot of potato peelings, I need a pan !”

The girl obediently emptied the pot and washed it. Mother meanwhile was swiftly preparing a quick cake without yeast for the oven, where Peter had already lit the fire.

“Hurry up, Mother, hurry up !” ordered Peter. “You see I have the oven ready. You’ve got so you dawdle, you, a Stakhanovite !”

“Coming, Peter, right away,” answered his mother obediently. “I am planning to have a plum-pudding ; that’s just the thing, Father must not have eaten one for a long time. I’ve saved a plum-pudding for a long time.”

“*He* ate it,” said Peter. “Anyway, they give our army plum-puddings. Nastenka, why are you sitting down like a guest ? We’ll just cook a potato for supper, in the frying-pan. . . . You can’t feed a family with just one cake !”

While Mother got the cake ready, Peter set on the stove a big kettle with cabbage soup, so as not to waste the heat even for a moment, and then gave orders to the fire itself in the stove :

“Why do you burn so unevenly . . . look how slow you are on the edges . . . burn evenly ! And you, Nastenka, why did you just let a chip fall into the stove ? You must lay it carefully as I taught you. And again your potato peels are too thick, you must make them thin !”

"Why do you always scold Nastenka, Petka?" said Mother shortly. "What did she ever do to you? What if she could peel any amount of potatoes and shave them as fine as a barber—what of it—Dad's just got home and you have a tantrum!"

"I'm not having a tantrum, I'm doing my job. . . ."

Ivanov had no idea that he had fathered such a son, and now sat by in amazement. But he liked little short Nastenka more, also bustling about the household with her little hands, adroit and confident. That meant they had long been used to working about the house.

"Liuba," Ivanov asked his wife, "you haven't told me anything about how you lived all this time without me, how your health has been, how you make out at your work. . . ."

Liubov Vasilevna now was as constrained as a bride with her husband; she was no longer used to him. She even blushed when her husband turned to her, and her face, as when she was young, assumed a bashful, frightened expression, which pleased Ivanov so much.

"Somehow, Aliosha. . . . We got along somehow. The children got some little illness, I nursed them. It was bad that I could only be home with them at night. I work at the brick factory, on the press, I have a long way to go to reach it, I go and go. . . ."

"Where is it you work?" Ivanov did not understand.

"At the brick factory, on the press. I had no qualifications, at first I did odd jobs in the yard, and then they trained me and put me on the press. It's good work, only I have to leave the house early, get back late, the children are alone. . . . You see how they've grown! They can do everything, they've got wise before their time," said Liubov Vasilevna softly. "Whether this is good, Aliosha, I don't know myself. . . ."

"We'll see, Liuba. . . . now we will all live together. . . ."

Ivanov got up and paced the room.

"So that means that, all in all, nothing special happened to you here?"

"Nothing, Aliosha, everything came and went, we got impatient. Only we were lonely for you and we were afraid that you might never come back to us, that you might get killed there, like the others. . . ."

She cried on to the cake, already put in its tin, and her tears fell on the dough. She had just moistened the cake with egg yolk and still kept patting the dough with her palm, continuing to moisten the festal cake with her tears.

Nastenka put her arms around her mother's leg, pressed her face into her skirt and sternly regarded her father from below.

Her father bent over her.

"What's the matter? Nastenka, what is it? Have you got angry at me?"

He picked her up in his arms and stroked her head gently.

"What is it, little girl? You forgot all about me, you were so little when I went away to war. . . ."

Nastenka laid her head on her father's shoulder and cried too.

"What's wrong, my little Nastenka?"

"Mamma is crying, and I will too."

Peter, standing in perplexity beside the stove, felt uneasy.

"What's wrong with you all? Why, the fire is going out in the stove. Will we have to light it again? Give me the dough, Mother, before the warm air gets cold." Peter took the big soup-kettle off the stove and scratched the match on the hearth; and Liubov Vasilevna in haste, as if trying to please Peter, put the two cakes into the stove, forgetting to moisten the second cake with egg.

His home was strange and not yet quite comprehensible to Ivanov. His wife was as before, with a nice, bashful, though very tired face, and the children were the same ones that he had fathered, only grown up during the war, as they ought. But something kept Ivanov from feeling happy with all his heart at his return—probably he had become too unaccustomed to home life and could not understand right away even those nearest and dearest to him. He looked at Peter, his grown-up firstborn, listened to him giving commands and instructions to his mother and little sister, looking at his serious, preoccupied face and with shame he realised that paternal feelings toward this fellow, attraction to him as to a son, were lacking. Ivanov was the more ashamed of his indifference to Peter because of the consciousness that Peter needed love and care more than the others. Ivanov certainly did not know that life which his family had lived without him, and he could not yet understand clearly how Peter had got that way.

At the table, sitting in the midst of his family, Ivanov realised what his duty was. He had to take up a job as soon as possible, that is, to get to work to help his wife raise his children properly . . . then gradually everything would get better and Peter would sit at his books and papers, and not issue orders.

"Why are you eating so little?" the father asked little Nastenka at the table. "Are you looking at Petka? Eat as you should or else you will just stay a little . . ."

"I have gotten to be a *big* girl," said Nastenka

She ate a small piece of pie but pushed away the other piece, which was bigger, and covered it with a napkin.

"Why do you do that?" Mother asked her. "Do you want me to moisten a cake with butter?"

"I don't want it, I'm full."

"Now, eat it. . . . Why did you push the cake away?"

"But Uncle Semion is coming! I left it for him. It's not your cake, it was I who didn't eat it. I'll put it under the pillow, or it will get cold. . . ."

Nastenka got off the chair and took away the piece of cake, covered it with a napkin, to her bed and laid it under her pillow.

The mother remembered that she too had covered the cake with pillows when she baked it on the First of May, so that it would not get cold before Semion Petrovich's arrival.

"And who is this Uncle Semion?" Ivanov asked his wife.

Liubov Vasilevna did not know what to say, and said:

"I don't know who. He comes alone to see the children; the Germans killed his wife and children, he got used to our children and comes to play with them."

"Play what?" Ivanov was amazed. "What do they play here at your house? How old is he?"

Peter looked penetratingly at his mother and father. Mother in answer said nothing, only looked at Nastenka with sad eyes, and Father smiled wickedly, got up from the table and lit a cigarette.

"Where are the toys with which this Uncle Semion plays with you?" Father asked Peter.

Nastenka got off the chair, climbed into another one by the bureau, got some books off the bureau and brought them to her father.

"These books are the toys," said Nastenka to her father; "Uncle Semion reads to me aloud from them: 'Here is funny Mishka, he is a toy, he is a book too . . .'"

Ivanov took in his hands the book-toys which his daughter handed him: about the bear Mishka, about the toy-cannon, about the little house where Granny Domna lives and spins flax with her granddaughter . . .

Peter remembered that it was already time to turn off the damper in the stovepipe, or all the heat would fly out of the house. Turning off the damper, he said to his dad:

"He is older than you are, Semion Petrovich is."

Looking out of the window at every chance, Peter noticed that

clouds were floating there in the sky, but not the kind that ought to be floating there in September.

"Those clouds are awfully black," said Peter. "They look like snow. Maybe tomorrow morning we'll find winter has come. That would be too early! Whatever would we do then? . . . the potatoes are still in the ground, we've no stocks laid in . . . that'd be a pretty fix!"

Ivanov looked at his son, listened to the way he spoke and felt shy of him. He wanted to ask his wife more about this Semion Petrovich who had been visiting his family. Whom did he come for? Nastenka, or his pretty wife? But Peter diverted Liubov Vasilevna to household cares:

"Give me tomorrow's bread-cards, Mother, the registration coupons . . . and the kerosene coupons . . . tomorrow's the last day . . . and we must get the charcoal as well"

As he spoke Peter swept up the floor by the stove and put the pots and pans away. Then he pulled off the fire the iron pot with the cabbage soup.

"We've had a taste of cake, now cabbage soup and bread," Peter told everyone. "And you, Dad . . . tomorrow you must go to the regional council and the military office, you must get on the roster."

"All right," agreed father submissively.

"Be sure you don't forget. It might slip your mind when you get up tomorrow."

"No, I won't forget," Father promised.

Their first dinner together since the war ended—cabbage soup and meat. The family ate in silence, even Peter, as if all feared a chance word might break the quiet happiness of the family gathered together.

Afterwards Ivanov asked his wife:

"How are you off for clothes, Liuba? They must be worn out."

"We've made do with the old things, now you're back we'll try and get some new ones," smiled Liubov Vasilevna. "I patched and darned the children's clothes and I altered your suit, your two pairs of trousers and all your linen for them. Where could we have got anything? We had no money to spare, and the children had to be dressed somehow."

"You did the right thing," said Ivanov. "You can't begrudge the children anything."

"I didn't, I even sold my own overcoat and now I get along with a jacket."

"And that jacket of hers is too short, she goes and catches cold," Peter spoke up. "Soon I'll take a stoker's job at the bathhouse. I'll be getting regular wages; I'll save every kopek and buy her a coat. At the bazaar people sell coats. I had a look round and I saw some that would do . . ."

"We'll get along without you and your wages," said Father.

After dinner Nastenka put on a big pair of spectacles and sat by the window mending some mittens which her mother now wore under her rough canvas gloves at work. It was already getting cold, autumn was at hand.

Peter glanced at his sister and flared up at her: "What kind of nonsense is this? Why did you put on Uncle Semion's spectacles?"

"But I'm looking over the glasses, not through them."

"Don't you tell me! I can see what you're doing! You'll ruin your eyes and go blind. Stop darning that mitten, Mother'll do it herself, or I will when I'm through with my work. Take your copy-book and practise writing . . . you've forgotten when you did any last!"

"Has Nastenka started school?" asked Father.

Not yet, Mother answered, she was too little, but Peter made her work every day, he had bought her a notebook and she practised writing. Besides, Peter was teaching his sister to count by adding and subtracting with pumpkin seeds, while Liubov Vasilevna was teaching her the alphabet herself.

Nastenka laid down her mitten and took out of the dresser-drawer her notebook and home-made penholder. Peter, satisfied that everything was going right and as he had ordered, put on his mother's jacket and went out into the yard to cut wood for the next day. Peter usually brought in the chopped wood in the evening and piled it by the stove, so that it got dry during the night and burned well in the morning.

Mother went out into the yard to help Peter bring in the wood, but he would not hear of it. He'd manage alone, he said, and laid his small hand on her arm.

"Mamma, do you love me?"

"Of course I do," answered his mother.

"I love you best of all, so you must love me best of all too."

Mother bent over the boy and kissed him. Peter smiled back blissfully in reply and picked up the axe to resume work.

In the evening Liubov Vasilevna got supper early. She wanted

the children to go to bed early so that she could sit alone with her husband and talk with him. But the children did not go to sleep for a long time after supper ; Nastenka, lying on the wooden divan, watched her father for a long time from under the blanket, and Peter, lying down as usual on the stove where he slept, winter and summer alike, tossed about, kept whispering something and took a long time to doze off. But the night grew late and at last, Nastenka, worn out with looking, closed her eyes.

Peter slept lightly, on the alert : he was always afraid something might happen at night and he wouldn't hear—a fire might start, thieves slip in, or Mother would forget to bolt the door, or the door would come open in the night and all the heat would escape. Now Peter woke up at the agitated voices of his parents talking in the room beside the kitchen. Whether it was midnight or almost morning he did not know, but Father and Mother were not asleep.

" Aliosha, don't speak so loud, the children will wake up," Mother was saying quietly. " You shouldn't call him names ; he's a good man, he's loved your children . . . "

" We don't need his love," said Father. " I can give my children all the love they want. A smart fellow, loving someone else's children ! You got your allowance from me and you went to work yourself, what did you want this Semion Petrovich for ? Is your blood still hot ? Oh, Liuba, Liuba ! And out there I thought differently of you. It seems as if you just made a fool of me."

Father fell silent, then struck a match to light his pipe.

" What do you mean, Aliosha, what are you saying ? " remonstrated Mother, raising her voice. " I had the children, I had to keep them going, didn't I ? "

" Well, what about it ? " said Father. " Others were left with four on their hands ; they didn't do too badly and the kids grew up no worse than ours. And what kind of a fellow have you brought up in Peter ? . . . He talks like an old greybeard, and I bet he can't read yet."

Peter sighed on the stove and pretended to snore so that he could hear some more.

" Because he's learned what's hardest and the main thing in life ! " said Mother. " And he's not behind in his education."

" You know how to give me your lip," Father flared. " Who is your Semion ? "

" He's a good man."

" Do you love him ? "

" Aliosha, I'm the mother of your children . . . "

"Come on! Give a straight answer!"

"I love you, Aliosha. I've been your wife, your woman, longer than I can remember."

Father was silent and lit his pipe in the darkness.

"I was lonesome for you, Aliosha . . . true, I had the children, but they didn't make up for you. And I waited for you all this time, those long, frightful years . . . I didn't even want to wake up in the mornings."

"And what is he by profession, where does he work?"

"He works supplying materials for our factory."

"I understand. A swindler."

"He's not a swindler. I know . . . And his family all perished at Mogilev; he had three children, his daughter was already engaged."

"It doesn't matter, he found another family instead; and this wife wasn't yet old, she was pretty, so his blood warmed again."

Mother didn't answer. There was a silence, but soon Peter heard his mother crying.

"He told the children about you, Aliosha," she said; "he told the children how you were fighting there for us and were suffering. . . . They asked him, but why? and he answered, Because you were a good man. . . ."

Father laughed and put out the fire in his pipe.

"There's your Semion for you! He never saw me, and yet he approves of me. There's a fellow!"

"He planned on purpose that the children shouldn't forget about you and would love their father."

"But why, why would he do that? To get you the faster? Say, did he need to do that?"

"Maybe he had a good heart, Aliosha, that's why he acted that way. Why not?"

"You are stupid, Liuba, or clever. . . . Excuse me, but nothing is done without ulterior motives."

"But, Semion Petrovich often brought the children things—every time, either candy or white flour or sugar—not long ago felt boots, but they didn't fit—they were too small. But he didn't want anything out of us. We didn't want anything either, Aliosha, we'd have gotten along without his presents, we would have got used to it, but he said that he felt better when he had somebody else to think about, then he didn't get so desperately lonely for his own dead family. You'll see—he's not what you think. . . ."

"What nonsense!" said Father. "Don't clown with me! I waited for life for four years there—and now what a life it is!"

"Live with us, Aliosha."

"I will live with you, but will you live with Semion?"

"I won't, Aliosha. He'll never come to see us again, I'll tell him never to come to see us."

"Does that mean just that you won't live with him any *longer*? Oh, you women are all that way, Liuba!"

"And 'what way' are you?" asked Mother angrily. "What does it mean to say we're 'that way'? I'm not 'that way.' I've worked day and night making bricks for steamship furnace linings. My face grew thin. It was hard for me, too, and there were the children home alone. I used to come home—the house had no heat, there was no food cooked, it was dark, the children were lonesome, they didn't learn right away to manage for themselves as they do now: Peter was only a little boy. . . . And then Semion began to visit us. He used to come and sit with the children. He was living all by himself. 'Maybe,' he asked me, 'I could stay with you and get warmed up at your place?' I told him that it was cold at our house and the wood was green, but he answered, 'What of it, my heart is numb, I only want to sit with your children and you needn't heat the stove for me.' I said, 'All right, come so long as the children aren't afraid of you.' After that I got used to him too, and we all felt better whenever he came. I used to look at him and remember you, that you belonged to us. . . . It was so sad and awful without you; as long as anybody came, then it wasn't so lonesome and time went faster. . . ."

"Go on, go on!" Father was impatient.

"There's nothing more. Now you've come back, Aliosha!"

"Fine, if that's the truth," said Father. "Now it's time to go to bed."

But Mother begged Father, "Wait a little before going to bed. Let's talk, I'm so happy with you."

"They'll never get quiet," thought Peter on the stove; "they've made up, that's fine: but Mother has to get up early to go to work, and she goes on taking her time about feeling better and stopping her crying."

"And did this Semion love you?" asked Father.

"Wait, I'll cover up Nastenka, she'll get uncovered in her sleep and freeze."

Mother covered Nastenka with a blanket, went out in the kitchen and stopped by the stove to listen to whether Peter was sleeping.

Peter understood what she was doing and began to snore. Then Mother went back and he heard her voice . . .

"Of course he loved me. He used to look at me with love, I saw that, and am I not still nice-looking? Things were hard with him, Aliosha, and he needed to love someone."

"You might only have kissed him, since it was your duty," said Father kindly.

"That's how it was! He kissed me twice, though I didn't want him to."

"Then why did he kiss you, if you didn't want him to?"

"I don't know. He said he forgot himself and remembered his wife, and I was a little bit like her."

"And he was like me too?"

"No, not like you. Nobody is like you, you are the only one that matters, Aliosha."

"The only one, you say? We start counting with one, then two."

"But he only kissed me on the cheek, and not on the mouth!"

"It's all the same!"

"No, it's not the same, Aliosha! . . . What can you know about what our life was?"

"What could I know? I fought through the whole war, and saw death nearer than you. . . ."

"You fought, and I was dying for you here, my hands shook from misery, but I had to work bravely to feed the children and help the country against the Fascist enemies!" Mother said softly, but her heart was tormented, and Peter pitied her. He knew she had learned to mend shoes for herself and him and Nastenka, so as not to pay the shoemaker so much, and to repair the neighbours' electric stoves in return for potatoes.

"I couldn't stand life and the loneliness for you!" said Mother. "I had to feel something else, Aliosha, some kind of joy, to get relief. One man said that he loved me, and treated me as tenderly as you used to long ago. . . ."

"Who was this, Semion again?" asked Father.

"No, another man. He works as instructor in our regional professional union, he was evacuated. . . ."

"Now, the devil take who he was! So it just happened, that he consoled you?"

Peter knew nothing about this instructor and marvelled that he didn't know him. "See there, Mother is naughty too!" he whispered to himself.

Mother replied to Father, "I got nothing from him, no joy, I felt worse afterwards. My heart was drawn to him because it was just dying, but when he drew near to me, very near, I was indifferent, I thought in that moment about my cares at home and was sorry I let him come close. I understood that only with you could I be at peace, happy, and content, when you were near. Without you I don't know where to go, I couldn't save myself for the children's sake. . . . Live with us, Aliosha, things will be good with us!"

Peter heard his father quietly get up from the bed, light his pipe and sit down on the stool.

"How many times did you meet him, when you were 'very near'?" asked Father.

"Only once," said Mother. "No more, ever."

"Why did you say you were the mother of our children, and only my wife, since ever so long . . ."

"It's the truth, Aliosha. . . ."

"Now, what kind of truth is that? Weren't you also his?"

"No, I wasn't his, I wanted to and could not . . . I felt I was perishing without you, I had to—let anybody else be with me, I was exhausted, my heart had grown dark, I couldn't love the children any longer—and yet you know for them I would stand anything, for them I wouldn't spare my own flesh and sinew!"

"Wait!" said Father. "You say—you were mistaken in this new Semion, you got no joy from him, and yet you didn't perish, you remained whole."

"I did not perish," whispered Mother. "I am alive."

"Then you lie to me! Where is your truth?"

"I don't know," whispered Mother.

"All right. But then I know all about it, I've lived longer than you," pursued Father.

Mother was silent. Father, one could hear, was breathing fast and hard.

"Now, here I am at home," he said. "There's no more war, and yet you've wounded me in the heart. . . . Now, go live with Semion! You made me a fool, a laughing-stock, but I'm a man, not a plaything. . . ."

In the darkness Father began to put on his clothes and shoes. After that he lighted the kerosene lamp because the electricity wasn't working, sat down at the table and wound his watch.

"Four o'clock," he said to himself. "It's still dark. They're right when they say, there are many women, but there's not a single wife."

It was quiet in the house. Nastenka breathed regularly in her sleep on the wooden divan. Peter nestled into his pillow on the warm stove and forgot to snore.

"Aliosha!" said Mother in a soft voice. "Aliosha, forgive me!"

Peter heard his father groan, and the glass crunch; through the slit in the curtain he saw that it had got darker in the room where his father and mother were, but the fire was still burning. "He's crushed the lamp glass underfoot," Peter thought.

"You cut your hand," said Mother. "You're bleeding! Get a napkin in the cupboard."

"Be quiet," cried Father at Mother. "I can't stand your voice. . . . Waken the children, waken them at once! Waken them, let them talk to you! I'll tell them what kind of a mother they have! They had better know!"

Nastenka cried out in fright and woke up.

"Mamma!" she called. "May I come to you?"

Nastenka loved to crawl into her mother's bed at night and get warm with her under the blanket.

Peter sat on the stove, let his feet down and said to them all:

"It's time to be sleeping! What did you wake me for? It's not yet daylight, it's dark outside! Why are you making that noise and lighting the lamp?"

"Sleep, Nastenka, sleep, it's early yet, I am coming to you now," answered Mother. "And you, Peter, don't get up, don't talk any more."

"But why are you talking? What does Father want?" said Peter.

"What business is it of yours, what I want!" called back Father. "See, little sergeant!"

"But why did you crush the lamp glass? Why are you frightening Mother?"

"And do you know what Mother did?" cried Father in a plaintive voice, like a child's.

"Aliosha!" Liubov Vasilevna appealed quickly to her husband.

"I know, I know everything!" said Peter. "Mother cried for you, waited for you, and now you're here she's still crying. You don't know the half!"

"Why, you understand nothing at all about it!" said Father angrily. "Some young sprout you've grown to be!"

"I understand every bit!" answered Peter from the stove. He lay down on his pillow and suddenly began to cry silently.

" You've taken a lot of freedom around the house ! " said Father. " Now it's all the same to you, you're master here as long as Mother doesn't bring home somebody else. . . . "

Wiping away his tears, Peter answered Father, " Why are you like that, Dad, why do you say that, when you are grown-up and were in the war ? . . . Just go over to the invalid's co-operative tomorrow, and see Uncle Khariton working at the counter ; he sells bread, and never weighs wrong. He was in the war too and came back home. Go ask him, he talks to everybody and laughs about it, I heard him. He has a wife Aniuta, she learned how to be a chauffeur ; now she delivers bread and she is honest too, she doesn't steal bread. She made friends too and went visiting, somebody made her comfortable. And one of her new friends had a medal, he was a store manager without an arm. "

" Why do you talk such nonsense ? Better go to sleep, soon it will be light, " said Mother.

" But you wouldn't let me sleep. . . . It won't be light yet a while. This armless man made friends with Aniuta and lived there happily. And Khariton was at war. Then he came back and began to curse at Aniuta. He cursed all day and at night he drank wine and ate snacks, and Aniuta cried and didn't eat anything. He scolded and scolded, and then burst out laughing, stopped worrying Aniuta and said to her, ' What if you had an armless man, you silly woman, there I was without you and there was Glashka, and Aposka, and Maruska, and your namesake Niushka, and Magdalinka to boot ! ' And he laughed. And Aunt Aniuta laughed, and afterwards she boasted herself—Khariton was good to her, there was no better anywhere, he killed the Fascists and still couldn't get rid of all those women. Uncle Khariton told us all in the shop about it, when he was selling bread. And now they live peacefully, happily. And Uncle Khariton laughs again, and says, ' I fooled my Aniuta, I didn't have anybody, neither Glashka, nor Niushka, nor Aproska nor Magdalinka to boot ; a soldier is the son of his fatherland, he has no time to act like a fool, he has to fight ! I frightened Aniuta on purpose. . . . ' Lie down and go to sleep, Dad. Put out the light, why just let the fire smoke without a glass ! "

Ivanov listened in amazement to the story that Peter told. " What kind of a fellow is that ! " he reflected about his son. " I thought he would tell about my Masha right off. He knows the truth, see how he understands everything about Khariton. "

Peter fell into exhausted sleep and began to snore ; he was really sleeping now and soon began to talk in his dreams, " Mamma,

Mamma, take me in your arms, I'm so tired ! " and his voice in his sleep was soft and tender, like his child's heart, when he was not touched by cares.

He awoke when day had dawned brightly and was afraid he had slept too long, he had done nothing around the house.

Nastenka was the only one home. She was sitting on the floor leafing through a picture-book which Mother had bought her a long time ago. She looked at it every day because it was the only book she had, and moved her fingers over the letters as if she was reading.

"Where is Mother ; did she go to work ? " asked Peter.

"To work," Nastenka answered quietly and closed her book.

"And where did Dad go off to ? " Peter looked through the house, in the kitchen and in the bedroom. "He took his bag ? "

"He took his bag," said Nastenka.

"And what did he say to you ? "

"He didn't say anything, he kissed me on the mouth and eyes."

"So that's it," said Peter, and began to think hard.

"Get up off the floor," he ordered his sister. "Let me clean you up and dress you, and we'll go out into town. . . ."

At that minute their father was sitting in the station. He had already drunk two hundred grams of vodka and eaten that morning on a temporary ration-card. In the night he had decided to go back to the town where he had left Masha, to meet her there, never to part with her again. It was too bad that he was so much older than Masha. However, they would see how things would go, it was impossible to guess ahead. Still Ivanov hoped Masha would be a little glad when she saw him again, and this would be enough for him ; it was just that he would have someone new, and pretty besides merry and goodhearted. And then they'd see !

Soon the train came which went the direction from which Ivanov had come yesterday. He took his bag and went and sat down. "Well, Masha won't be expecting me !" thought Ivanov. "She told me that I would forget her anyway, and we never would see each other again, and I'm going to her now for good."

He went onto the landing of the railway-coach and stayed so that when the train started, he could look for the last time at the small town where he lived until the war, where his children were born. . . . He wanted again to look at the home he had left ; he could see it from the coach since the street it was on intersected with the railway crossing over which the train would pass.

The train started and silently moved over the switches into the empty autumn fields. Ivanov hung onto the handrail of the coach and looked from the landing at the little homes, the buildings, sheds, water tower of the town which had been his native city. He recognised two high smokestacks in the distance ; one was the soap factory, the other the brick factory ; there Liuba was working now at the brick press. Let her now live as she likes, and he would live as he liked. Maybe he could have forgiven her by arguing with himself, but what good would that have been ? Anyway, his heart was hardened against her and there was no forgiveness in him for a person who kissed and lived with another so that it wouldn't be so lonesome, so as not to have to pass the wartime in solitude and separation from her husband.

Ivanov was ready to go from the landing inside the coach, to lie down to sleep, not wanting to look for the last time on the home where he had lived and where his children remained ; he didn't want to suffer needlessly. He looked ahead—it was not far to the crossing, he saw it ahead. The railroad bed here cut the dirt road leading into the town ; on this little road there lay piles of straw and hay, fallen from wagons, willow twigs, horse-dung. Usually this road was free of people, except two market-days a week ; once in a while a peasant would come to town with a cartload of hay or would return to the village with an empty wagon. Thus it was now ; the road was empty ; only from the town, from the street into which the road led, there were running in the distance two urchins ; one was a little bigger, the other small, and the bigger one, holding the smaller by the hand, was swiftly pulling her along, but the smaller one, however she hurried, however much she pumped her little legs, couldn't keep up with the bigger one. So the bigger one dragged her along behind. At the last house in the town they stopped and looked in the direction of the station, deciding, evidently, that there was no use to go there. Then they looked at the passenger train, running over the crossing, and hurried down the road straight toward the train as if they wanted to overtake it.

The coach in which Ivanov stood passed the crossing. Ivanov picked his bag up off the floor, ready to enter it to take a nap on the high shelf where other passengers wouldn't disturb him. But would those two children succeed in catching the last coach of the train ? Ivanov leaned out of the landing and looked back.

The two children, hand in hand, were still running down the road toward the crossing. They both fell down, got up again and once more rushed on. The bigger one raised his free hand and,

turning his face in the direction of the train, on Ivanov's side, waved his hand as if calling someone to come back to him.

Ivanov closed his eyes, not wanting to see and feel the pain of the children who had fallen, exhausted, and felt how hot was his chest, as if he had suddenly been touched on his living, naked heart.

He looked back once more from the steps of the coach at the end of the train at his children. He already knew that these were his own—Peter and Anastasia. They must have seen him when the coach passed over the crossing, and Peter was calling him home to Mother. He had looked at them inattentively, thinking about something else, not recognising his own children.

Now Peter and Anastasia were running a long way behind the train on the sandy path beside the rails ; Petka as before held little Nastenka's hand and dragged her along behind him when she couldn't keep up with her own little legs.

Ivanov tossed his bag out of the car onto the ground ; then he lowered himself onto the lowest step of the coach, and jumped from it to the sandy path on which his children were running after him.

BERNARD PARES

THE death of Sir Bernard Pares at the ripe age of 82—still in harness and engrossed in the exacting task of interpreting, each to each, the English-speaking and Slavonic worlds—ends decisively the first period in which close contacts on a large scale were possible between them. There was always a background of suspicion and reserve, due on the one hand to the peculiar mentality of the Russians and on the other to the deep-lying divergences between all classes, high and low, of the two peoples in all that concerned constitutional and administrative problems. The result was a constant need for altering the political focus and a bewildering habit of jumping from one extreme to the other, and yet Pares in all his profound study of Russian political life—and it was indeed prolonged and profound—in spite of occasional signs of haste and indifference to exact minutiae of fact, had thoroughly mastered the all-important factor—namely, that the Russian and the Englishman, despite or perhaps because of, their complete difference of outlook, are quick to strike up a friendship which often enough goes very deep. Without for one moment claiming to be an oracle on Russian character, and while constrained to add on behalf of those lesser Slavonic nations with whom fate has closely associated me that the surest way of misjudging a Pole, a Czech, a Slovene or a Serb is to accept their reactions as identical with those of the once boasted great Slav brother, despite all this I venture to believe that fear of this very factor, which leaves every door ajar and offers amazing possibilities of swift reconciliation, underlies the Soviet Government's present tactics of widening every breach, checking every generous impulse and aggravating every suspicion. If he were here, I can imagine Pares at this stage bursting into that half-genial, half-sardonic laughter that concealed a grimmer mood, and expressing his regret that the colleague whom he generally knew so well how to humour, should show such lack of moderation as a critic! And yet what he had to tell of his own experiences often served as ample confirmation of my thesis. Due emphasis must also be laid upon the elusive character of the Russian, plunging as he does through a succession of ever-varying moods. In each of the great nations of our hemisphere there are certain outstanding traits on which the whole structure rests, providing it with a pattern for the whole. Pares was surely absolutely right when he sought to link together his own profound love of the Russian people and the Russian mind, and the sway which they came to exercise over foreign

observers as different as Mackenzie Wallace, Harold Williams, Maurice Baring and Pares himself. Indeed, the more they varied in their views, the more strongly did he hold to the firm conviction that the only too common tendency to assume "*incompatibilité de mœurs*" between Russia and the West, in reality rested upon a myth and an illusion.

It may well be that this all-too-sketchy and highly contentious line of argument will from the outset be rejected, even by those who have succeeded us pioneers in the field of Slavonic interpretation. To me, at any rate, it seemed to be the moment for placing it on record, for it provides the key to any estimate of the relative value of Pares's work. Before all else came his interest in the soil and those who tilled it, and the gradual evolution of native institutions from the most primitive times up, until the mass inclusion of alien theories overthrew the dynastic system, only to find the landowner, the kulak and the moujik as it were "in one red burial blent." Next stood his fairly detailed historical studies, in which full justice was not always done to the peculiar importance of "diplomatic history" in a country so far behind its neighbours in conceptions of liberty. There was a third section of the field where his own natural gift as a translator proved of the utmost value. This gift, which was strengthened in him by the example of Bowen (the poet-housemaster of Harrow), ranged from the great Pushkin, in whom romance and realism meet, to the later schools of revolutionary poets who were not, indeed, of the same calibre, but perhaps deserve more attention than they have received in a country like our own, where so many of the younger poets, feeling their powers of poetic expression exhausted or failing, have fallen back upon "bizarreries" that rest upon sheer anarchy and a defiance of every rule of rhythm.

Together with his old friend and colleague, Oliver Elton, he strove to establish standards of translation, in poetry still more than in prose, such as have been maintained and eloquently developed by C. M. Bowra, and the two post-war Russian Anthologies. I do not think it a mistake in critical appraisal and emphasis to attach such importance to the function of translators, and to demand high qualities of clear thought and powers of definition from them. Pares's own special contribution was his translation of the *Fables* by which Krylov has qualified, for all time, as the political Æsop of Russia when in direst need. To a far greater degree than even Lafontaine himself, he served as the sounding-board for every problem, political or social, of his day; and Pares showed a true instinct in taking the fables as the key to many of the political *arcana* of

the Russian Revolution—linking up on the one hand with the philosophies of the east and west and on the other with the endless squibs and lampoons of successive Dumas and of the civil war in which they ended.

This is not the occasion for a detailed criticism of Pares's fairly voluminous writings, and there are others who have infinitely more right to examine them. There is much that was ephemeral—notably the little Penguin volume *Russia and the Peace* (1944)—which seems likely to stand out as the last reasoned effort of the Russophiles to avert the estrangement between the two greatest of the victorious Allies from developing into downright aversion. His big *History of Russia*, published in 1931, and re-issued in an improved form in 1937 and again in 1947, probably still remains the most practical textbook of Russian history coming from an English pen: but it has some obvious defects due to hurried writing, and to the serious gaps in his presentment of Tsarist foreign policy. Moreover, his uncompromising adherence to one aspect only of the Ukrainian question—today a question so much farther off solution than before the two Great Wars—may be found to have introduced a wrong perspective.

Two of his books stand out from among their fellows: *Russia and Reform* is the work of a young and eager brain applied to the mysteries of a vast machine set in motion for the first time, and not yet gaining impetus. It is a careful study of the liberal constitutional movement in which he and his Liberal friends in England were as yet entitled to believe; and it shows how the author from the first moment relied upon personal contacts and saw the daily impact of events against their psychological background.

There seems, however, little doubt that his last big book, *The Fall of the Russian Monarchy*, was his masterpiece, resting upon altogether original and improvised methods of research, and that it is likely to be quoted on points of the first importance so long as the Russian Revolution remains a subject of study and dispute. What gives it a unique character is that, having in the pre-revolutionary period acquired the habit of recording all the precise details of his many political conversations, he carried his methods several stages further after the great upheaval had sown Europe with its exiled victims and presented unique opportunities for checking off the views and aims of this or that politician, as well as the reasons for the course adopted by the Tsar and his ministers and generals. The careful student will soon see that the book is a perfect mine of material, sifted by a sympathetic but discriminating hand. No one has done so much to clear up the tragic mysteries of the Imperial family, and

in particular to vindicate the Empress from many of the calumnies which so long echoed through the whispering galleries of Europe. It must, however, be added that her honour was only saved at the expense of judgment and commonsense. Indeed, as the hideous fantasy of Rasputin shows, her ideas of what was seemly and politically possible were blurred by downright hysteria.

The two autobiographies of Pares, *My Russian Memoirs*, published by Messrs Cape in 1931, and *A Wandering Student*, published by the Syracuse University Press in 1948 (and for some mysterious reasons not available in Britain), have much to tell us about his early life, his share in the consolidation of Liverpool University, and his pioneer efforts for the promotion of Slavonic studies in Britain and the U.S. It is the story of a downright, one-track mind, roused by difficulties to further efforts. There was an unique persistence in his pursuit of an aim—whether academic or political—planning alternatives in advance in case the first attack should fail and returning again and again to the charge. The Great War (1914-18) revealed him as daring and adventurous, and the medals bestowed upon him by Russian generals at the front bore eloquent witness of his soldierly qualities. He had many firm friends, of widely differing origin and opinion: but he held them all by his straightforward qualities of heart and head. Many of those who knew him best saw in him the typical Englishman: holding very strong opinions but always open to argument and ready for a reasonable compromise. But there was more than a typically English outlook in his approach to Russia, which blended to a remarkable degree the qualities of romance and analysis.

In one of Russia's major crises Pares made his public confession in these words: "What shall I say of Russia in this darkness? That Russia is still Russia and that life is still life. I can never be brought to believe that life can be fast bound by any formula. Life breaks its bonds and finds its own way to a development of its own, which could never have been charted in advance. In so far as Communism has a faith in it, it has a future: but negation of the past is not a faith." There spoke the true Bernard Pares, without whose inspiration our School would have languished and our *Review* could never have survived for a quarter of a century. It is in the same spirit that his oldest colleague and ardent collaborator, on reaching the age of 70 and therefore ceasing to be an active member of the School, sends his warmest greetings to his successors.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

B. P. : II

BERNARD PARES was one who loved his fellow men—and in particular his fellow Englishmen, his fellow Russians, his fellow speakers of English and of Russian, wherever they might live. This thread of friendliness runs through all his writings, from his *Russia and Reform* of 1907 to the revised edition of his *Russia*, published in March 1949, only a month before his death ; and it gives an abiding charm to his writings as well as to his personality. Pares read many books, but he was more interested in men and women than in books. He loved the English (and as a sort of necessary corollary the Americans and the peoples of the British dominions beyond the seas) and he loved the Russians, and he wanted all speakers of the English language to love the Russians and the Russians to love them. This yearning for an Anglo-Russian friendship that should replace the traditional Anglo-Russian distrust and enmity of Victorian times was his master passion.

Pares read of Russia, lived in Russia, knew Russia, loved Russia, he talked and wrote of Russia with sympathy and animation. He was comparatively little interested in the economic interpretation of history, in statistics, or in diplomatic documents. Hence his best work is simple and direct as that of Herodotus. His *Russia and Reform* has the same human quality as Wallace's *Russia*, of which it was a worthy successor. The book is less noteworthy for its presentation of the economic and social causes of the Russian upheaval of 1905 and the following years than for its portrayal of the men who guided the first Russian duma. Pares' picture of that duma and of Milyukov directing from the sidelines the policy of the Constitutional Democratic party in it, is an historical source of the first order. It is marvellously skilful journalism by a man who was more than a journalist. The Constitutional Democrats were trying to fashion a constitutional monarchy of a more or less British type and in their tactics were influenced by British example. Pares saw, or thought he saw, that events were leading to friendship and co-operation between England and Russia, and he rejoiced thereat. He heeded little the factors to the right and to the left of the Cadet party that undermined its success. Yet when conservative forces triumphed in Russia he was not discouraged. He transferred his sympathies from Milyukov to Stolypin, to a policy that seemed to him constructive and statesmanlike. The First World War fulfilled

one of Pares' ideals. England and Russia were fighting side by side for human freedom, and Pares co-operated in the struggle with all his might. Two books, *Day by Day with the Russian Army* (1915) and *My Russian Memoirs* (1931), reflect his life and aspirations during those troublous times. They show fine sympathy with the Russian common soldiers and a splendid understanding of the life of all loyal, middle-of-the-road Russians during that period of storm and stress. On the whole *My Russian Memoirs*, through its thrilling dramatic quality, seems to me Pares' masterpiece; it is inspiring by its narratives of devotion to a great cause.

The First World War ended with the defeat of England's enemies, but it also brought ruin to the Russia that Pares knew and loved. He found himself literally in the same position as a Russian émigré. He had lived with Kolchak's forces and he was excluded from Russia. He was convinced that communist rule in Russia would be shortlived, and he behaved accordingly. With his usual intensity he threw himself into academic work and strove to advance the study of Russia both in England and in the United States. Friendship with Russia must be cultivated in preparation for the time when Russia should be freed from Bolshevik tyranny.

It was in 1923, at the time of his first visit to the United States, that I first met Pares. We became friends for life. We had common interests and we agreed on most topics that we discussed. Never have I known a more genuinely cordial man. He helped me in the most varied fashion, by personal inspiration and by practical aid, just as he helped hundreds of others: this is not the place to cite details. I at once felt myself in his debt and I have always remained boundlessly grateful to him. Yet it was a bit amusing to encounter a missionary so thoroughly dominated by one abiding purpose, that of friendship between England and America on the one hand and Russia on the other. To him this of course meant the old Russia of the years before 1917, the Russia that would soon be restored and resume its forward course according to Anglo-Saxon precedents. Of the Bolsheviks Pares always spoke with the utmost abhorrence, rejecting indignantly any word of apology for their doings. Seldom did he talk of any topic not somehow connected with Russia. Once a party of us took him to Point Lobos, a rarely beautiful spot on the California coast, where the billows rush into chasms between high cliffs and break into clouds of foam. Pares immediately sat down on a boulder with his back to the Pacific—and talked about Russia!

Throughout the years that followed I always found Pares sym-

pathetic and modest as well as helpful. He knew his own limitations and he gave freely of the best that was in him. I like to picture him chatting with children. They knew that he was their friend.

During the years between the wars, aside from his active work as a teacher and organiser, Pares produced his two most academic books, *A History of Russia* (1926) and *The Fall of the Russian Monarchy* (1939). The first volume (now in its fifth edition) is the best general work on Russian history that exists in English. It rests on Russian secondary sources; the early pages, for example, bring to English readers the atmosphere of the school of Klyuchevsky. It is clear and orderly in its development, but it contains little research by Pares himself. *The Fall of the Russian Monarchy: a Study of the Evidence*, on the other hand, is his chief piece of original investigation, and it is also the least satisfactory of his larger books. He wrote the volume after careful reading of the verbatim report of the Investigating Commission of 1917 and of the numerous and copious memoirs of the period. The result is a book dealing almost entirely with personalities and neglecting the economic, social, and ideological causes that brought about the fall of the Russian monarchy. The reader gets the impression that had the Empress Alexandra been a different sort of person, that monarchy might still have been alive and flourishing. An historical work that contains the statement, "After all the nursery [of the imperial family] was the centre of all Russia's troubles" (Introduction, page 16), certainly lacks correct historical perspective. Yet it is noteworthy that the kind-hearted author treats with charity and even with a certain qualified admiration the unfortunate woman whom he seems to have regarded as the cause of it all.

During the sixteen years that followed 1919 Pares fretted at his exclusion from Russia. "He called the Bolsheviks pigs, you know," a pupil of his once remarked to me, "and then he was surprised that they wouldn't let him in!" But time brings changes. In 1935 the Soviet government allowed Pares to enter the country. The immediate result of his short visit was a tiny book, *Moscow Admits a Critic*, published in June 1936. Here, reversing his previous point of view, Pares expressed opinions decidedly favourable to the communist administration. Later, more than once, he again visited the U.S.S.R. He gave a fuller statement of his revised opinions in his rather chaotic Penguin: *Russia*, first published in January 1941; "seventh printing, revised edition, March 1949."

In *Russia* Pares strives to be objective, not blinking, for instance, the enormous suffering, including the wholesale destruction of

human life, that was caused by Stalin's forcible collectivisation of agriculture. He condemns most vigorously the present isolation of the Soviet Union from the rest of the world. Nor does he condone the failure of the Russians in 1944 to aid the Poles of Warsaw when they rose against the German occupants of the city. But in general he expresses sincere admiration for the practical achievements of the Soviet government at home, and he defends its foreign policy, including the absorption of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. One may conjecture that Pares became convinced that communism in Russia had come to stay, while the guiding passion of his life still remained the same, the furtherance of peace, understanding, and good will between England, America, and Russia. Since all chance for the resurrection of a liberal Russia had vanished, the understanding must be with a communistic Russia. And so, swallowing his previous denunciation of all communistic principles and practices, he argued that the one remedy for existing hatreds must be, on both sides, "constant and objective study." Whether the fixed policy of the Soviet Union might not prove quite as dangerous to Western Europe and to America as had been that of Nazi Germany, he seems to have made no serious inquiry. At all events he does not discuss the matter in his last book. He merely pleads for tolerance and understanding, holding that the Russians have a right to their communistic government at home and hoping—though he is silent on the question—that they will not interfere in the affairs of nations to the west of them.

Pares had literary talent both in prose and in verse. The jovial, chatty style of *My Russian Memoirs* reflects the conversation of Pares himself. In *A History of Russia* he shows fine skill in exposition. His verse translations of Krylov's *Fables* (his own favourite among his works) and of Griboyedov's comedy, *The Mischief of Being Clever*, are skilful interpretations not only of the letter but of the spirit of the original.

One's memories of Bernard Pares, however, are of a man, not of a scholar or of a writer of books. The man was greater than his work, important as that work was for the furtherance of instruction in Russian topics and the advance of knowledge concerning Russia among speakers of English. Pares was a sincere and friendly soul. You might not agree with him at all times, but you could not help being stirred by his kindly spirit and his wholehearted yet modest devotion to his own calling. He left behind him not only work well done but the memory of a sweet and gracious nature.

G. R. NOYES.

B.P.: III

My first meeting with Pares was in the barracks in Malet Street, which for a time housed the School of Slavonic Studies, as it was then officially called. The date must have been 1923, since he let me send him three years later from Cracow a carbon copy (in English) of my Ph.D. thesis. The hope was that he might help in interesting an English publisher in the work. Nothing happened, and when I was passing through London in 1927, on my way home to the New World, I called on him. Yes, he had the manuscript, at his house in Surbiton: would I come out for the night, and we could talk it over? We found it, rather the worse for wear, lying at the bottom of a big chest, and managed to recover all the sheets. At his suggestion I went to see Jonathan Cape, and two years later the work appeared. Such was the help he was always ready to extend to beginners.

In 1930 Pares was in the U.S.A. and we met at a conference in Boston, organised by the veteran historian, Professor A. I. Andrews, where he was a guest speaker. Already the question had come up as to whether I might join the staff of the School in London; but the necessary funds were not forthcoming for the creation of a Readership in Polish, so the whole thing was postponed for five years. Then, very suddenly, everything crystallised and in September 1935 I found myself getting settled in the crowded, and rather dismal, quarters in Torrington Square. As Director, Pares did everything possible to make things easier for the newcomer, even to the point of guaranteeing an overdraft at the bank until salary cheques began to come through.

We were as a staff a motley crew. Already two of the original "old guard" were gone—Mirsky and Meyendorff. The rest of us would from time to time see one another, but only in "bits and pieces," since there was no common-room and people came and went at the oddest hours. But from about 11.30 Pares would be in his big room, on the ground floor, occupied in some task or other, and was always available when needed. In what follows I want to say less about his work as Director, and more about what I remember of times together—usually outside working hours. And first three glimpses of English life that I might otherwise not have had:

1. His taking me on a Saturday morning by train to Clondont in Surrey, whence we walked along part of the old Pilgrim's Way,

past Newland's Corner, down to Sheir—"loveliest village in England," where we had lunch, then past Albury (his old home) and by devious routes to Friday Pool (if I remember the name rightly); and finally after tea at an inn, by bus to Guildford, and so by train home again.

2. His taking me to a soccer match at Stamford Bridge where we stood in the midst of a vast throng of everyday Britons and watched an exciting game, a good part of which was half blacked out by fog; after which while trying to get out, we became separated in the crush, and did not meet until the following Monday. It was then I learned of the part he played in helping to found the Portsmouth Soccer Club

3. His taking me to his old school, Harrow-on-the-Hill, on a day when there were special games being played, his showing of the "old familiar places"; his tales about the same, interlarded with snatches of songs from "Forty Years on, when afar and asunder" to some of his own, and talk about everything and nothing, going back to the eighties of last century. Such experiences go far to make up

That best portion of a good man's life
In which the burthen and the mystery . . .
Of all this unintelligible world
Are lightened

When I turn to School matters, it is the lighter rather than the serious side that remains in memory. From the start I was welcomed to the quarterly sessions in which the final touches were put to the forthcoming number of the *Slavonic and East European Review*, whose deliberations, though always friendly, were sometimes fierce. Almost invariably there was more material in galley than could be included in the 240 pages allotted to each number; and Pares and Seton-Watson were by no means always in agreement as to what should have precedence. Betimes Jopson and I had to serve as mediators, and our good offices were not always effective. But the net result was that each number showed a balance and a wholeness, which since 1939 we have never been able to recover. Pares worked hard to get the number out "on time," which meant roughly at the end of each of the three academic terms: nothing irked him more than to find, as June ended, some hitch in the arrangements which might leave him still occupied when Lord's Week approached. For him the Varsity Cricket match and the ensuing Eton-Harrow meeting were something sacred: he wanted to be there and with

“a mind at peace.” Sometimes it was a close shave, but had a clash occurred I fear the *Review* would have come off second best. Only those who worked with him can ever realise what devotion and painstaking he put into every page.

It was in the same eager spirit that he watched the progress of the new university buildings in those last pre-war years; knowing that, if all went well, he would see the School at long last ensconced in its own home. Everyone rejoiced when, a few months before the outbreak of war, we were able to move in and begin to get settled down. It was precisely with the outbreak of hostilities that I succeeded him as Director. On the fourth of September our quarters were taken over for the Ministry of Information, and we were “rusticated” to Oxford.

For a year Pares was with us as a member of the Foreign Research and Press Service set up by Chatham House in Balliol College for the Foreign Office. Then he found himself without employment, and it was a hard blow. Though well over seventy he was eager for work, so I put it to him that now he should accept—what he had declined two years earlier—the request of Allen Lane to write a Penguin on *Russia*. It took some persuasion, but he finally agreed, and with the fine result known to all. The sales of his admirable little book reached well over 200,000 copies.

Seldom have I known anyone who would so completely lose himself in whatever he set himself to do as B. P. On some occasions, though not often, I disagreed profoundly with his views or decisions, but he never bore a grudge. If, however, he was convinced of the rightness of his “line,” nothing on earth could budge him. The range of his interests was enormous. Among them should be mentioned the service he rendered for years as Hon. Treasurer of the University of London Union. When he came back to see us in 1948, after five years’ absence in the New World, he had a look at everything and (as he wrote me briefly on his return to New York) was rejoiced to find that things were going as he would have wished. It is a source of keen satisfaction to those of us who have followed in his steps, that the foundations he and others laid so “well and truly” were not laid in vain.

W. J. ROSE.

THE SECOND EXILE OF EDUARD BENEŠ

I

THE Munich Agreement of 28 September 1938 had dire consequences for Europe and not least for France and Great Britain who had sponsored it. The immediate victim was President Beneš. Under strong pressure from the French and British Governments he had been an unwilling party to the Agreement; and no sooner was it signed than he was exposed not only to the wrath of the Nazis, who were determined to be rid of him, but also to the fears and anxieties of the new Czechoslovak Government.

On 5 October he resigned his high office of President and on the same evening took leave of his people in a moving broadcast. The next day, "utterly exhausted both physically and spiritually," he left the *Hrad*, the historic castle of Prague, for his country home at Sezimovo Usti in South Bohemia. He had intended to remain in Czechoslovakia until 28 October, but so violent were the threats from Berlin that the new Czechoslovak Government, which he himself had appointed, urged him to leave the country at the earliest possible moment. He took off from the Ruzin airport on 22 October. So hurried was his departure that, when he arrived in England, Jan Masaryk, advised at the last minute, was not in time to meet him.

Although his health was temporarily shattered, Dr. Beneš had not neglected his preliminary preparations for the European war which he now felt to be inevitable. Before leaving his country, he summoned his most reliable political friends and explained to them in detail his plan of campaign. Resistance groups inside Czechoslovakia must be organised at once. The old *Maffia*, the secret society which had been so valuable in the first world war, must be revived. As many soldiers and politicians as possible must make their way abroad. Reliable underground communications between the exiles and the patriots at home must be established. There was not a moment to lose. He expected the European war not later than May or June of 1939. These preparations, successfully carried out, were to bear good fruit in due course.

Nevertheless, when he arrived in England, he himself was condemned to a period of comparative inactivity. He was far from well and sorely in need of rest. His devoted wife was on the verge

of a nervous breakdown and could not speak of her country without tears welling in her eyes. She felt the blow to a husband who had hitherto known nothing but success, even more keenly than he did. Moreover the presence of Dr. Beneš in England was embarrassing to the British Government, and he had received a hint from the Foreign Office to refrain from public activity. He accepted it loyally. Old English friends, fearing lest he might be in need, came to his rescue. Lord Layton undertook to arrange funds; Lord Cranborne, now Lord Salisbury, offered him a house. These kindnesses gratified him deeply, but he made little or no attempt to avail himself of them, preferring to live quietly and unostentatiously and to avoid all recrimination. From November 1938 until the end of January 1939, he devoted the major part of his time to the preparation of the lectures on democracy which he had undertaken to deliver at the University of Chicago.

On 2 February 1939 he left Portsmouth in the S.S. *George Washington* for New York and Chicago. During his stay in the United States he had intended to maintain the same attitude of restraint that he had shown in England, but the peculiar circumstances of the American scene soon forced him to alter his views. In those early months of 1939 American public opinion was violently anti-British and anti-French. It mattered not a whit that Americans had no intention of taking any action against the Nazis: their sympathies overflowed generously in favour of the Czechoslovaks, and in Chicago I myself was a witness of the almost hysterical enthusiasm with which Dr. Beneš and Jan Masaryk were greeted whenever they appeared in public.

It was a situation of which Dr. Beneš could hardly fail to take advantage. He was in the United States when Hitler, breaking all his pledges to Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier, marched into Prague. Indignation throughout the country was universal, and on 16 March Dr. Beneš sent telegrams of protest to President Roosevelt, Mr. Chamberlain, M. Daladier, M. Litvinov and the Secretary-General of the League of Nations. President Roosevelt sent a sympathetic reply in which he stated that the Government of the United States did not recognise the new Nazi aggression. Mr. Chamberlain sent a short telegram referring Dr. Beneš to the speech which he as Prime Minister had delivered at Birmingham on 17 March. The next day M. Litvinov handed to the Czech minister in Moscow a copy of the Note of protest which he had sent on the same day to the Nazi Government. M. Daladier left Dr. Beneš's telegram unanswered. At the first meeting of the Council of the League of

Nations M. Avenol, the Secretary-General, mentioned Dr. Beneš's telegram, but refused to table it because it came from a private individual. The Soviet representative, however, undertook, in the name of his Government, to accept responsibility for the protest, and the protest itself was put down for discussion by the Council and Assembly of the League in September. By then, however, the march of events had rendered further discussion unnecessary.

Dr. Beneš remained in the United States until the beginning of July 1939. Before he left he was received by President Roosevelt on 28 May, and in a long conversation he answered with remarkable accuracy the President's very pointed questions about the probable course of events. He predicted the Nazi attacks on Poland and the Soviet Union. He told the President that the war would be a long one and would bring great social upheavals in its train. To the President's question about the attitude of the United States he replied. "Europe cannot win the war against Hitler without you. If you do not move in time against Nazi-ism, the Nazis will attack you."

At the end of the conversation President Roosevelt requested Dr. Beneš to send him a written report of his views. Then, taking leave of him, Mr. Roosevelt said: "We have helped you once; we shall help you again. Keep in touch with me and let me know how your affairs progress."

Greatly encouraged, Dr. Beneš sailed on 12 July for England, which he had already determined must be the headquarters of the Czechoslovak resistance movement. Inevitably he found the political atmosphere colder. Good friends, however, were not lacking, and on 27 July, together with Madame Beneš and Jan Masaryk, he was entertained at a private banquet in London by forty representatives of the three British political Parties. Mr. Churchill was in the chair and was supported by Mr. Eden, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Lord Cecil, Lord Lytton, Sir Walter Layton, Mr. Arthur Greenwood, Lady Violet Bonham-Carter and Miss Megan Lloyd George. All present were, of course, strong opponents of the Government's Munich policy. Speeches were made by Mr. Churchill, Mr. Eden, Lord Cecil, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Harold Nicolson and Mr. Wickham Steed. The sternest words came from Lord Cecil who described the Government's behaviour in September 1938 as "a base betrayal"; the most eloquent from Mr. Churchill, who moved not only himself but even the unemotional Dr. Beneš to tears.

Warmed by this manifestation of support, and fixing all his

hopes on Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, Dr. Beneš retired to the little villa in Gwendolen Avenue, Putney, which was to be his home for the next fourteen months. To his other virtues he had now to add patience and restraint. For the backing of the British Government he had to wait many weary months. The war which he had always predicted came three months later than he had prophesied. A now disillusioned British public accepted it with philosophic calm.

It was in his Putney villa that Dr. Beneš, attended only by his wife and by Dr. and Mrs. Lobkowicz, listened in at 11 a.m. on 3 September to Mr. Chamberlain's fateful broadcast. "Standing respectfully and without a word of comment," he writes in his memoirs, "we felt to the full the terrible tragedy of the Prime Minister's words. We were conscious that it was the beginning of the direst hardships for the British Empire and likewise a continuation of the unprecedented sufferings of our own people. But we were also aware that it was the beginning of the fight for our second liberation and after Munich the first step to our new independence."

The same day Dr. Beneš sent the following telegram to the British Prime Minister.

"In this moment when the British people have to fight a war forced on Poland, Great Britain and France by Nazi Germany, I should like to express to Your Excellency with deep and unfaltering sympathy the desire and decision of the Czechs and Slovaks to join unhesitatingly with your people in their fight for the freedom of Europe.

"Our motherland was attacked and occupied by armed forces and all our people suffer under inhuman terror and oppression. But their moral and physical strength remains unimpaired. We, the citizens of Czechoslovakia, consider that our country is in a state of war with the German military forces. Side by side with your people we will carry on the struggle until final victory and until the liberation of our motherland."

This time Mr. Chamberlain was moved and sent a warmly worded reply in which he said: "The sufferings of the Czech people have not been forgotten, and we believe that the principles for which we have taken up arms will free the Czech people from foreign servitude."

Dr. Beneš sent a similar telegram to the Prime Minister of France. Once again there was no reply.

2

The war for which Dr. Beneš had hoped, because he saw in it the only possibility of liberating his country, had begun. On

19 September 1939 I was appointed by the Foreign Office to the somewhat vague post of liaison officer with Dr. Beneš and the Czechoslovaks in Britain.

During the period of the so-called "phoney" war, that is, from September 1939 until May 1940, Dr. Beneš's position was difficult and delicate. His own desiderata were fixed in his mind from the start. He wished the British Government and, indeed, all other Governments to recognise the juridical continuity of the Czechoslovak state as it had existed before September 1938. This desire also implied recognition of the juridical continuity of Dr. Beneš's position as President of the Czechoslovak Republic. It meant, too, recognition of the pre-Munich frontiers. This was strong medicine for any British Government to swallow, since in order to fulfil Dr. Beneš's wishes the Munich Agreement would have to be annulled as illegal. It was a particularly unpalatable dose for the Chamberlain Government which had made the Agreement and had acclaimed it as a triumph for peace.

Dr. Beneš based his argument for continuity on two grounds: the Munich Agreement had been dictated by violence; it had been broken and therefore rendered void by Hitler's entry into Prague in March 1939. The second part of the argument was sound, but obviously the fulfilment of all his wishes involved technical and legal difficulties which would require long discussion. In particular, the continuity of his personal position as President was open to serious doubts. He had resigned his office soon after Munich, and Dr. Hacha had been legally elected in his place. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the matter might be, the opening of a war, for which Britain was ill-prepared, was not the moment for the urgent insistence of Dr. Beneš's claims.

I had enjoyed his confidence for many years and, supported by Jan Masaryk, I put the position to him as bluntly as I could. He had many friends in England and some enemies both in the Government and in Whitehall. If the war were to be lost, all would be lost. If the war were to be won—and his own confidence in victory never wavered—then time was on his side. He should proceed cautiously and should refrain from giving any encouragement to those British politicians who were eager to raise questions on his behalf in the House of Commons. Above all, he should do his utmost to unite the Czechoslovak exiles who had now reached France and Britain in considerable numbers. My own sympathies were with him; but he would inevitably have me labelled as a violent Czechophil if he were to urge through me

demands which Whitehall would consider premature and ill-judged. Not without reason the Foreign Office believe with Talleyrand that excess of zeal is the worst of all diplomatic faults

Jan Masaryk, who cared little for the technicalities of political life but had an instinctive knowledge of human psychology, agreed whole-heartedly with this advice, and the rational Dr. Beneš accepted it without demur. At times his patience was to be sorely tried, but he never lost it. .

To be strictly fair, the attitude of the British Government and of the Foreign Office was more cautious than unfriendly. In those early months there was a strong tendency to leave the settlement of all European problems until the end of the war. The Peace Treaties after the first world war had been marred by haste. The mistake must not be repeated. In the Foreign Office there was therefore great reluctance to raise the question of the future frontiers of Czechoslovakia at this stage. A much greater encumbrance to the advancement of Czechoslovak claims was France—and the British attitude towards France. The British Government, already aware of certain weaknesses in the French body politic, regarded the Franco-British alliance as the corner-stone of victory. In their minds and in their consideration of all problems France's interests came first. Everything must be done to strengthen her, to satisfy her needs, and to keep her in the war at all costs. And the French Government, which had great obligations towards the Czechoslovaks, was not only hostile to Dr. Beneš but was actively supporting his Czechoslovak opponents. Without going so far as their French allies, the British Government were not prepared * at this stage to offend the Daladier Government by pursuing a too friendly policy towards Dr. Beneš. Mark time and keep Dr. Beneš quiet were the orders of the day.

As the result of this state of affairs Paris became the political centre of the Czechoslovak exiles. Eager to associate itself with the war effort of France and Britain, the small but efficient Czechoslovak army was training in France. Moreover, several of the leading Czechoslovak political leaders, notably Monsignor Šrámek and Dr. Ripka, had made Paris their headquarters. At this stage the participation of the Czechoslovak exiles in the war depended on the goodwill of the French Government, and from this Government the exiles required some form of treaty or agreement which would legalise their military and political status.

* In our diplomatic usage the British Government are always in the plural; all other governments are in the singular

The negotiations for this agreement were stormy and difficult. The official link with the French Government was M. Osusky, the Czechoslovak minister in Paris. No friend of Dr. Beneš, M. Osusky, supported by the French Government, was seeking to create some form of political organisation which would leave the main control of the Czechoslovak action abroad in his own hands. The situation in Paris was therefore highly unfavourable to Dr. Beneš who, by remaining in London, ran some risk of being ousted altogether from the leadership. Unwillingly but resolutely he determined to go to Paris himself and arrived there on 6 October 1939.

In one sense the visit was a failure. M. Daladier refused to see Dr. Beneš; perhaps because, as Georges Mandel said at the time, he had not the courage to look the Czechoslovak President in the face. For Dr. Beneš it was a humiliation which he felt deeply. In his war memoirs, published in Prague in November 1947, he wrote: "Already during my Paris visit—a month after the beginning of the war—I formed a very bad impression of the state of affairs in France. I did not conceal my views from my friends and after a fortnight's stay in Paris I returned, suddenly and without any farewells, to London. I made up my mind that it would be impossible for me to return to Paris during the war, and that for the war itself I must rely above all on the British Empire and the United States and continue to believe that later the Soviet Union would fight on our side."

The Paris visit, however, was not entirely barren of results. Dr. Beneš of course desired a provisional government. The most that the French Government would accord was a National Committee. During his stay in Paris Dr. Beneš was able to formulate the principles which should guide the Committee and to ensure that the majority of its members were his friends. The National Committee was recognised by the French Government on 17 November; the recognition of the British Foreign Office followed on 20 December.

On his return to London Dr. Beneš, while working closely with the National Committee in Paris, began with great energy to strengthen his own personal organisation in England and to develop his secret communications with the Czechoslovak underground in his own country. Thanks to British technical aid these communications were working with remarkable speed and smoothness. He was greatly assisted in his task by the escape from Czechoslovakia of politicians and officials devoted to himself, most of whom came to London. He was still tired and forced to rest in the afternoons, but his optimism, at once his strongest and his weakest quality,

had returned and with it had come the gradual restoration of his health. The little villa in Putney, converted by the artistic hand of Madame Beneš into a miniature Czech house in which every room was a reminder of their homeland, had become a centre of humming political activity. His old English friends gathered round him, and there was a special welcome for the stimulating Wickham Steed and the ever-faithful Seton-Watson. We continued to call him the President. To all of us it was clear that he alone among the Czechoslovak exiles possessed the qualities of leadership which could create a unified Czechoslovak nation capable of giving aid to the war effort and of directing and stimulating the resistance movement in Czechoslovakia.

He himself was now happier, but he was far from satisfied. He would not be content until he had won full recognition for a Czechoslovak Government in exile, with himself as President. He had now reconciled himself to the inevitability of gradualness. His next objective was British recognition for a provisional government. It was to be pursued with dogged persistence.

3

The first six months of 1940 were a testing period for Dr. Beneš's nerves. He had made progress and had gone some way towards allaying Foreign Office suspicions of his alleged craftiness. A statesman, who prepared his every step well in advance, he chafed under the irritation of delay: and British policy, still mainly concerned with Anglo-French co-operation, was reluctant to grant further concessions to the Czechoslovak exiles. Dr. Beneš, whose plans for a provisional government had long been perfected, now wanted not only official recognition but also a loan from the British Government. Hitherto the exiles had been existing on the comparatively small sum raised for them by American citizens of Czech and Slovak origin. Inevitably, too, the "go slow" policy of the Foreign Office played into the hands of Dr. Beneš's Czech and Slovak opponents who, though few in number, were active in their propaganda and unscrupulous in their methods.

In order to gain time the Foreign Office instructed me to inform Dr. Beneš that, before a provisional government could be recognised, he must ensure national unity among the exiles. In plain words this meant a reconciliation between Dr. Beneš and Dr. Hodža, who was now spending his time travelling between London and Paris. It fell to my lot to negotiate an understanding between the two men. It was an irksome and tedious task. I had known Milan

Hodža for many years and had always liked him. He had been Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia during the difficult Munich period and had made a favourable impression on many British politicians, including Lord Runciman. But he had never enjoyed the confidence of President Masaryk and Dr Beneš. His own mistrust of Dr. Beneš was of long standing. It is of little profit to write ill of the dead, but it must be said that in exile Dr. Hodža was neither morally nor physically the man he had been. Doubtless, the events of Munich had shaken him profoundly. He was obsessed by his suspicions of Dr. Beneš and was incapable of taking any permanent decision. I spent many weary hours and weeks in fruitless negotiation with him. In his eagerness to obtain recognition for a provisional government Dr. Beneš made generous concessions both in writing and by word of mouth. Dr. Hodža would agree to a reconciliation in the afternoon and would wriggle out of it the next morning. In the end a sketchy and impermanent compromise was achieved. It would certainly not have satisfied the Foreign Office in its initial mood.

The march of greater events, however, forced the issue. The failure of the Allies in Norway caused the resignation of Mr. Chamberlain as Prime Minister, and with the advent to power of Mr. Winston Churchill the official attitude towards the Czechoslovak exiles changed radically. Recognition was accorded to a Provisional Government with Dr. Beneš as provisional President on 23 July, and on the same evening the B.B.C. played the Czech and Slovak national anthems for the first time. I was appointed British representative to the new Government.

Recognition gave new hope to the exiles. Dr. Beneš was pleased but not satisfied, and after a mildly emotional expression of gratitude he began at once to make his preparations for his next advance: full recognition of a Czechoslovak Government, which would represent the juridical continuity of the Czechoslovak state from August 1938, and the annulment of the years after Munich. His views were clearly expressed in the first paragraph of a memorandum which he handed to me:

“Legally our state has never ceased to exist. No Czechoslovak either from an internal or an international point of view can renounce this principle of continuity. All that happened after 19 September 1938 took place illegally and unconstitutionally and was forced on us by threats, terror and violence.”

During the late summer and autumn of 1940, when Britain's existence was at stake, the war occupied Mr. Churchill's whole

attention, and before he could make further progress Dr. Beneš had to wait until Mr. Eden was appointed Foreign Secretary in December 1940. The interval was not passed in idleness. The indefatigable provisional President, now fully restored to health, spent his time profitably in establishing order and unity among the exiles, in building up a diplomatic organisation all over the world, in renewing relations with the other Allied Governments, in strengthening his communications with the underground movement in Czechoslovakia, and in arranging the finances of his new Government. On the whole he was remarkably successful. He received an ample loan from the British Treasury. He brought back Jan Masaryk from the United States to be his Foreign Minister. He established a State Council which functioned as a kind of provisional Parliament.

He also had troubles. The Czechoslovak Communists in England—and there were some both in the army and among the political exiles—were then opposed to the war and, supported by the *Daily Worker*, they attacked Dr. Beneš violently as a lackey of the imperialists. At the same time Gottwald, Kopecky, Nejedly and other Czechoslovak Communists in Moscow were making even more dangerous attacks against him.

Dr. Beneš was not unduly worried. His personal stock was rising, and when Mr. Eden came back to the Foreign Office on 22 December 1940, the President's hopes soared. Nor were they misplaced. From the first Mr. Eden was sympathetic to the Czechoslovak cause and soon put Anglo-Czechoslovak relations on a much happier basis than heretofore. My own work was made easy. Dr. Beneš and Jan Masaryk were delighted. Unfortunately, just when all seemed set for full recognition, Mr. Eden was sent on a mission to the Middle East which kept him away from the Foreign Office for nearly two months.

To Dr. Beneš this delay was most irksome, and I made many visits to his house in order to assure him that all would be well. He had left his Putney villa in the previous autumn. When the German raids on Britain began, his compatriots were anxious about his personal safety, and through the kind offices of Mr. Anthony de Rothschild I was able to find a charming country house for him at Aston Abbots near Aylesbury. Within a few days of his leaving London the shelter at his Putney home was shattered by a bomb.

At Aston Abbots Dr. Beneš had a large and comfortable study in which he was able to surround himself with books and with his personal treasures, including Panuška's painting of the Bohemian

countryside near Asch where in 1915 the President as a young man had slipped through the Austrian frontier guards to carry on from Paris the struggle for the first liberation. Now in his second exile he enjoyed the peace and restfulness of an English country home. But during those early months of 1941 he was more difficult and more depressed than I had ever found him. His negotiations with General Sikorski for a Polish-Czechoslovak confederation were going badly, and General Sikorski, the most pro-Czech of the Polish leaders, had shown little inclination to compromise on delicate questions like the future of Teschen. Dr. Beneš felt—perhaps not without reason—that as the provisional head of a provisional government he was at a disadvantage in his dealings with the Polish Prime Minister. He could not understand the slowness of the Foreign Office, and I had some difficulty in restraining him from making a direct appeal to Mr. Churchill over the absent Mr. Eden's head. As a compromise I suggested that he should invite Mr. Churchill to visit the Czechoslovak army.

More delay followed, and even the good-natured Jan Masaryk became explosive and asked bitterly if the Czech airmen who had fallen in the air battles for Britain were provisionally dead. The German successes in the Balkans had put a strain on optimism.

Just when the President's patience was nearly exhausted, providence intervened in his favour. On Wednesday, 16 April, I received a message from 10 Downing Street saying that Mr. Churchill proposed to visit the Czechoslovak army on Saturday. He came. He was gracious. He remained for several hours and had a long talk with Dr. Beneš. He was deeply moved by the singing of the Czechoslovak soldiers who, in anticipation of his visit, had been trained for weeks past to sing "Rule, Britannia" in English. That night he added a characteristic minute to the short memorandum which Dr. Beneš had handed to him: "Why are these people not recognised? They have deserved it." The minute was addressed to the Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Eden, who had recently returned from the Middle East, at once gave instructions for the necessary steps to be taken for full recognition.

I went the next day to Aston Abbots to see Dr. Beneš. It was a beautiful spring morning such as only England knows, and the garden at Aston Abbots was a riot of daffodils and primroses. I was met by a figure dressed in the lightest of grey flannel trousers, brown and white shoes, and a smartly cut double-breasted blue serge coat with a carnation in the button-hole. This exotic personage was Dr. Beneš: the unwonted gaiety of his apparel reflected the

happiness in his heart. He talked to me ecstatically about Mr. Churchill's virtues, his qualities of leadership, his prescience, his understanding of history, and his grasp of first principles. "At last," he said to me with more emotion than I had thought him capable of, "I have met an Englishman who understands the fundamentals of this war and what it means to Europe."

Full recognition of a legally constituted Czechoslovak Government and of Dr. Beneš as President was accorded on 18 July 1941. The delay was vexatious, but the legal difficulties, for which Dr. Beneš never made proper allowance, were most complicated. It was unfortunate, too, that recognition was forestalled by a few hours by the Soviet Union which, now involved in the war, lost no time in making a complete *volte face* and in according full recognition to the Beneš Government which for months it had cold-shouldered.

The Czechoslovaks, however, were profoundly grateful, and Dr. Beneš was triumphant. He had now smoothed out all his difficulties with the British Government. True, there remained the troublesome problem of the annulment of Munich. This could be achieved only by the consent of the House of Commons. For once he was content to wait. Relieved of his worst anxieties and more confident than ever of victory, he was now free to prepare the way for his return to Czechoslovakia.

4

With the other Allied Governments following Britain's and the Soviet Union's lead in according full recognition to the Czechoslovak Government President Beneš was now eager to solve his two most difficult problems: the internal structure of the post-war Czechoslovak Republic and the necessary guarantees for its external security. Unlike the British Government he was determined to have everything cut and dried *before* the end of the war.

From the first he had foreseen that the war would be followed by great social upheavals and that his own country could not hope to escape them. One of the consequences of Munich had been an increase of the strength of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia. Until June 1941, the Czech Communists, obedient to the directives of Moscow, had been bitterly opposed to the war. Their hopes, like those of the Russian Communists, were based on turning the imperialist war into a civil war in which the German workers would play an active part. They had persistently denounced President Beneš in their pamphlets. Now with the entry of the Soviet Union into the war they made perforce a political somersault, and President

Beneš was bent on taking advantage of it. His plan was to limit the Czechoslovak political parties to four: the Catholics, the National Socialists, the Social-Democrats and the Communists, and from these parties to form a national front which would function as the Government until a general election could be held. As he could not omit the Communists from his calculations, it was probably the wisest, if, indeed, not the only policy which he could adopt.

For the external security of the Republic he was forced by its geographical situation to rely on a post-war understanding and genuine co-operation between the Soviet Union and the Western Powers. Here again, if the Soviet Union emerged victoriously from the war, he had no other choice, and, reliably informed by Colonel Pika, his military representative in Moscow, the President was confident from the first that the Soviet Union would not only repel the German armies, but would also play a decisive part in Germany's defeat.

Inevitably this view complicated his negotiations for Czechoslovak-Polish co-operation after the war. The Polish Government in London did not share Dr. Beneš's belief either in the strength or in the good intentions of the Soviet Union. They hoped and believed that the West would win the war and that the Soviet Union would lose it. Doubtless, the wish was father to the belief, and when in December 1941 the United States entered the war, belief hardened into absolute conviction.

There were other factors which worked against a Polish-Czechoslovak agreement. Certain members of the Polish Government mistrusted Dr. Beneš, who himself had little confidence in the Polish approach towards post-war co-operation. General Sikorski, whom he liked, had asked him to recognise on behalf of Czechoslovakia the Eastern frontiers of Poland; and undoubtedly this request shook the President's faith in the practical nature of Polish policy which he was inclined, perhaps too readily but not entirely unjustly, to dismiss as incurably romantic. Be this as it may, the course of the war forced the President to choose between Poland and the Soviet Union and, wrongly as it turned out but rightly as it seemed at the time, he chose the Soviet Union. His people, indeed, would have tolerated no other choice.

Inevitably this decision created a rift between the Polish and Czechoslovak exiles, and it is still the subject of bitter recriminations. Historically they are not likely to be of great importance. During the war the smaller Allies were at the mercy of the Great Powers, and the fate of both Poland and Czechoslovakia was sealed from

the moment, soon after the relief of Stalingrad, when the Soviet Union began with ruthless determination to pursue its own policy for winning the peace. Whatever the extenuating circumstances may have been, it is the plain truth that for the second time both Poland and Czechoslovakia were the victims of a policy of appeasement for which on this occasion President Roosevelt and to some extent Mr. Churchill must bear the chief blame.

After full recognition Mr. Philip Nichols, now Sir Philip, was appointed ambassador to the Czechoslovak Government. It was an admirable choice, for both Lady Nichols and he soon won the full confidence of the President and Madame Beneš and, indeed, of the whole Czechoslovak people to whom until their transfer to The Hague in 1947 they were to render invaluable services. I myself was appointed Director-General of the Political Warfare Executive and in this capacity I continued to maintain my close association with the President.

Early in 1942 he expressed to me his intention to visit Russia and asked me privately how the Foreign Office would regard such a visit. I suggested to him that he would do well to go first to Washington. The desire had already been in his mind and he took the necessary steps to carry it out. He did not, however, abandon for one moment his firm intention of visiting Stalin and, as the Polish-Russian imbroglio developed, his impatience increased.

Meanwhile, the year 1942 was to bring him what I think was undoubtedly the happiest moment of his post-Munich career. Never for a moment could he be wholly content until the wrong which had been done to his country at Munich had been righted. The matter had cropped up in nearly all his conversations with Mr. Eden and Mr. Nichols. It had been the subject of a long exchange of memoranda between the Foreign Office and the President's Chancellery, and in the end Mr. Eden found a formula which would enable the House of Commons to annul an agreement which it had previously approved.

On 5 August Mr. Eden announced to a small but enthusiastic House that, as the Germans had not observed the terms of the Munich Agreement, His Majesty's Government were no longer bound by it. There was no dissentient voice. That evening in a broadcast to the Czechoslovak people Jan Masaryk paid a warm tribute to Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, and for once an unemotional President was expansive in the expression of his gratitude. Perhaps the most curious consequence of the Munich policy was the approval given by the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and the

Soviet Union to the removal of the Sudeten German population from the territories of the Czechoslovak Republic'

By the spring of 1943 the way was clear for the President's American visit and on 6 May he set out by aeroplane for Washington. Before he left England, he had already discussed at great length with M. Bogomolov, the Soviet Minister, the programme for his visit to Moscow and the details of the treaty of alliance which he wished to sign with the Soviet Union on his arrival in the Soviet capital.

In Washington all went smoothly. Dr. Beneš dined at the White House and in a conversation which lasted until two in the morning indulged with President Roosevelt in one of those political tours round the world in which both men delighted. Every conceivable question was discussed. In advance Dr. Beneš obtained Mr. Roosevelt's blessing on the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans and elicited from him the valuable information that in the Polish-Russian dispute, now entering its tense stage, the Government of the United States would support a rectification of Poland's Eastern frontiers in favour of the Soviet Union. According to the record of conversation which Dr. Beneš sent to his Government at the time, President Roosevelt also expressed the view that the Soviet Union was to be trusted and would continue its loyal co-operation after the war. He also approved of Dr. Beneš's proposed treaty with that Union. After a short visit to Ottawa, where he was received by Mr. Mackenzie King, President Beneš returned to England thoroughly satisfied with his visit and more than ever determined to round off his successes by a visit to Moscow. As a rationalist he preferred tidiness to a policy of "wait and see." Since his arrival in England, he had overcome many obstacles that would have defeated a less optimistic and less buoyant statesman. The Soviet Union was his last hurdle. He was confident that he could clear it.

5

It was President Beneš's intention to visit the Soviet Union as soon as possible after his return from the United States and certainly not later than the summer of 1943. Difficulties, however, arose with the British Foreign Office which he had always kept informed of his plans. In principle the Foreign Office was not opposed to the visit but, fearing lest it might embarrass and, indeed, isolate the Poles, wished it to be deferred until the Polish-Russian question had been settled. Dr. Beneš disliked this delay, but submitted to the desire of Whitehall. As summer advanced to autumn, he

became increasingly restless. What he had foreseen had, in fact, happened. Polish-Russian differences had not been composed ; they had become more acute, and the Foreign Office still favoured postponement of the President's visit. After his return from the Moscow Conference (19 October–1 November 1943) at which the proposed Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty was discussed, Mr. Eden waived his objections, and early in December the President left for Moscow.

As this visit was strongly criticised at the time and is to-day regarded by many as the cause of his ultimate failure, I must crystallise my impressions of the motives which influenced his mind. I did not see him when he left, for I was then in hospital, but during the summer I had discussed the problem with him on many occasions and at great length. Undoubtedly, fear was his main motive, but it was not the same fear that disturbed the mind of the British Government. From the first moment he had foreseen and prophesied the successes of the Red Army. He was not afraid of a separate peace between Germany and the Soviet Union. What perturbed his mind was the fear lest the war should be over before the Anglo-American forces had landed in Western Europe. He was an ardent "Second Fronter" because he hoped that the Anglo-American armies, together with or even without the Soviet forces, would liberate Czechoslovakia. It is quite untrue that, irritated by Munich, he had pinned his faith to the Soviet Union. He had always been a Westerner, and a Westerner he remained. It is true that he saw in the Soviet Union the best military guarantee for his country against Germany. But, as he himself said to me so often, his policy was not West *or* East but West *and* East. Necessity forced him to believe in the good faith of the Soviet Union and in the loyal post-war co-operation of the three Great Powers among the Allies, and whenever a certain course seemed clearly indicated he always possessed the happy knack of tempering necessity with optimism. If in respect of the good faith of the Soviet Union he was over-confident, his optimism was shared by President Roosevelt and at that time, if perhaps in a lesser degree, by Mr. Churchill. He had always felt that, whatever solution might be found to the Polish-Soviet problem, the Polish Government in London was doomed. He had no wish to find himself in the same position. Hence his urge to settle his affairs with Moscow.

From the Soviet Communists he wanted three concessions :
(1) a treaty of alliance which would insure his country against

German aggression ; (2) a guarantee of non-interference in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia ; and (3) the agreement of the Soviet Union to the return of the Sudeten Germans to the German Reich. He obtained all three with alarming facility. On 12 December 1943, the day after his arrival in Moscow, the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty was signed in the presence of Stalin and himself. The Soviet Communists made much of him. They agreed at once to the removal of the Sudeten Germans from the confines of the Czechoslovak Republic. As regards the political independence of the Republic the assurances were emphatic. The President had several conversations with Stalin and Molotov. In his own words, "there was not a single occasion on which our partners did not emphasise, whenever the question arose, that our internal affairs did not concern them and that they would not interfere in them." Numerous festivities were offered to him including an official banquet at the Kremlin. Stalin, of course, was present, and with him were the high military and civil officials of the Soviet Union and the members of the Politburo.

There were other guests at the banquet who were more critical of the President than the Soviet leaders appeared to be. They included Klement Gottwald, Professor Nejedlý, and Zdeněk Fierlinger, the Czechoslovak Minister to the Soviet Union. Immediately after Russia's entry into the war the President had sent M. Fierlinger back to Moscow. In making this appointment he had acted against the advice of Jan Masaryk who had long mistrusted M. Fierlinger. Subsequent events were to prove that on this occasion Masaryk's judgment was right. M. Gottwald was the leader of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Professor Nejedlý was his colleague, and with the Czechoslovak Communists in Moscow the President had a difficult negotiation to complete. These Czech Communists in Moscow were a formidable group which included among others Václav Kopecký, to-day the Czechoslovak Minister of Information, and the redoubtable Rudolf Slánský, the Secretary-General of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

With these Communist compatriots the President had four long sessions during his Moscow visit. They did not proceed as smoothly as his meetings with the Soviet Communists. M. Gottwald, it is true, accepted the principle of a National Front composed of four political Parties as the first post-liberation Government of the Republic. He also agreed to the President's proposal that a general election must be held within six months of the end of the war. But there were other questions on which "the unanimity of our views

[I quote again the President's own words] was neither easy nor complete." The Communists were eager to know whether the Czechoslovak Government in London had undertaken any commitments to the British Government and, more particularly, to the Czechoslovaks at home. The President did not fully succeed in satisfying their curiosity. M. Gottwald also made a strong criticism of the President's policy at the time of the Munich negotiations. In the view of the Communists the President should have gone to war at all costs. Moreover, in the name of his colleagues, M. Gottwald rejected the President's suggestion that the Moscow Communists should immediately enter the Czechoslovak Government in London. The refusal, it is true, was not absolute. The Communists stipulated that, if they were to consider the President's proposal favourably, the London Government would have to be totally recast.

In the light of subsequent events the President's conversations with the Czech Communists are of great importance. When he left Moscow after a stay of two weeks, M. Fierlinger accompanied him to Teheran. He told the President that the Moscow Communists considered that the conference had run smoothly and had achieved results which they themselves had not expected.

In his memoirs the President ends the chapter on his Moscow visit with the words: "I was even then full of hope that our movement would escape the fate which next year overtook the Poles and the Yugoslavs."

Without a shadow of doubt the President was well satisfied with his Moscow visit. He had broken—at least partly—the wall which existed between the Soviet system and the Western world. It was a test case. If the Soviet Union kept faith, he had achieved a remarkable success. His whole policy was based on an understanding between the Anglo-Americans and the Russians. Without it there was no hope for Czechoslovak democracy or even for an independent Czechoslovakia. He had always wanted a European settlement *before* the war was ended, that is, while the Anglo-American forces were at their maximum strength. Otherwise, he was sure that the Soviet Communists would pursue an evasive and delaying policy until they had occupied all the strategic vantage points in Europe. He regarded his treaty with the Soviet Union as an essential step towards a European settlement and he saw no sense in the attempts to persuade him to postpone his Moscow visit. Even to-day reason seems to be on his side. If he had not gone to Moscow, he would have remained in England to break his

heart in exile. Above all, he longed passionately to return to Czechoslovakia where he was confident that, with the backing of the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain, he could restore order and refashion the Republic to his own design. And let it be said that, although he had no sympathy with Communism, he was from the first prepared to carry out wide measures of social reform which would make Czechoslovakia a half-way house between East and West. If, therefore, he had some secret misgivings about his own Communists, he had no doubts whatever about the political necessity and timeliness of his visit to the Soviet capital.

On the surface and, indeed, from every point of view his achievement had been eminent. He had come to England in October 1938, to all appearances a ruined man. His country had ceased to exist and, in the considered judgment of many of his compatriots, was unlikely to regain its independence for many years. He had predicted war within a year, and within a year war had come. By will-power, persistence, patience, great political insight, and, not least, exemplary courage in adversity, he had overcome the suspicions and prejudices of British and American politicians who, almost against their will, had been forced to admit his outstanding merits. They had accepted nearly all his suggestions. Now he seemed to have won similar backing from the incalculable politicians of the Kremlin. With unflinching optimism he had adopted in 1939 the code name of Navratil for his secret communications with the underground movement in Czechoslovakia. M. Navratil means Mr. Come-back. At the beginning of 1944 his feet were already firmly planted on the road home.

Nevertheless, on his return to England he had to face considerable criticism. Conservative circles both in Britain and in the United States disliked the treaty. Many of the Polish exiles, regarding it as disastrous to their own chances of a favourable settlement with Moscow, were deeply offended. In their propaganda the Germans attacked him as an agent of the Bolsheviks.

During the first quarter of 1944 the President spent much of his time in trying to counter this criticism and to allay the fears of his opponents. He was only partly successful. The truth is that factors beyond his control were responsible for Anglo-American opposition to the treaty. While the issue of the war hung in the balance, the Soviet Union had kept more or less in political step with its Anglo-American partners, but, as soon as they realised that all danger of defeat was removed, Soviet leaders began to

pursue an independent policy. Inevitably this meant that, while the three great Allies were co-operating in the task of achieving total victory against Germany, the Soviet Union was working against the United States and Britain in a resolute attempt to secure for itself the fruits of peace. Inevitably, suspicion of its motives increased progressively in the United States and Britain, especially in the highest political circles. By the bulk of the British people, however, President Beneš's policy was approved.

The June landings in Normandy gave him fresh confidence. Their initial success led him to hope and believe that the Anglo-American forces would reach Czechoslovakia as soon as or sooner than the Russians. He now assumed that, even if the Soviet forces penetrated into Slovakia and Moravia, Anglo-American armies would occupy Bohemia including Prague. The German offensive in the Ardennes was a bitter disappointment to him, and early in 1945 he was faced with a cruel choice. The Soviet forces were already in Slovakia. If he did not return at once to his country he ran the risk—to-day one can say the certainty—of losing everything. If he went back, he would have to go *via* Moscow. Still hoping that the American armies would liberate Prague, he chose the Moscow road. It was to prove a hard road—just how hard he soon realised when the Soviet authorities refused to allow Sir Philip Nichols, the British ambassador, to accompany him or even to follow him.

On 17 February 1945 I went to Aston Abbots to say good-bye, and lunched alone with him and Madame Beneš. The house was already being dismantled, and the atmosphere was heavy with the melancholy of departure. Madame Beneš was emotional. She had been happy at Aston Abbots and paid a moving tribute to the kindness and understanding of the English people. The President was for him strangely silent. I could see that, although glad to be going home, he was beset with cares and anxieties. He gave full expression to them in the long talk which I had with him alone after luncheon. His concern was fixed on one storm-centre: the growing rift between East and West. If it became an impassable gulf, his country and his own policy would be ruined. In careful detail he emphasised once more the vital importance of an understanding between Great Britain and the Soviet Union and expressed his belief that such an understanding was still possible. We must, he said, speak firmly, honestly and, above all, privately to the Soviet Communists. That was the only language they understood and welcomed. What aroused their suspicions was flattery from

the British and American political leaders and criticism in the Anglo-American Press. He still clung firmly to the one hope which could safeguard the peaceful future of a democratic Czechoslovakia. But the old optimism had diminished.

When I was leaving, he came out with me to the front door. His face looked drawn, and there was little of the joy of return in his eyes. "You understand that I may have difficulties," he said quietly. He paused and then continued firmly: "But I shall settle them." A week later he took the *via dolorosa* to Moscow and Slovakia. His second and last exile was over.

R. H. BRUCE LOCKHART.

JULJUSZ SŁOWACKI

1809-1849

IN his third volume of poetry, printed in Paris in 1833, Słowacki published, besides several lyrics and *Lambro*, a story in verse, a singular poetical composition entitled *Godzina Myśli* (*An Hour of Thought*). Apparently a brief romance, it is in reality a poetical evocation of those aspects of his childhood and adolescence which contributed to a greater extent in the formation of his character and work. Saddened and disillusioned by the cold and partly hostile reception of his first two volumes of poetry, he reveals in it the motives for his deep melancholy and lack of faith; he outlines, with singular introspective perspicacity, the origin of his poetry, and he fixes its essential lines almost prophetically. Słowacki said with reference to his own childhood—"He gave winged thoughts to his inspirations, and with so much happening in his thoughts he lived in a seventh heaven. He reclothed his dreams in magic raiment: then with a strong will he projected them ahead, so that they rose straight up before him, and he saw in front of him images from which he detached himself by cold reasoning." He fled with a romantically tender sensibility from concrete reality; if he grasped reality it was only by chance, and he looked only for its most evanescent aspects: "annoyed by the confused, multiple perfumes of flowers, he discovered the perfume of sorrow—savage and fleeting: it was the perfume of water swept by the willows and which, arising every night from the silent wave, spread a mysterious freshness in the air."

The future poet and his young friend became enthusiasts of Swedenborg's writings, and from adolescence he intuitively perceived the bonds between animate and inanimate nature—"The soul created by the Divine spark is in flowers the essence of their perfume and the substance of their colouring, while in men it is their thoughts and in Angels it becomes light"—and between the past, present and future ("The youthful memory of both, an immense memory made up of thoughts entwined by chains, bore witness to the pre-existence of the spirit"). On this double unit will later rest, not only one of the principal characteristics of his poetry, in which not seldom everything appears suffused by a single colour, but also, in the mystic period, the great structure of his conception of life and the World. Thus in *An Hour of Thought* the limits between

concrete and abstract, past and future, disappear ; memories become fore-warnings, and so much characterise the temperament of the young dreamer as to become the substance of his future art.

Now, in 1833, Słowacki was only twenty-four years old ; in his poetry imagination ruled supreme ; to this, with fantastic facility, the word, the rhythm and the rhyme were added. However, more than from experience of life, his imagination was nourished from literary sources, and the result is more artifice than art. In the poetical stories of his first volume of *Poems*, published together with the second volume in 1832, the reminiscences of Byron and the two Polish poets, Mickiewicz and Malczeski, who were ahead of him in affirming romanticism in Poland, were so numerous and so open that, without being too severe with the young poet, we may call these first works of his a succession of variations on the theme and motives of others, even if they were full of suggestive virtuosity. Independence of literary sources was greater in the two dramas which make up the second volume ; specially in *Mary Stuart*, in which it is to be noted that besides the indisputable drama of the action and dialogue there is also expert characterisation of some of the actors. However, both his dramas and poetic stories lacked finish, except for the poet's too facile and too fluent discursive vein ; nor did he employ those more substantial artistic qualities which *An Hour of Thought* was to reveal a little later. In his heart Słowacki was aware of all this. So much is true since, although he hoped his first works would be successful, he was not at all surprised when he knew that Mickiewicz had judged his poetry to be like " a beautiful temple without a God."

Not only God, but also the Fatherland was absent from the youthful works of Słowacki ; and in the eyes of the Polish émigrés living in Paris after the sad failure of the insurrection of 1831 this second absence was even more serious than the lack of a real religious faith. Słowacki at once made reparation, and in the poem *Lambro* he confronted the patriotic problem, shading it under the transparent veil of the fight of the Greeks for liberty. According to him defeat in 1831 was due to the insufficient spirit of sacrifice of the Poles. Many of them had preferred the road to exile to that flame of vengeance which destroys all. What remained to be done was to preserve the spirit from dissolving further, and to pass it on pure to future generations so that they could redeem the fault.

Blameworthy himself among the others, Słowacki realised his heroic conception of life in his poetry. The discord was serious and it filled him with sadness, with scepticism, and with a continual

restlessness which he himself defines as "the restlessness of swallows." It was several years before he could see his own and his country's problems in the perspective of the much vaster problem of the Cosmos, and succeeded in finding peace and that superior harmony of which he had caught a glimpse in *An Hour of Thought*. For the moment his own dissatisfaction, and, still more, rivalry in the field of thought and poetry with Mickiewicz, encouraged him to continue to persist along his chosen road. His new work, the drama *Kordjan*, was in fact a renewal of the themes alluded to in *Lambro*, but with much greater ideological and artistic obligations. On an ample background, on which are placed in relief the defects of the leaders and the apathy of the masses, is outlined the moral state of Poland at the dawn of the 19th century,—the victim of "mal du siècle" which paralyses both her will and also that of young Kordjan who, having tried in vain to escape from his own boredom, at last wishes to redeem himself and his contemporaries by an act of great heroism and sacrifice—an attempt against the Czar—but at the last moment withdraws, dismayed by bravery which surpasses his moral forces. The avenger becomes the victim—of his own time and his own temperament. Of the unrealised gesture there remains nothing but the inflamed word, the memory and the expiation.

Thus the new drama dissolved in shipwreck; but it was a shipwreck which confirmed again the absolute sincerity of Słowacki in the circles of poetry. This sincerity, moving even in its grandiloquence, together with a few scenes of great dramatic power, redeems the defects in clearness, in interior coherence and also in the structure of this drama of purely Shakespearean type.

In art and in life Słowacki appeared condemned to isolation and solitude. His flight from Paris and retirement within the intimacies of a Geneva boarding-house had been a warning of this. His nervous and eclectic search for a contact with the public that would satisfy his greatest literary ambitions was its most disconcerting symptom. Thus was formed *Mazeppa*, a drama of a worldly type. This, however, left him dissatisfied and he destroyed it, to take it up again a few years later. There came next the fable-like drama *Balladyna*, in which, leaving free play to fantasy, he proposed to re-create the mythical past of Poland, but which instead resolved itself into a kind of exaltation of the fatal irrationality of every human destiny; and also the drama *Horsztyński*, in which the theme of Hamlet is reproduced in a Polish setting.

Shakespeare's influence was evident in all these attempts ; often, however, combined with a certain sympathy for the technicalities of French romantic drama. But apart from a few scenes of *Baladyna* which are full of delicate poetry, these works do not show any effective progress compared with his preceding ones. Rather than realisations they are essays, searchings for new ways and more suitable means of reaching them.

Yet the way best conforming to the character and poetical talent of Słowacki had already been indicated in *An Hour of Thought* : the sublimation of reality in dreamed visions, in which the contrasts that made the mind of the poet so restless were composed in a higher unit of thought and poetry.

An attainment of this goal, within the limits of poetic style, is represented by the idyll *In Switzerland* ; conversely, in the great religious and patriotic parable *Anielli*, it is fulfilled in the harmonious fusion of poetry and thought. The idyll is the description, written several years afterwards, and therefore shrouded in a veil of sweet memory, of an excursion made from Geneva to the waterfalls at Aar. On this excursion Słowacki had for companion, as well as other compatriots, the Maria Wodzinska who later played such a great part in the life of Frederick Chopin. The poet's falling in love with Maria, against the background of the Swiss countryside, forms the subject of *In Switzerland*. In it words seem to have been transferred to a sphere of the lightest colours and of melodious musical recitation ; in it the countryside is lived over again as in a dream, which makes it almost immaterial ; the narrative of love assumes those tones proper to the 12th century *dolce stil nuovo*. For example, here is the scene in front of the famous William Tell Chapel :

Under a rocky wall and a garland of pines,
Stands in silence full of colours,
The Chapel of William Tell. On the wave is a sand-bank
Where for the first time we confessed with our lips
That for long we had loved each other with our hearts.
On the water, close by the bank, there are shadows
Of the pines which wave in the heavens,
And of the shade thrown by the rocks where, talking,
We held our glances fixed on the water.
Under this bank so rapidly
Ran the water, capricious and fickle,
That it finished by taking to itself our images
And drawing near joined together their hands,

Although words only linked us.
 Alas! the wave, gone mad and thoughtless,
 Joined together even our lips,
 While we were linked only in our hearts.
 And so full was the wave of movement and reflections
 That, enfolding us in a single ray of light,
 It pressed us one on the other, as angel on angel.

During the time passed between the actual excursion and its poetical transfiguration, Słowacki had left Switzerland, had stayed for some months at Rome and Naples, had carried out a long voyage to Greece, Egypt, Palestine and Syria, and on his return had again stopped in Italy, at Florence, where he passed more than a year before definitely returning to France, at the end of 1838. It is difficult to state exactly whether, and up to what point, his stay in Italy may have influenced his art. His contact with the countryside and its ancient and Italian culture was somewhat superficial; the Roman monuments left him rather indifferent; of the art of the Renaissance only painting (he himself delighted in painting) aroused a productive echo in his mind; of Italian literature, only Dante had a real influence on his poetry. However, this was rather of secondary importance in the face of the much greater influence, because exercised by more congenial poets—of Byron in his youthful period (and not only then) and of Calderon in his mystic period. It was for Słowacki more a question of his capacity for assimilating the art of Dante, of repeated attempts, for the most part of failures, at approaching it and adapting it to his own poetic character. If it is not an exaggeration to say that the spirit of Dante hovers over the brief composition *The Father of the Plague-stricken* (in which an Arab recounts the sad story of his quarantine at El-Arish, while the plague steals from him, one after the other, his wife and seven children), it is also not just to attribute to Dante the classical perfection of this poem, nor the hieratical atmosphere in which it is wrapped—something that is rather the reflection of an oriental country.

Dante and the Orient; the Holy Scriptures and the biblical style used by Mickiewicz in his *Books of the Nation and of the Polish Pilgrims*; the personal and national problems and the religious sublimation of the one to the other—these are the elements needed for the analysing of his principal work of this period, e.g. *Anielli*, even though in this work he may not have fully attained that harmony for which he had been searching so long. The whiteness of the Siberian snows spreads over each chapter of this parable in

which is related the fate of exiles, stricken through their own faults and those of others ; in which the Shaman, a new Virgil, chooses the most pure, young Anhelli, leaving to him, by limitless expiation, the task of foreseeing the dawn of future redemption. That sacrifice, made in absolute purity of heart, will redeem the faults of the generation contemporary with the poet ; who with this work, under the veil of a fantastic narrative done in the style of biblical verses, wished to represent the past, present and future destinies of Poland.

New experiences of life and art, the growing certainty of having a great mission to fulfil and of being able to realise it by means of his poetry, put the sadness of his mind to flight at least for a short time, and changed the dreamer into a fencing-master. The drama *Lilla Weneda* belongs to the period of transition between this new attitude and the uncertainties of the past ; it portrays the genesis of the Polish nation (but with clear references to the present) and resumes, continuing it, the theme of *Balladyna*. This drama, in which Słowacki, going back to its origin, insists on the duplicity of the Polish soul, angelic and rude at the same time, is distinguished by the striking quality of the contrasts in which such duplicity is made an outward show, by the sublime nobility of the protagonist, a female incarnation of Anhelli, and by the great richness of the images, sustained by a suggestion of stylistic tension. Nevertheless, it cannot be considered Słowacki's masterpiece, as some authoritative Polish critics would wish, because of the too many unrelated elements which are mixed up in it. Here, in contrast with *Lilla Weneda*, in which his wavering is still evident, Słowacki appears more sure of himself, whether in *The Tomb of Agamemnon*, published in an appendix to the drama itself, where with vehement impetuosity he sets himself up as an infallible judge of the Polish past, or in the final exhortation of *My Testament*, " I entreat the living not to lose hope . . . even when it is necessary to go to death one after the other, like the stones thrown by God into the trench."

But it is only in *Beniowski* that the battle-cry of the poet breaks out in full. The plot of the poem is a pretext (modelled in fact on *Don Juan* and *The Pilgrimage of Childe-Harold*, but also, and especially for the formal part—the eighth rhyme used with great skill—on *Orlando Furioso*): what counts are the episodes, digressions, lyrical flights, the constant injection of the personal element, sometimes boldly and sometimes in sorrow. Above all Słowacki boasts his absolute mastery of poetic language :

. . . to verse, in my judgement, I have the right :
 Rhyme bows to me of itself, tenderly ;
 The octave caresses me, the sextain loves me.
 Someone has said that, if words could
 Suddenly change themselves into individuals,
 If the fatherland were discourse and speech,
 My statue would be erected, created by sounds,
 With the inscription : *Patri patriæ*. . . .

What matters to me is that the supple tongue
 Tell all that the mind thinks,
 Be now like the lightning swift and clear,
 Now sad like the song of the steppe,
 Now sweet like the lament of Nymphs !

It was not difficult for a man, for whom poetry was the highest creation of the spirit, to pass from the pedestal of magician-of-words to that of tamer-of-spirits, who in his lighted fantasy would vanquish his adversaries (they were above all those who sought the patronage of Papal Rome and of the aristocracy), concede equality only to Mickiewicz, while seeing a crowd of followers behind him :

I will not go with you along your lying road—
 I will go elsewhere ! And the People will follow me !
 When he wishes to love—I will give him the voice of a swan,
 So that he may sing of his love ;
 When he wishes to enflame—I will stir the fire ;
 I will lead him where God is, into infinity, everywhere ;
 In my name he will shed blood and tears

Nevertheless, almost at the same period in which he was intoxicated with his own select triumphs, he was overcoming emphasis and romantic grandiloquence in order to substitute for it a preference for what is humble, simple and everyday. Not that he had despised this in the preceding years ; even in *Kordjan*, *Balladyna* and *Lilla Weneda* he had always reserved a small place for the good sense and the good heart of the people. Only now, however, in the figure of an old Russian major (in the drama *Fantasy* in which the character is represented under a lightly caricatured form as the poet Krasiński, for many years his great friend), was he able to render homage, full of poetic realism, to modesty.

At this point there came about a decisive happening in his life and art : his meeting with Andrzej Towiański on 12 July 1842. It was the hour of greatest prestige for this strange apostle of exiled

Poland. He had gathered, more by the fascination of his ascendant personality than by his doctrine, a small but very devoted band of followers about him, captained by Mickiewicz. The very next day after this fatal and almost predestined meeting, Słowacki wrote in outline, in an impetuous and ingenious dash, the poem *So Help me, Thou, O Lord!* In it every hint of the doctrine of the master is absent. However, from its disconcerting emphasis on humility and haughtiness it clearly emerges that the words of Towiański had done nothing but unseal, in him and for him, the truth, allowing him to accomplish the great discovery of which he had been for some time the trustee and the herald:

The clear idea of a new faith
 Has arisen in me, in a flash,
 Entire, ready for action and holy.
 Not in vain, therefore, not in vain
 Have I abandoned the couch of mortal sleep. . . .
 Small and miserable am I; but my heart
 Can shelter millions of men,
 And from me they will have the red thunderbolt;
 My happiness shall be a footstool for theirs . . .
 With humility now I fall on my knees
 To arise a powerful servant of God.
 When I shall arise my voice shall be that of the Lord;
 My cry shall be the cry of the whole fatherland;
 My spirit shall be the angel whom nothing resists.
 So help me, Thou Christ, Lord God!

Thus closed for him, now and for ever, the period of that "restlessness of swallows" which he had diagnosed in himself ten years previously, and which from then onwards had been his torment. Not, however, without the secret hope that the possession of the truth would one day turn into a calm and fruitful certainty. Towiański had only been an instrument of the investiture received from above. Słowacki had but to proceed along the designated way, with no reference to Towiański's doctrine (a great difference in this respect between him and Towiański's disciple, Mickiewicz!) in order to construct his own cosmogonic edifice, even if only in the wake of the investiture itself, in which is eliminated every breach between individuals, societies, nations and universe, and where all together, in full liberty of spirit, tend towards the realisation of their ultimate goals.

Considered thus, the meeting between Słowacki and Towiański signifies nothing in the life and art of Słowacki, except the mile-

stone where the ways followed up to then meet, and the departure point of the road which remained to be travelled. In fact the last seven years of his life were all dedicated, with feverish activity, to the realisation in thought and in poetry of his own doctrine. Spiritually they were the richest years of his life, and in spite of uncertainties and deviations he never halted. From the dramas in the style of Calderon (and here we should at least note *Father Marek*, which with all its verbosity and prolixity is the most compact and the richest in spiritual content of all Słowacki's works) to the liberal dramatic compositions (best among these is the ponderous transposition in heaven of the case in favour of the rebel *Samuel Żborowski*); from the beautiful, and not sufficiently appreciated, lyrics to religious philosophical treatises in prose and in verse, and also the great unfinished poem *King-Spirit*, a large part of the production of these years was uncompleted. *King-Spirit* is a continual subjugation of expression to a labour which forces itself to clarify the incessant process of a thought that embraces everything, from primeval rocks to man, and everything revives with the flatus of poetry and of faith, in a portentous pilgrimage towards the pure light of the spirit.

It would be an exaggeration to state that Słowacki had succeeded to the full in this labour, which is in any case too vast for human efforts. Confronted with death, which at an early age approached nearer and nearer, he himself had to recognise his own impotence to finish the work he had undertaken; but he did so with faith that it would not remain uncompleted:

This hymn is left to the centuries
Which have powerful hands and voices;
So that they may complete the song in Heaven with a more robust
voice
Than have I, who terminate here my sorrowful destinies.

The fundamental point of Słowacki's thought is that "all is created by the spirit and for the spirit and that nothing exists for material ends." The history of the spirit begins in the hard rock and finishes in the deification of humanity. To reconstruct the progressive phases of the spirit, which create for themselves the forms most corresponding to their needs, means to remember them, since all of us have passed through these stages while waiting to make further steps.

It is thus that the principal work on the "doctrine of origins"—*The Genesis of the Spirit*—begins with this majestic arrangement:

"Thou hast placed me, O God, on the rocks of the ocean, that I may recall the age-long history of my spirit; and in the past I suddenly felt immortal, a Son of God, a Creator of the visible, and one of those who of my own accord offer Thee love on golden suns and garlands of stars." Here we are present at a singular union between mysticism and the elaborate evolutionary doctrine of the beginning of the century. Progress is inherent in the nature of the spirit and, given the sorrowful labour with which it fulfils itself, it has a character purely revolutionary—in fact Słowacki calls it the "eternal revolutionary." Each halt, each slackening towards laziness, each declining of the sacrifices which progress requires is a sin against the spirit; while every advance of the spirit, "even if it is not free from blemish and imperfection, is noted in the book of life." In this original pilgrimage there are some spirits who precede others, who serve as models to the columns of kindred spirits and help their ascent. These pilot spirits to a certain extent find their most perfect expression among the poets ("the great grave-openers of the words of the spirits—who make suggestions to them and use rhyme and have a great revealing power") and are called King-Spirits. When the spirits reach the historical phase, we follow their progress in the history of humanity. Liberty, love, striving towards perfection, the spirit of sacrifice and solidarity—these are the forces that push humanity along the road to perfection. The solidarity of the spirits carries with it the regrouping of those who have the same fundamental aspirations, and these settle down, in the last analysis, into each separate nation. Each nation has its own King-Spirits who guide it, fix its directing idea, and by the same means act on the whole of humanity.

The great poem *King-Spirit* is the most perfect poetical expression of the stage of genesis which leads us from the dawn of Polish history to its early beginnings. In it Słowacki relives, almost contemplates over again, his own life on earth, all its aberrations, aspirations and realisations, in previous incarnations in the principal figures of the early years of Polish history. His own autobiographic character *King-Spirit* appears at once wrapped in an aura of most singular poesy, reinforced also by the fact that Słowacki, when dealing with his own past incarnations, uses the first person with sympathetic coherence. On the other hand the same doctrine of genesis resolves itself as a rule more into an incentive than into a respite for fantasy; in some scenes this allows the poet to attain overwhelming poetic impetus.

Słowacki gave only the first "rhapsody" of *King-Spirit* to the

press. However, though ill, he continued to enrich it with new songs, with numerous variations and with continually recorrected proofs. Even on his death-bed he did not cease dictating verses in which his creative power, far from being exhausted, still appears very real.

Towards the end of his life even his vital forces appeared powerful; after moving to Poznań he wanted, with his rousing words, to contribute to the revolutionary battles of 1848. Nevertheless, in spite of the efforts he had made to insert his poetic vision into everyday life, the man died, as he had lived, in complete solitude. Very few were the French and Polish friends who followed his coffin to the Parisian cemetery at Montmartre on 5 April 1849.

* * *

Misunderstood and ignored during the twenty years of his fervid literary activity, Słowacki really enters the history of Polish literature only fifty years after his death. However, from then on he has occupied one of its very first places, by the side of Mickiewicz, to whom he had always been hostile owing to a strange personal aversion. Modern Polish poetry cannot be conceived without the great influence which Słowacki exercised on it. His dramas represent the most conspicuous part of the national repertory. Even Polish prose is not without his influence.

Nevertheless Słowacki is still unknown outside Poland. Is there any chance of his discovery by the West? Since prophecy is not in order, a reply cannot be given to this question; but an indication of the reasons which hinder a just valuation of his poetical work outside Poland can be permitted.

Since the poet wrote in a language accessible only to a few, the appreciation of his work necessarily depends on its translation. Now all poets are either translatable or untranslatable, and Słowacki is certainly one of the least translatable.

This appreciation is in fact not only intimately dependent on the expressive possibilities of the Polish language but, to use a paradox, one can say of this "grave-opener of the word" that the thought springs from the language, and not the language from the thought. No translator's skill can adequately render this process in another language. But beyond this initial difficulty there is another, equally great, which hinders the diffusion and comprehension of Słowacki's work abroad: the fact that this great poet has not written a single work which, taken as a whole, can be considered among the poetic masterpieces of humanity. Słowacki's greatness lies, on one hand,

in the episodes, in what might be defined in film terminology "the sequence," considered by itself, independently of the work in which, although incorporated, it is a thing apart : and on the other hand in the admirable symphonic unity which binds one work to the others, forming them all together into one sublime masterpiece. Defect and value have really the same origin : Słowacki's incapacity to stop himself and control the excessive facility with which the word clings to his imagination.

Taken separately, each of his works has some imperfection of construction, of coherence or of insufficient finish ; and naturally this defect becomes the more evident the longer and more complex each single work may be. From it derives the great value of some of his lyrics, especially in his later period. Nevertheless, except for some roughness noticed by Słowacki himself, incongruencies and contradictions appear and disappear in the progressive purification of his visions, upheld by a single goal : the light. This light revealed by him, certainly deserves to be known.

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based partly on the examination of Polish manuscript sources, shed some light on Bakunin's relations with the Poles in the revolutionary years of 1848-1849. Later, Boris Nikolayevsky, in a Russian paper *Novyy Zhurnal*, propounded an interesting thesis on the influence of Lelewel's historical theories on the development of Bakunin's revolutionary ideas.⁶ At the same time, in the imposing collection of studies and materials on Herzen published in the well-known Moscow series *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, there appeared a paper on Lapinski dealing also with the most spectacular episode of Bakunin's Polish activity: his participation in the ill-fated Ward Jackson steamer expedition planned in 1863 from Sweden in order to aid the Polish insurrection.⁷

But a large number of questions remain to be elucidated, among them the strange and enigmatic story of Bakunin's acquaintance with Mickiewicz, rather trivial in itself but having a special significance in the light of subsequent developments.

In 1844, when in Paris, Bakunin made an impressive number of acquaintances among Parisian celebrities: Chopin, Victor Hugo, Musset, Laménais, Liszt, Louis Blanc, Madame d'Agoult. Already interested in Poland and conversant with Poles, he could not have missed the greatest of them living then in Paris, Mickiewicz.⁸ In fact, in a letter to his brother Paul in Russia of 29 March 1845, when sending greetings to his old Polish friend from Tver, Wincenty Budrewicz, he added: "Tell him that I have made the acquaintance of Mickiewicz who remembers him, and with whom I have talked much about him."⁹

Wincenty Budrewicz (1795-1850) was Mickiewicz's fellow-student from Wilno. Both belonged to the same students' association, "The Society of Philomathians," and both—together with other colleagues—were exiled to Russia in 1824. There, in Moscow, Mickiewicz lived together with Budrewicz and two others for two years. In 1827 Budrewicz was transferred to Tver where he was appointed professor of mathematics and physics at the local secondary school, and where he stayed up to his death in 1850. Mickiewicz commemorated him in a line in *Pan Tadeusz*, and in one of his best ballads, *The Three Budrys*. Budrys was Budrewicz's nickname among his fellow-students.¹⁰

The school in Tver was attended by three of Bakunin's younger brothers, among them the recipient of the above-mentioned letter, Paul.¹¹ We know very little about Bakunin's relations with Budrewicz. However, in a number of letters to his family, Bakunin

mentions Budrewicz together with another Pole from Tver, Colonel Szpilewski. The cordial tone of these references, as well as their number, suggest that his relations with both Poles were pretty close.¹² Moreover, in 1845 Bakunin published in a Paris newspaper *La Réforme* an open letter in which, among other things, he condemned the Russian rule in Poland. The letter was reprinted in a Polish paper, *The White Eagle*, and caused a Polish émigré leader from London, Karol Sztolcman, to invite Bakunin to London in order to take part in a joint Russo-Polish celebration in honour of the Decembrists' rising of 1825. Bakunin, when he had an opportunity to smuggle a letter to his family in Premukhino, enclosed a copy of the article printed in *La Réforme* as well as a copy of Sztolcman's invitation in order that they might be forwarded to his Polish friends.¹³

It is likely therefore that Bakunin's friendship with Budrewicz and Szpilewski contributed in a certain degree to his extremely friendly attitude towards the Poles he met in the West after he had left Russia in 1840. In his younger days he had not been very enthusiastic about Poles. In 1834, just at the end of his military career, he spent some months with a regiment stationed in Mołodeczno, Wilno and Bereza Kartuska. There he fell under the influence of Michael Muraviev, the then governor of Grodno and a cousin of his mother, who made himself notorious as one of the most odious oppressors of Poles; and who some thirty years later won, by his ruthless persecution of Polish insurgents, the title of a count and the nickname of Muraviev the Hangman (*Muraviev Veshatiel'*).

We know something about the ways in which Muraviev tried to influence his young cousin. One day Bakunin, hidden behind a door curtain, listened to the Governor bullying a Pole and provoking him at the same time to express his feelings of loyalty and his love for Russia. His object was to teach young Bakunin how perverse and insincere were—the Poles.¹⁴

For the time being it taught him. After his return to his family he found Muraviev's policy, which he formerly had condemned as cruel, "not only excusable but indispensable."¹⁵ However, after he had left Russia his attitude towards Poles completely changed. The change is, of course, to be explained primarily by his political aims. At that time Bakunin hoped that he would be able to develop, through Poles, his political activity. He saw in them extremely useful allies in his fight against Russia. But political expediency alone does not explain this change of attitude. When

in Paris and Brussels, Bakunin moved not only among Polish revolutionary and political leaders, but also among Poles whom it would have been preposterous to consider as suitable for any revolutionary action. We find him in Polish aristocratic drawing-rooms or on good terms with General Skrzynecki whose " Jesuitical ideas " he would willingly forgive because of his " true Polish and Slavonic feelings." ¹⁶ Thus, we see that he mingled at that time willingly with Poles, not only because it forwarded his political plans (as he saw them) but also because, for personal reasons, his whole emotional attitude towards them had undergone a complete change.

In any case, when he met Mickiewicz he was a professed enthusiast of the Polish cause. They had in the person of Budrewicz a mutual friend, and much in common in their spiritual make-up and ideas. Both were critical of the West, considering it egoistic and soulless. Both based their hopes (rather different hopes, to be sure) on the Slavonic peoples. Both were highly emotional, impulsive, hating people of compromise, *juste milieu*. Both despised theorising, and hankered after a life of action.

All this explains why Mickiewicz tried to convert Bakunin to his religious ideas, and to make him a follower of " The Master," Towiański. All we know about this is to be found in the *Confessions*. The passage telling the story is couched in harsh and mocking terms :

" From time to time I met Mickiewicz, whom I had revered in the past as a great Slavonic poet, but on whom I took pity at that time as on a half-deceived and half-deceiving apostle of a preposterous new religion and a new Messiah. Mickiewicz tried to convert me, because, in his opinion, if one Pole, one Russian, one Czech, one Frenchman and one Jew agreed to live and act together according to the teaching of Towiański, that would have been sufficient to change the world and to redeem it. He had enough of Poles, and also Czechs as well as Jews and Frenchmen ; only a Russian was lacking. He tried to enlist me, but he did not succeed." ¹⁷

There is no need to enter here into any detailed examination of Towiański's teaching and into the story of the mystic sect he founded in 1841 when he had come from Lithuania to Paris.¹⁸ His writings lacked intellectual distinction or emotional depth ; but he must have exercised strong personal fascination since he could enthral among others the two great poets, Mickiewicz and Słowacki. His success is to be explained to some extent by the fact that his teaching satisfied their deep emotional needs. His followers were among deeply religious people living the thwarted life of *émigrés*, passion-

ately yearning after the Poland they had left, and desperately in need of something that would give sense and meaning to their lives. Towiański promised them great events in the near future, which would eventually lead to their return to a free Poland. He taught them that they must try to grow spiritually through communal religious practices, in order to be ready to match the greatness of events to come. Spiritual strength which they could attain by their communal practices, prayers and confessions, must become their main weapon of political action. By exerting this strength alone they would bring about the desired political changes. For people to whom their forced inaction was so painful he found thus in religious practices a substratum of political action. To people who were acutely aware of their helplessness he gave the feeling of strength. He kept his followers in fervid expectation of tremendous events—just round the corner.

The great events, however, did not come ; and the feeling of high emotional tension and great expectations could not last for long. His followers grew impatient. Thus, in 1845, Towiański decided to go forward to meet the events, and to use the accumulated spiritual strength of the community in order to convert—the Tsar, and thus by one stroke to end the oppression of Poland. An opportunity seemed to occur in the person of a newly converted member, a Pole called Aleksander Chodźko, who was a Russian consul on leave in Paris. He was to hand to the Russian Ambassador in the name of the whole community a “missionary” address to the Tsar.¹⁹

The idea of such an address caused an uproar in the ranks of the emigration. There were voices branding the followers of Towiański as traitors. It was too much even for some members of the community, like Słowacki, who broke with “the Master.” The discussions and dissensions caused by the address brought to the fore the problem of the attitude of the whole community towards the Russians. The problem was especially acute for Mickiewicz.²⁰ Towiański urged him to try to convert the Russians.²¹ He himself many times, at the end of 1844 and in 1845, in his religious addresses to the community and in his talks, stressed the importance of such conversions.²²

Of all the Russians known to Mickiewicz at that time Bakunin was by far the most interesting individual. They became acquainted just at the time when the Russian problem acquired special importance for Towiański’s community. However, the attempt to convert

Bakunin must have been, from the beginning, a completely misguided action. Bakunin was not of the stuff to be a disciple of Towiański. Even if we do not find in him at that time the open hostility towards any religion that was so characteristic of him later on, he was already an avowed unbeliever. His hopes, illusions and passions were of quite a different order. The mystical and religious ideas of Mickiewicz could only have irritated him. To Mickiewicz's son and biographer Władysław he would confess in 1863 that the reading of a few pages of Mickiewicz's lectures at the Collège de France (published in 1845 under the title *L'Église officielle et le Messianisme*) made him sick ²³

The more strange that when, at the end of 1848, he published in German and Polish his *Appeal to the Slavs*, after speaking of the oppression of Poland, he used some religious metaphors quite normal in the language of Mickiewicz and his circle but sounding rather oddly from his lips. Poland, he declared, was "the martyr on the Cross." The Russians—he asserted—looked on Poland with religious awe, because Poland was "the Ark of our salvation, the column of fire that day and night points us the way through the desert of our slavery to the promised land of freedom for all Slavs." ²⁴ One would prefer to think that he simply echoed words he must have heard from some of his Polish friends rather than that he used them deliberately as a sort of a political trick.

By an odd coincidence, in this same revolutionary year of 1848, we find Mickiewicz echoing Bakunin's revolutionary theories. This happened only once, not in print but in the course of a private dispute. However, the wide repercussions the dispute had in Polish literature gave it a special notoriety. Besides, the whole incident is highly interesting as it throws light on Mickiewicz's politics.

We know about it from a letter written from Rome on 20 March by Zygmunt Krasiński, to his "Beatrice," Delfina Potocka. The incident had taken place the evening before in Krasiński's villa in Rome. Besides the two antagonists those present had included the young Cyprian Norwid, at that time Krasiński's protégé, who was also to become one of the greatest Polish poets.

In the course of a heated political dispute there came an outburst from Mickiewicz. What he said filled his audience with horror. "There will be no Poles"—he was alleged to have said. "Czechs, Muscovites, Poles will join in All will merge in the Slavonic unity." Latin, Western civilisation is anti-Slavonic, and therefore condemned! The Polish nobility descends from Caucasian invaders

who subjugated native Slavonic peasants! That alien tribe, the gentry, must be dispersed and annihilated, must disappear! "The Slavonic peasant is wiser indeed than all the philosophers of the world." The gentry with its traditions and links with the West must be "extirpated." "There will remain"—so relates Krasiński—"only peasants and the spirits of the adherents of Towiański."

That—according to Krasiński—was the gist of Mickiewicz's argument. He was so "enraged" against the gentry that "his mouth was foaming" as he spoke.²⁵

Krasiński wrote his letter the day after the clash had taken place. It must have been at that time, in all its details, vivid in his memory. Shocked and indignant as he was, he might have used when writing the letter some unnecessarily violent expressions here and there, but for all that we must consider it to be a trustworthy report of what was really said.

How should this strange outbreak be interpreted?

The idea that the Polish nobility are the descendants of foreign Caucasian conquerors originated among some historians of the 18th century, like Lengnich and Naruszewicz. It was elaborated at some length by Mickiewicz in his unfinished prose work *The First Centuries of Polish History*, and mentioned in his Parisian lectures. As he became a follower of Towiański—although at that time his relations with "the Master" were far from intimate—he saw in the members of Towiański's community the leading spirits of the society to come. But the social and political content of the tirade strongly resembles Bakunin's theories as expressed in *Appeal to the Slavs* and elaborated at the time of their acquaintance. Mickiewicz advocated here a violent revolution that would destroy the whole ruling social class. His revolutionary hopes were, like Bakunin's, based on belief in the Slavonic peasantry and its assumed special virtues. Like Bakunin, who aimed at "a union of all Slavonic peoples, a free racial confederation," he preached the idea of a single Slavonic state. And lastly, like Bakunin, he was biased against the West. In short, we find here social theories strongly resembling those of Bakunin, only with a tinge of the religious mysticism of a follower of Towiański.

But the strangest thing about these theories is that they are so out of tune with Mickiewicz's political activity of that time and with his ideas as expressed in print. Certainly, the idea of the Slavonic nations as being a racial unit appears in Mickiewicz's writings: but it never would have led him to the desire to submerge

Poland in a greater Slavonic community. On the contrary, his Parisian lectures on Slavonic literatures show how acutely he was aware of the differences of tradition and culture that divided Poland and Russia. We also find marked Russian sympathies in Towiański's teaching; but Towiański was always a loyal subject, never a revolutionary. It is also true that we can find in Mickiewicz's lectures some radical accents; ²⁶ but from these it is a far cry to the violent revolutionary spirit exhibited in this dispute.

If we are in search of clues to the enigma we must, first of all, consider the historical background of the clash. It took place on 19 March. Less than three weeks before this a republic had been proclaimed in France. Just over two weeks earlier Berlin had been the scene of revolutionary riots. Less than a week earlier a revolutionary outbreak in Vienna had put an end to Metternich's rule. In Italy there was at that time a rising in Sicily, and there were demonstrations in Parma and Turin. In Rome the atmosphere was highly charged: the wildest rumours circulated in the city. One of the most fantastic claimed that the revolution had reached Russia and that Nicolas I had been assassinated. It looked as if revolutionary conflagration had spread right across the continent.

All Mickiewicz's hopes of an independent Poland were linked with a revolutionary war against Russia. For long years he had been waiting eagerly and impatiently for it to come, and in 1848 at last it seemed that his hopes were being fulfilled. At the first sign he rushed from Paris to Rome in order to organise there a Polish voluntary detachment that would fight together with the Italian army against Austria, one of the partitioning powers. He reached Rome highly excited and full of plans.

Krasiński's state of mind was completely different. The mis-carried revolution of 1846 in Galicia, which had ended in a bloody massacre by Polish peasants of the gentry in the Tarnów region at the instigation of local Austrian officials, had been for him a terrible shock. He had still not recovered from it. He was afraid of any uprising. Revolution—he thought—could only end in ruin, bloodshed and every kind of horror.

Let us add that Krasiński's catholic orthodoxy made him look at Towiański's teaching with abhorrence, and that—unlike Mickiewicz—he strongly disliked the society of the Russians and anything Russian. Moreover, from the outset he highly disapproved of Mickiewicz's political activity.

Thus the clash, once they met, was unavoidable. We have the

description of the whole scene from Krasiński alone, and we can only guess how Mickiewicz must have been hurt by his opponent's fears, forebodings and disbelief in revolution. In the heat of argument, once having realised how his ideas shocked Krasiński, he might have wished to shock him further. Thus, he made use of the most radical revolutionary theory that came into his head, namely of Bakunin's idea of a general revolt of Slavonic peasants. For Krasiński, an aristocrat, a Catholic and a Westerner, any trace of such a revolutionary theory must have been utterly abhorrent. If Mickiewicz intended to hurt Krasiński then, he could not have chosen a better way.

Two days later, on 22 March, Krasiński wrote another letter to Countess Potocka, and in it we find an account of the following visit of Mickiewicz. Krasiński started by "awfully" reproaching his guest for his "boundless radicalism, hate, lack of love and Christian feelings." This time, however, Mickiewicz was in a mild mood. The meeting ended in tears and embraces. They parted reconciled for the time being.²⁷

We have also more positive proof that the whole revolutionary tirade of 19 March is not to be taken too seriously. Ten days later, Mickiewicz published a *Set of Principles* (*Skład zasad*) for the detachment he was then forming, the so-called Italian Legion. They are somewhat enigmatic. First of all, we have to choose between two different texts. The Italian translation printed simultaneously and made by Mickiewicz himself (which served subsequently as a basis for other translations) differs from the Polish draft which Władysław Mickiewicz published after the death of his father. Only recently, Prof. Piękoń pointed to a hitherto overlooked Polish edition of the *Set of Principles* which completely tallies with the Italian text and which therefore should be taken as the standard one.²⁸

The problem of the text does not however settle all the difficulties of interpretation. In fifteen short paragraphs it sets forth the religious, political and social aims of the Legion, put in a laconic style and couched in biblical, prophetic terminology, which makes their meaning at the best imprecise, and sometimes even ambiguous. Thus in paragraph five we read: "Poland rises from the dead with the body in which she suffered and was put into the grave one hundred years ago." The mystical symbolism of the phrase is obvious: Poland is here seen as "the Christ of Nations." The term "one hundred years" should also be read symbolically and not literally since, at that time, hardly more than fifty years had

passed since 1795. That is easy to detect ; but it is not easy to make up one's mind as to the precise political meaning hidden in this mystical phrasing. Does it mean that Poland would regain independence within the frontiers she had before the partitions of the 18th century ? Or does it mean, as Prof. Pigoń supposes, that the new Poland would have the same political structure as the old ?

The second interpretation, however, cannot be reconciled with other points of the *Set of Principles* which sketch the main lines of vast social reforms. There are, moreover, big divergences between the propositions about the reforms. Thus, paragraph thirteen postulates that " each family should have its own field under the protection of the commune." It indicates—one would think—that Mickiewicz advocated land reform and distribution of the land to the peasants. However, the following paragraph states : " Any property in its present state (*ogni proprietà attuale*) is immune and respected under the custody of the national office,"²⁹ which implies that no landlord could be deprived of his land.

For the purpose of this study the *Set of Principles* is important in two respects. On 19 March Mickiewicz seemed to be aiming at a revolution that would destroy the whole class of the landed gentry. In a document published ten days later he declared that any property (that is the property of the landed gentry as well) was sacred and immune. On the 19th he proclaimed a complete dissolution of Poland in a vast, all-embracing Slavonic community. On the 29th he affirmed that Poland was to be friendly towards other Slavonic nations but a separate sovereign state.

But apart from and above all these particular views the *Set of Principles* is important in this respect, that it enables us to see Mickiewicz's " politics " in a proper perspective. Mickiewicz was a religious reformer with a burning passion for applying the precepts of the Gospels to the political and social problems of the day. When preaching, castigating and discussing moral problems and the moral implications of political problems he could be profound and penetrating : but he was completely helpless when he had to translate these potent emotional urges into the language of day-to-day politics. That is why, when talking or writing on practical politics, he was so desperately vague, ambiguous and self-contradictory. And it is that which makes the game—played down to the present day—of aligning him with this or that political party, so easy but so preposterous.

So then, the outburst of 19 March boils down to the expression of Mickiewicz's anger with Krasński, his fears and his conservatism

In the face of a startled Krasniński, Mickiewicz brandished Bakunin's revolutionary theory, not because such were his "convictions" but because he found them especially appropriate for expressing his wrath. His use of that theory was not political but poetic.³⁰

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¹ Max Nettlau, *Der Anarchismus von Proudhon zu Kropotkin*, Berlin, 1927, p. 34 (note).

² *Od bratęgo do czerwonego caratu*, v. III, Warsaw, 1928, p. 50. However, one should add that in Volume II of his work, published in 1925, he was the first to point out (pp. 161-63) Lelewel's influence on Bakunin's revolutionary ideology.

³ E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin*, London, 1937, p. 140.

⁴ *Generał Zamoyński, 1803-1868*, v. III, V and VI, Poznań, 1910-1930.

⁵ I am indebted for this information to Gen. M. Kukiel, the Director of the Museum before the war.

⁶ *Za nashu i vashu vol'nost'*, Novyy Zhurnal, Vol. VII, 1944.

⁷ V. Frenin, *Polkovnik Lapinsky i ego memuary, Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, vols. 41/42, Moscow, 1941.—On the expedition see E. H. Carr, *The Romantic Exiles*, London, 1933, pp. 233-47, and 384-88.

⁸ Max Nettlau, *Michael Bakunin. Eine Biographie*, v. I, London, 1898, p. 71.

⁹ A. A. Kornilov, *Gody stranstviya Michaila Bakunina*, Leningrad-Moscow, 1925, p. 284; M. Bakunin, *Sobr. soch.*, ed. Steklov, v. III, Moscow, 1935, p. 247.

¹⁰ J. Iwaszkiewicz in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, v. III, s. v.

¹¹ Carr, *Michael Bakunin*, p. 45.

¹² *Sobr. soch.*, v. II, pp. 218, 275; v. III, pp. 49, 57, 256, 274.

¹³ *Ibid.*, v. III, pp. 238, 254; v. IV, p. 112.

¹⁴ A. A. Kornilov, *Molodye gody M. Bakunina*, Moscow, 1915, p. 88.

¹⁵ *Sobr. soch.*, v. I, p. 164.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, v. III, p. 287.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, v. IV, pp. 112-13.

¹⁸ See M. Bersano Begey, *Vita e pensiero di A. Towiański*, Milano, 1918, and St. Pigoń's introduction to A. Towiański, *Wybór pism i nauk* (Bibl. Nar., ser. I, vol. 8).

¹⁹ Printed in *Współudział Adama Mickiewicza w Sprawie Andrzeja Towiańskiego*, Paris, 1877, v. I, pp. 180-88 (in Polish), v. II, pp. 222-29 (in French).

²⁰ Wł. Mickiewicz, *Żywot Adama Mickiewicza*, v. III, Poznań, 1894, pp. 317-19, 331.

²¹ *Współudział*, v. I, p. 174.

²² *Ibid.*, v. I, pp. 194, 201. Wł. Mickiewicz, *Żywot*, v. III, p. 317.

²³ Wł. Mickiewicz, *Pamiętniki*, v. II, Cracow, 1927, p. 282.

²⁴ Michael Bakunin, *Zwei Schriften aus den 40er Jahren des XIX Jahrhunderts*, Prague, 1935, p. 35.

²⁵ Z. Krasniński, *Listy do Delfiny Potockiej*, ed. A. Żółtowski, v. III, Poznań, 1938, pp. 659-61.

²⁶ See for instance *Literatura słowiańska*, v. III, Poznań, 1865, pp. 131, 243.

²⁷ Z. Krasniński, *Listy do Delfiny Potockiej*, v. III, p. 664.

²⁸ *O Mickiewiczowskim "Składzie zasad" z r. 1848*, *Sprawozd. Polsk. Akad. Um.* in Cracow, v. XLIX (1948), pp. 185-86. The French text of the *Set* was published by Wł. Mickiewicz in *Mémoires de la Légion Polonoise de 1848*, v. I, Paris, 1877, pp. 69-70; the Italian—pp. 501-02.

²⁹ These words "in its present state" were missing from the Polish text published by Wł. Mickiewicz. Without them one could interpret this paragraph in such a way that any property would be respected once the reforms had been carried; thus, there would have been no contradiction between this paragraph and the previous one. However, the Italian text, set forth by Mickiewicz himself, shows that the other Polish text, discovered by Prof. Pigoń, is the right one.

³⁰ One should add that Mickiewicz's outburst had wide repercussions in Polish literary circles. Krasński was working in 1848 on the sequence (or, rather, the preceding part) of his masterpiece, *The Un-Divine Comedy*. In the work which he never finished, and which was published after his death under the title *An Unfinished Poem*, he reintroduced one of the heroes of *The Un-Divine Comedy*, a radical demagogue, Pancras, that time, however, modelled on the Mickiewicz of 1848. Similarly, Norwid, when depicting in his symbolical drama *Zwolon* (written in 1848 and published in 1849) a bloodthirsty revolutionary, Bolej, gave him some of Mickiewicz's traits. In the political utterances of both Pancras and Bolej we find some echoes of Mickiewicz's outburst of 19 March. Finally, Mickiewicz was violently attacked by Bronisław Trentowski, philosopher and pedagogical writer, in his political book *Before the Political Storm* (*Przedburza polityczna*, 1848). As Trentowski was at that time a close friend of Krasński, who even contributed some pages to his book, no wonder that we find there allusions to Mickiewicz's outburst too. Nobody, however, guessed that that outburst had anything in common with Bakunin's revolutionary theories. On the contrary, in Trentowski's book Bakunin was warmly praised as a noble friend of Poland. Similarly, in the *Paris Tribune des Peuples*, No 83 (10 June 1849), he was praised, together with Golovin and Voinov, as a leader of the 'republican' trend of Russian opinion, known "sous le nom du parti polono-russe".

OLD AND NEW PATHS IN SLAVONIC PHILOLOGY *

ACCORDING to academic custom in this University, an appointed teacher should, at the outset of his activity, delimit the field of his subject, as well as the means and methods which he deems the best to be followed by him and by his students. This task is the more arduous for the present holder of the Chair of Comparative Slavonic Philology, who is fully conscious of the great honour and the high responsibility entrusted to him, at a time of far-reaching changes in concepts and methods in the study of language in general and of Slavonic Philology in particular. The object of this lecture is to give some hints to students in Slavonic Philology, and to indicate pitfalls into which they might fall. This task seemed to me more important, at a time of crisis in philological methodology, than the presentation of a programme, which could be achieved only after one had a team equipped with adequate tools for research work.

I

The content of Slavonic Philology has not yet been agreed upon by scholars. The definitions given to this discipline range from that formulated by Jagić,¹ in 1910, which covers everything, to that given in 1934 by the Polish scholar Ułaszyn who draws the conclusion that such a science does not exist.²

However, since it is impossible to conceive a chair of something that does not exist, we shall have to define our subject-matter as best we can, basing our definition on experience and common sense, and we shall then discuss the best means and methods of treating Slavonic philological problems. Jagić's definition sums up the aims and trends of two generations of pioneers in the field of Slavonic Philology. It is formulated on the pattern of Classic Philology and embraces not only the history of the Slav languages, the history of the Slav literatures and the study of the manner of life of Slav peoples, but also textual criticism, archæology, palæography, indeed all the disciplines which concern the life of the Slavs.

Even a decade later, the definition given by Jagić was already felt to be unduly extensive, and he himself, as well as others, tried

* An Inaugural Lecture, delivered at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies on 24 February 1949.

to reduce its ambit. In 1923 the Russian scholar, G. Iljinskij, answered the question put in the title of his study : *What is Slavonic Philology ?*—in the sense that this discipline is concerned only with the intellectual life of the Slavs : “ Slavonic Philology is a cultural-historical discipline which teaches the intellectual activity of the Slavs, in so far as it appears in language and in its creations.”³ The last words of this definition show that literature is still regarded as an object of philology.

It is evident that the various disciplines dedicated to the study of Slav life and culture in general, could no longer be considered as parts of Slavonic Philology, even if they were called ancillary sciences. Each discipline was freed in turn from the domain of the philological ruler and became a member of a Commonwealth of sciences. The process was a long one, and it is still not decided, in the opinion of some scholars, whether literatures can form a unity with languages and constitute Slavonic Philology. Some scholars despise as heretics those of their colleagues who approach literature with other intentions than to study the language. Philology is for them the study of men, individually, socially and historically, through their language—this most distinctive feature of men.

As to the subject-matter of philology (linguistics) everyone seems to agree that it is language ; concerning literatures, however, opinions are divided and discussion is still going on, sometimes with much personal feeling.⁴

The disagreement concerns not only the methods but also the essentials of the subject, i.e. the very existence of a science of Comparative Slav Literature. The question has been answered in the affirmative by Mazon in his inaugural lecture at the Collège de France in 1924,⁵ whereas Lednicki replies negatively in his inaugural lecture at Brussels University in 1926.⁶ The apparent disagreement is caused by not separating languages from literatures. Character and subject-matter of literary studies are different from those of linguistic studies.

The Slav languages are forms of one and the same archetypal language as it evolved in time and in space. They must be studied synchronically and diachronically as a branch of the Indo-European family. Is this true also of the Slav literatures ? However similar the methods of research in both fields may sometimes be, however true it may be that literary ideas spread in linguistic forms, and in some cases in a common form over whole regions of civilisations, as was Latin in the West Byzantine Greek and Old Slavonic in the East, there is no more reason to speak of a science of Comparative

Slav Literature than of Germanic Comparative Literature ; Romance Comparative Literature ; Comparative Literature in general. For such studies Western science has created a methodology (technique), which investigates the movements of ideas in the literatures of various nations, and the infiltration of influences from one literature into another. No literature develops without external influences, but it is the individual originality which assimilates the foreign elements.

In disagreement with this concept, some scholars assume the existence of an inter-Slav literary creation, distinguished not only by common influences received in the East from Byzantium, and in the West from Latino-Teutonic culture, but also characterised by some specific ideas which transcend those cultural limits, as well as the political and linguistic barriers between the Slav peoples. Thus, whereas in the West there is a tendency to differentiate cultural forms to such an extent that today we speak of an American or of South-American Neo-Latin literatures, as something different from English and Spanish literatures, in the East, on the other hand, some scholars try to discover in the literatures of the Slav peoples a kind of mystical unity in an apparent variety of cultural forms.⁷

This tendency is not, however, without inconsistencies. Whereas in his concept of philology, the Czech scholar, F. Wollman, looks for transcendental links between the Slav literatures, the Russian philologist, S. P. Obnorskij, is at pains to demonstrate that Church Slavonic, that powerful bond, during their early cultural period, between the Eastern and the Southern Slavs, has never been a literary language of the Russians. According to him, the Russian literary language has always been a vernacular dialect. He rejects the generally accepted concept, represented by philologists like Sreznevskij, Shakhmatov and others, who held that Church Slavonic was the first literary language of Russia, being introduced in Russia together with Byzantine civilisation.⁸ If Obnorskij's view were true, then Slav culture would be deprived of one of its main vehicles for the older period, and the existence of a literature common to all Slavs would be challenged from the beginning.

Reviewing Obnorskij's study on the Old Russian language, Unbegaun comes to the conclusion : " Unfortunately that study has as its basis a preconceived idea, already known to us. Obnorskij defends [his theory] with that zeal which benefits lost causes only. Indeed dismissing altogether the linguistic dualism of the ancient texts, Obnorskij affirms that in Russia the literary language was, from the beginning, purely Russian, and was only slavonised later." ⁹

The existence of a discipline called Comparative Slavonic Literature is a creation of the personal outlook of the scholars and is not justified by the character of the subject-matter. Therefore its existence is at least doubtful.¹⁰

In the progress of scientific research, the discipline dealing with literatures has been separated from that dealing with languages. Even if theoretically we cannot dissociate literary creation from their linguistic form, in practice the methods and ways of approaching the objects wholly differ. To put it explicitly: Slav literatures are not identical in origin, therefore a comparative study of these literatures is possible only in so far as other literatures can be studied comparatively. There is no inner relationship between them. Slavonic languages on the other hand are internally related, because they are forms of a common archetype.

Literature and philology are interrelated just as other branches of humane studies are connected. The philologist is compelled to familiarise himself with the methods of other disciplines, so as to be able to pursue his task in a field of research contiguous to other studies. One example will illustrate the case. A cardinal problem of Slavonic Philology is the missionary activity of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Moravia and the introduction of the Slavs to Christian civilisation. By co-ordinating their researches, historians, philologists and archæologists have stated their respective points of view and have elucidated various aspects of the problem, reaching results solidly based on facts. A century of research work has cleared up the main points of this fundamental problem and has fixed its importance for the cultures of the Slavs.

In our time, however, some of those points are again questioned. The Greek origin of the two Byzantine scholars, who became the revered apostles of the Slavs, is contested. Pogorelov claims a Slav origin for them.¹¹ Against this claim cogent arguments are brought by the Polish scholar, M. Małecki.¹² Connected with the problem of SS. Cyril and Methodius is that of the very principles of the introduction of a new language into the Church of the West by missionaries coming from the East. This historic act has been largely and sufficiently explained from the Byzantine point of view and from the point of view of Rome.¹³ Philology, history and theology have been put under contribution for the study of that period.

Byzantium had allowed, centuries before the West, the use of the national tongue (e.g. of Syriac, Coptic, Armenian) in the Church. This could not have taken place in Moravia, if the national principle

had not been admitted also by the Western Church. Mediæval History shows that half a century before the arrival of S. Cyril's mission in Moravia, the Council of Tours (813) had decided to recommend to the clergy the use of the vernacular in the Church. It demanded: "*transfere in rusticam romanam aut in theotiscam, quo facilius cuncti intellegere possint quae dicuntur.*" So, this birth certificate of Western literary languages paves the way also for the first Slav literary language. Without the admission of that principle on the part of the Western Church, S. Cyril's activity would not have been possible. The Slavs benefited from this charter granted to the national languages by the Council of Tours, which had to make this concession because of the process of linguistic differentiation which had begun centuries before in the West. It was stopped for a moment by Charlemagne's attempt to prevent the splitting of the Western Empire into a Germanic North and a Romanic South, by choosing Latin as a means of cultural and linguistic unification.¹⁴ West and East were thus jointly responsible for introducing the Slavs into European culture. Philological and historical arguments compete in stating this case.

Such problems are not merely philological, but are also general historical inquiries. The fact that they are treated by philologists, or that they are included in philological works, does not make them philological problems properly speaking, though philological arguments have supported their issue. In the case mentioned above, it is impossible to disregard the linguistic facts which prove the Southern Slav origin of the oldest literary language used in Russia, and give to this language a dualist character.

The struggle for a national language in the older period of Russian literature appears clearer, if we study the origins of that language in comparison with similar processes in other cultures. There appear to be indeed a striking parallelism between the development of the English literary language and that of the Russian literary language. When we read the following paragraph about the origins of the English literary language, we can apply it to the history of the Russian literary language by merely substituting the relevant terms and the dates: "The growing and use of the national tongue coincided with the growing sense of national patriotism, and the revolt from Rome naturally tended to make English the language of religion. Two tendencies are to be observed, the one that of Cambridge scholars. Cheke, Ascham and Wilson, who desired to keep the English tongue 'pure'; the other, that of the poets, the true 'makers,' who desired to enrich their medium. The 'enrichers' looked both

ways ; they revived words from the older vocabulary and they took in new words from foreign languages. Spenser borrowed from the Lancashire peasants for the *Shepherd's Calendar* ; the scholars borrowed from the Classics and from French, and Latin." ¹⁵

The similarity between the main features of the two processes, in English and in Russian, is striking, because we have to do with facts of the same category, judged by criteria of a like order. The parallelism holds good even in the process of coining new words or in translating expressions from foreign languages in the new literary languages. The same linguistic procedures are used in English and in Russian. And one should not forget that the relation between English and Latin is of a different character from that between Church Slavonic and Russian. Church Slavonic could be entirely substituted to any Russian dialect.

In the light of the principles described above it seems clear that historical, archæological and other cultural facts are not direct objects of philological research. We can easily detach from philology textual criticism and palæography, because their methods of investigation differ from linguistic methods. On similar grounds, literary history and literary criticism are not objects of linguistics-philology.

2

In the crisis of philological methodology of our days, even the existence of a science of Comparative Philology is challenged. A critical examination of some new trends and methods in contemporary philology is therefore of significance for our purpose.

The question has been raised afresh whether a comparative study of language is possible, whether Comparative Philology exists at all, after it has been practised for one hundred and fifty years, since the English Orientalist Sir William Jones († 1794) discovered the parentage of Sanskrit with other Indo-European languages, and stated the existence of the I.-E. family of languages, and Bopp and Rask laid the theoretical foundation of this discipline.¹⁶

I am of the opinion that the clearest definition given to comparative method in philology is that by de Saussure. The comparative study of a language gives "the possibility to create an independent science based on the material concerning the relationship of languages, the possibility of explaining one language through another, and of understanding the forms of one language through the forms of another." ¹⁷ This conception does not, however, satisfy the new schools which envisage language as a structure, a system that should

not be treated atomistically. Language, according to the structuralist school, is a system of phonologic, morphological and syntactic functions, which support each other and depend on each other. This school opposes the historical comparative methods of investigation. The structuralist conception, represented by very able linguists like V. Brøndal of Kopenhagen¹⁸ is a further development of the Phonological School of Prague, which bases its theory on de Saussure's synchronism¹⁹ and on Baudouin de Courtenay's conception of the phoneme.²⁰ It rejects the neo-grammatic positivism and evolutionism, which isolate the sounds of the speech from their system, and which consider as the main object of linguistics the etymology of the words and the genealogy of the language.

In the evolution of linguistic methods, however, the lasting merit of the neo-grammarians cannot be denied: "They have placed all results of comparison in historical perspective, and by doing that they have fixed the facts in their natural order."²¹

The structuralists rightly insist that it is not the sounds which change, but the system of the language as a whole. They often disregard, however, the interpenetration of synchronism (descriptive linguistics) and diachronism (historical linguistics). Both these developments have an equal value for the understanding of linguistic phoneme, because synchronism and diachronism interpenetrate each other and theoretically cannot be separated.²²

The phonologico-structural conception is criticised, by contemporary Russian philologists, as being an abstract formalism which does not correlate the linguistic system with the human mind.²³ This school claims to have adopted the conception of languages as systems and, independently of de Saussure and unlike him, to have envisaged each system as an expression of the relevant stage in the social evolution of the community which used it. This is the central idea in Marr's "stadialism." This conception is also opposed to comparative historic philology.

Slavonic Philology has not escaped this "battle of principles." Comparative Slavonic Philology is the study of the Slav languages from the points of view of the past and the present on a comparative basis, as defined by de Saussure. The comparison may be made between each of them, or between all of them with an earlier stage of linguistic development, or between one Slav language and any other, etc.

There is, however, no agreement about the question how to approach the object of our study. We shall try to analyse the main ways, old and new, of approach to philology, and will attempt to

define the methods which seem to us most appropriate. Our intention is not to give normative rules, but to put before you views that are open to criticism. The first duty of a teacher is not to impose methods or to cram the students with mere facts, but to train and develop their critical judgment, their sense of observation and their taste for the facts of the discipline concerned, in such a manner that they maintain interest and an open mind for any specific trend in that science. The student must be trained to understand the value of arguments and to distinguish between the gold of science and the fallacious glittering of pseudo-science, in a word, between truth and half truth.

I shall deal now with theories and methods of general linguistics, because those methods apply also to Slavonic Philology. In recent years there has been talk of a crisis in linguistics. Perhaps there is a specific crisis today, but progress is often achieved by such crises. The accelerated tempo of our times perhaps makes the present crisis more apparent. The new approach to linguistics is attempting not only to overthrow all the knowledge about language acquired during the 19th century, but to break with past methods developed under the influence of 19th-century evolutionism. As a reaction against this conception, studies have been written about the pathology of the language ; ²⁴ a study on the pathology of linguistic methods could be written as well.

The chief mistake in method committed in linguistic research is that which explains language by non-linguistic criteria. That is an ancient habit, since the history of philosophy shows that language has always been considered an object of philosophical systems and treated as a part of human thinking. The curiosity of man to understand the phenomenon of language has always been very keen. Therefore language has always been identified with the latest results of each philosophic system. In the last century, however, after a long experience, science had come to the conclusion that language should be studied for its own sake.

For Plato words and ideas are identical. Accordingly, in the *Cratylus*, he comes to the conclusion that the relation between word and thing is a necessary and natural one (*φύσει*) : " the first name was given to things by a greater power than that of the men, and therefore the given names are necessarily the right names." This conception is opposed to that of the Bible, according to which Adam gave names to things, and not God who created them (*Gen. ii. 19-20*). I mention these conceptions not only for their historical value, but also because after lengthy disputes and discussions

between various schools of scholastic philosophy, nominalists, realists, neo-realists, etc., modern scholars now reaffirm that there exists a necessary and natural relation between concept (*signifié*) and form (*signifiant*) in language. This view is held now, e.g., by the French scholar Benveniste.²⁵

It has been, however, observed that the human mind is full of half-known or quite undefined ideas and, on the other hand, that we know many things for which we have no names or we have false names (e.g. of plants, animals, etc.).²⁶ The necessary relation between form and content in language is at least over-emphasised by modern theorists. The conception of Meillet expresses linguistic reality better. According to him "between ideas and words, if considered at a certain moment in the development of languages, there does not exist any necessary relation." "The means of expression have only an actual (fact-) relation with the ideas, they have not a natural and necessary relation with them."²⁷ Meillet inherited this view from de Saussure, who says that the linguistic sign is arbitrary.²⁸ This conception is the latest reaction against Platonic idealism in the study of human speech.

Plato's idealism was of less consequence for the development of linguistic conceptions than the realism of Aristotle who identified language with normative logic. The understanding of linguistic facts has been very much delayed by the traditional teaching of grammar based on Aristotelian logic, and errors are due to the circumstance that for centuries grammar has been studied primarily in connection with Latin and Greek.²⁹

A reaction against Aristotelian logic in grammar came already from the Russian scholar Fortunatov, who drew a clear line between logic, psychology and grammar.³⁰ But as late as 1923, the Danish scholar, Jespersen, had to react against linguistic logicism, in a brilliant paper read before the British Association.³¹ Jespersen is on the side of common sense, and his lucid ideas throw light on a wider field than that of grammar, showing that any exaggeration, any one-sidedness, is wrong in life and false in science. The logic of language is different from the logic of the philosopher.

The German philosopher, Wundt, has identified language with psychology,³² while for Benedetto Croce linguistics are identical with æsthetics, because language is expression: "Æsthetics and linguistics, in as far as they are true sciences, are not two different sciences, but one single science," says the Italian.³³ For Vossler language is a form of human intellectual activity which he identifies with culture.³⁴ Scientists have also explained language for their

own purposes. For Darwin language is a biological function.³⁵ Ethnologists have much abused language, not only in the 19th century but also in our days, so that Max Müller's witty remark that to him "an ethnologist who speaks of Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of dolichocephalic dictionary or a brachycephalic grammar" ³⁶ may be a warning also in our days not to apply to one discipline principles derived from another discipline.

This erroneous method which transforms language into an object of research of heterogeneous discipline, encourages people to attempt the creation of a laboratory language. The number of such artificial languages goes already into hundreds, and soon a comparative philology of artificial languages will be created. The work devoted to this attempt recalls the efforts of mediæval alchemists to find the formula for transforming lead into gold, or for finding the elixir of life.

Sweet has warned us against this mechanical conception of speech. "If language were a perfect expression of thought" (and we could add: if human thought would be always and everywhere unchangeable) "there would be no science of language. . . . There would be but one language unchanging both in time and place. Without linguistic change there could be no historical grammar and no comparative philology." ³⁷

Language, as we saw, has been stretched on the Procrustean bed of every theory and of every philosophical system but it has resisted and held its ground because it transcends every theory and every philosophical system. It will survive even present-day attempts to subordinate it to various social doctrines. Language must be studied for its own sake and by linguistic methods and criteria. Theories and schools may change, but language as the object of study remains.

Radical alterations in methods have been tried in our time, and often we have the impression of working on shifting sands. The philological research of the present day shows the same instability of theoretical views, and justifies those who speak of a crisis in linguistics. Comparative philology has been based mainly on the principles established by the impressive works of Brugmann, de Saussure, Meillet and other great scholars of the 19th century, and the early decades of the 20th.

De Saussure's distinction between individual speech (*parole*, *ἐνέργεια*), and tongue, language as a social institution (*langue*, *ἔργον*) had become a cornerstone of linguistics. The Danish scholar,

Jespersen, is coming however to deny the very existence of de Saussure's *langue* as a social institution, as a kind of storehouse for linguistic forms, created by the speaking community and being independent from the individual. For Jespersen there exists only the language as an individual activity, as *ἐνέργεια*. The language as *ἔργον* does not exist either as a reality or as imagination. The masses, the collectivity, do not create anything, only the individual is creative.³⁸ Language is a social institution, but created by the individual, perpetuated and existing through the individual. This view is profoundly modifying the social outlook on language. Contrary to Freud's teaching³⁸ the "group mind" does not create anything. Language, folk-song, are creations of the individual, of the human personality, and accepted by the group.

The neo-grammarians have created a doctrine of phonetic laws which work without exception. The creator of linguistic geography, Gilliéron, denies the existence of any phonetic rule and proclaims that "every word has its own history" and that its phonetic development is determined by that history.³⁹

The conception of the structure of the Indo-European parent language, as worked out by Brugmann, de Saussure, Meillet, has been undermined by fresh researches of two scholars: J. Kurylowicz⁴⁰ and E. Benveniste,⁴¹ who are attempting to change our outlook on Indo-European vocalic structure by works of great importance for linguistic studies.⁴² These new theories will be superseded by others in due course, and this warns us not to be overconfident in our scientific discoveries, but to regard them as stepping-stones on the road for progress.

The great difficulty for a student in philology is to thread his way among theories and schools without wasting too much precious time. How is he to know which roads shown to him lead to fertile results, and which remain bogged in the morass of fruitless speculation? Common sense is the last instance of judgment also in philology; however, we may anticipate our conclusion and say that theories and schools which use language as means in pursuing other than linguistic aims, cannot lead to the best results in philology. Language must be studied with linguistic methods.

3

Many of the present-day philological schools explain language from the point of view of their own social or philosophical doctrines and not for the sake of the language itself. Whereas the classical schools of Brugmann, Meillet and others of their generation, proceed-

ing from the analysis of facts, liberated the science of language from the methods of other disciplines and cleared the way for the great philological progress of modern times, schools which are based on imagination, or on some doctrine have hardly been of any benefit to philology. Such a school is the so-called Japhetic school of Marr⁴³ and Braun⁴⁴ which presupposes a linguistic relationship between the Caucasian, Etruscan, Iberian and Basque languages, and calls this linguistic group the Japhetic family of languages, which is presupposed to have been the language of Europe before the advent of the Indo-Europeans.

The theory of this school is not based on well-tested facts of language, but mainly on speculation, and it has created such absurd and fantastic etymologies that their author himself had to abandon them, and his followers were forced to discard the Japhetic theory. In 1931 the Japhetic Institute changed its name into the Institute of Thought and Language.⁴⁵ Whereas from hypotheses arrived at by interpretation of facts the science of language has profited and the material on which the theories are based remains as a permanent element, which verifies their soundness, the activities of a school like the Japhetic have hardly benefited philology at all. Slavonic philology is still even today more indebted to a work like Miklosich's Grammar than to all these theoretical speculations. These imaginative theories have come and gone, whereas works based on facts, like the Grammar in question, remain sources of information for new interpretations.

Marr's Japhetic school, changing its name, has developed in another direction. It preserved from its founder the idea that linguistic forms are developing in a certain direction following the development of the human mind. In this evolution the new school distinguishes three or four principal stages, which correspond to periods in the development of human mentality and to the sociological structure of the speaking community. The new school is called briefly *stadialism*, because it is based on assumed *stadia* in the progress of language.

The philosophic basis of this conception is Hegel's dialectics, with an admixture of sociological ideas on the evolution of the human mind as presented in Auguste Comte's Sociology. The term *stadialmost* and *stadia* are newly borrowed words from German, where *stadium* translates Comte's *état*, i.e. stage, phase of evolution. The Russian sociological term has been fitted to linguistics, in order to express the development of language in periods.⁴⁶ This division in stages of linguistic developments proceeds from the obsolescent

19th-century division of languages, from the point of view of their morphology, into : *amorphous*, *agglutinative*, *flexional* and *analytic* languages. These morphological structures, however, cannot be regarded as an adequate basis for classification of languages and do not express the progress in linguistic development.⁴⁷

The stadial theory accepts these divisions and considers them as progressive forms (stages) in linguistic development. "Stadialism" is based on syntax, which reflects more adequately than morphology the social structure and the mentality of the linguistic community concerned. It creates, alongside the former linguistic stages, new ones corresponding to the evolution of human mentality, thus the stadialism distinguishes an *amorphous* stage, a *possessive* stage, an *ergative* and a *nominative* stage.⁴⁸

According to Marr, in the first stage there is a distinction between word and preposition; in the second stage there appears what he calls the ergative construction, i.e. constructions of the type : *the game is killed by the hunter*; in the third stage appears the nominative construction, i.e. constructions of the type *the hunter killed the game*. According to this school, these modes of expression correspond not only to a certain social structure, but also to a certain human mentality. The transition from one stage to another is determined by social causes and these transitions are so radical that it is a question not of quantitative, but of qualitative differentiation. Each language passes through these radical transformations, morphologically and syntactically, and there is no regress from a later to an earlier stage of development. An example of stadial change in morphology is found in the English language which changed its inflectional system into an analytic one. The theorists do not, however, show how the social system has determined the change of the inflectional into an analytic system, or how this change did transform English mentality.

In addition to the terms described above, which are used to define the four stages of language development, Marr's school also uses the terms *totemistic* for the first stage, *mythological* for the second, *conceptional inferior* for the third and *conceptional superior* for the fourth stage. All these terms may refer to mentality or to anything else, but not to language.

According to the "stadial" theory, the use of possessive pronouns would range the languages in the second, the possessive—mythological class. However, the analysis of linguistic facts shows how far-fetched the theory is. In the most-developed languages the use of possessive pronouns with nouns, closely related to the speaker,

is compulsory, or not compulsory according to conventions which result from the historical evolution of the language, from style, i.e. from the intention of the speaker, and not from the "stage" of his mentality. The terminology and the criteria used by Marr and by his school applies to mentality and not to language.⁴⁹

A few examples of the use of possessive pronouns in some languages will show the inconsistency of the stadial theory: In English we say: He lost *his* head; he lost all hope; to fritter the time away; Sir!; Yes, uncle!—In French: Perde *son* temps; *Mon* colonel!; Oui, *mon* oncle!; J'ai mal au pied; Le grand nombre d'amis qu'il a; le peu d'anglais que tu sais; avez vous reçu la lettre que je vous ai écrite hier?—In German: *Mein* Fuss tut mir weh; seine *vielen* Freunde; *dein* bischen Englisch; haben Sie *meinen* Brief erhalten, den ich Ihnen gestern geschrieben habe?—In Russian: Он потерял надежду; Она потеряла *свою* книгу; Он продал *свой* дом; мне нравится *его* дом; мы были в нашем саду; он в саду.

These examples show that the function of the possessive pronoun is determined not by a certain type of mentality, but by the intention of the speaker, by the style. "Stadialism" is a social doctrine which studies language with non-linguistic methods. Mentality and language are two different subjects of study. The objection to mixing the two fields has perhaps been best stated by the American scholar Twaddell in a study on defining the phoneme: ⁵⁰

"The logical objections to mentalistic explanation might be suspended, if there were any pragmatic utility in operating with 'mind' as a linguistic scientific fiction. But the actual result of mentalistic assumptions is not progress, but obstruction in scientific work. For the operation with mental 'causes' produces, in Bloomfield's phrase,⁵¹ 'a short circuit of inquiry.' The procedure of pretending to explain phenomena by giving mentalistic names to their previously unnamed and still unknown causes 'short-circuits inquiry' until some investigator perceives the fraud and returns to the study of phenomena and their correlation."

Another example, from morphology and syntax, will show how dangerous it is to explain linguistic facts by the merely "mentalistic" method. In four languages of South-Eastern Europe, i.e. in Bulgarian, in Greek, in Rumanian and in Serb, the future is formed by means of the auxiliary *to will*. As we see, those languages belong to three different families; in no other Slav or Romance language does that formation exist.⁵² If we look into other languages we see that English and Chinese have the same construction. Evidently, there is no connection between the developments of these far-distant

languages, nor could one invoke the general principle of identical "mentality." This linguistic construction corresponds to a general disposition which exists in the human mind. This does not mean, however, that it corresponds to a certain type of human mind determined by the biological evolution of human beings. It is a matter of common sense that, as language is a creation of man; his way of thinking and feeling is reflected in his linguistic creation.

No one has denied that changes in the manner of thinking brought about by civilisation and the development of the mind are reflected in linguistic changes. Progress in language consists in the perfection of our instrument of expression.⁵³ There exists an improvement of the technique of speech similar to the style of one author which is an improvement over the style of another. The change, whose study is the subject-matter of philology, does not conform to the development of mentality, "and should be envisaged as a result and not as a cause."

The actual facts of language do not accord with the schematic theory of stadialism. Linguistic expression is determined by the style, by the situation, by the individual qualities of the speaker. It is not a question of more primitive or more advanced mentality in using the active or passive construction. For example, English shows a preference for the passive construction; but we cannot rightly infer from this that English "mentality" is more primitive than that of the peoples whose language prefer the active construction. On similar grounds, we must also reject the non-philological explanation, made by advocates of the same school, in the sense that English spelling is an evil invention of the ruling class to keep the masses in darkness. That is neither a philological nor a true explanation, though it is adduced in works which claim to have scientific character.⁵⁴

Such confusions of methods are dangerous and we were warned against them long since by that brilliant representative of English philology, Henry Sweet. Here are his own words of warning against explaining linguistic changes by changes of mind on the part of the speakers: "When we find the old Germanic languages modifying the Aryan principles of concord by putting an adjective which refers to a man and a woman together in the neuter plural instead of the masculine plural, as was originally done, we are inclined to regard it as a proof that our forefathers had already developed something of that abstract and philosophical turn of mind which the average Englishman is apt to associate with the name 'German.' But it turns out that the change was originally a pure phonetic one, by

which the old dual ending was confused with that of the neuter plural. So it was not the minds of the speakers which created this new principle of concord ; it was the phonetic change which created first the new concord, and then the logical sense that it was more rational to include male and female under the more abstract neuter than to merge them under what was considered the superior sex."

Another judgment of Sweet's may well serve today as guiding principle in philology. It shows again the danger of confusing language with mentality, or of submitting language to the methods of other branches of study. " We also have to be careful in our chronology. From the fact that some of the Aryan-speaking populations have been the great carriers of civilisation, and that the Aryan languages were originally inflexional, it has been inferred that the inflexional structure is in some way an expression of the intellectual superiority of the Aryan race. But the truth is that at the time, when the Aryans laid the foundation of their inflexional system, they were far from being in an advanced state of civilisation, and that it was not till long after they had served their apprenticeship to the older civilisations of the Mediterranean, Egypt, and Western Asia—that they developed any independent intellectual activity. It must also be observed that some of the great triumphs of civilisation have been achieved by nations speaking Aryan languages in the analytical rather than inflexional stage. Even of the Greek we may say that its genius is analytical rather than inflexional, and that instead of the Greek inflexions being the expression of Greek intellect, they were rather antagonistic to it." ⁵⁵

I do not overlook the logical objection that might be made in defence of the " mentalist " approach to linguistic facts. One could say that language being a creation of the human mind should be approached by studying human mentality, the first source of language. The study of the human mind, however, is not the subject-matter of philology. Sociology, psychology, logic are external factors in the study of the language, like physiology and acoustics. Linguistic forms and their functions are the internal elements of language and these must be studied linguistically, and not otherwise.

If an aeroplane crashes, the authorities at the inquiry are not satisfied with the explanation which adduces as a cause the law of gravitation. They look for the special causes in machine troubles, etc. The universal cause is not satisfactory, whether it be called gravitation or the human mind. The specific causes of changes

must be thoroughly explored. If a man be killed by a car, the real cause of his death, for the scientist, is not the car. What would any legal authority say of a legal report which stated that the cause of death was the car, or that accident caused the death instead of stating which vital organ had been fatally injured? The car and the accident were accompanying circumstances, external elements of the cause. In science we have to avoid *à priori* explanations, and we dare not explain phenomena of one discipline with arguments valid for another discipline. In fact, language must be studied with linguistic methods.

Some contemporary philologists show an exaggerated reaction against the methods of historical science applied to the study of language. This reaction in linguistics is similar to that in other disciplines, e.g. the tendency to eliminate in biology the heredity factor and to explain biological facts as determined exclusively by factors of the external environment. A similar tendency in philology aims at eliminating the historical aspect in linguistic studies, and is trying to build linguistics exclusively on the synchronistic lines of de Saussure's theory.⁵⁶ In his teaching, however, "synchronism" (descriptive linguistics) and "diachronism" (historical linguistics) are the two co-ordinates which, when combined, help us to understand the reality of human speech. Both aspects are equally important for defining linguistic facts, which are not to be regarded as *disiecta membra*, but as parts of a system whose whole structure should always be the final aim of our research. "Chaque langue forme un système où tout se tient," said Meillet.⁵⁷

Historic methods in linguistic studies have been accused of desiccating parts of dead languages and disregarding the whole living structure of the language. That is true of any laboratory research work, which must proceed by analysing the parts for the better understanding of the whole. Synthesis is, however, the final aim of any research work, but it can be reached only in stages. A reaction against the atomistic conception in linguistics was produced by the phonological school of Prague. The works of Troubetzkoy have opened new ways in philological studies. His school has contributed valuable studies which help to a deeper understanding of linguistic phenomena. It is based on the phoneme theory.⁵⁸

The phonological study of a language is not possible without preliminary phonetic studies. Twaddell's remarks hold good in this respect: "... the tasks of the phonetician and of the phonologist are not antithetical or unrelated, but phonological synthesis is an integral continuation of phonetic analysis. The phonetician, in so

far as he is anything more than a laboratory technician, must also be a phonologist ; the phonologist, in so far as he is anything more than an artist, must be a phonetician.”⁵⁹ This truth is borne out also by the fact that the clearest and most comprehensive of the very numerous definitions of the phoneme has been given by the great phonetician Daniel Jones.⁶⁰

“Structuralism” is based on the conception of the languages as systems of phoneme combinations, organised according to certain rules and possible patterns. In considering the structures of languages we may see the interrelation of some facts and tendencies more clearly and synthetically. However, many aspects of human speech would remain unexplored and unexplained without an historical-comparative approach to the language. “Structuralism” does not even avoid the danger of an atomistic conception of the language, with which it reproaches the comparative and historical methods. It falls into the error of comparing facts which are qualitatively different, and historically disconnected⁶¹

The comparative and historical method, on the other hand, does not exclude the phonological and structural points of view, but “it is not enough to observe the facts as they are at a certain moment,” says Meillet, “we need more and more exact observation of the facts. Every time that one has looked more closely at the facts, one has obtained new results.” Philology progresses by expanding and systematising the researches “because theories are based on facts which are incomplete, vague taken at haphazard rather than selected.”⁶² This warning of the French master should remain the guide of any research worker, because it is based on sound common sense. It is even more clearly defined by the same great philologist in another passage : “People often imagine that progress in linguistics will come from new theories. What really is essential, is more progress in observing more precisely the material. . . . What makes linguistics progress is to describe with new precision the state of a language.”⁶³

I shall close with this advice given by the most experienced philologist of our time, because I do not know of anything better that could be recommended to philological research workers. The aim of this lecture was to help the student in threading his way among the alluring theories and schools in contemporary philology which change so rapidly. I do not advocate only the trodden paths of past experience ; new ways may also lead to clearings of truth, if they are well paved with solid facts studied with precision and analysed with fresh curiosity. But we should bear in mind the

warning about general human wisdom given in Goethe's *Faust*, where Mephistopheles warns the student :

Grey is, young friend, all theory ;
And green of life the golden tree.⁶⁴

That is true of life and also of philology. In practice neither is a logical abstraction and a creation of our imagination. Both are a chain of facts and events. In both we must learn from the past experience of others, and accept new and sound ideas. The process of conserving the old and of accepting innovations is the fundamental law of linguistic developments and is also a natural law of life.

These considerations are only methodological hints for students in Slavonic Philology. They will find the best models to imitate among those representing the glorious tradition of British Philology, who built always on the sound ground of facts and count, among their varied creations, the best dictionaries in the world.

Slavonic Philology has also pioneers whose works are the foundation stones for a solid building. If the Russian Grammar of the Dutchman Ludolfus (Henry William Ludolf, 1655-1712) published in 1696 in Oxford has a certain historical importance for Slavonic studies in Great Britain, Sweet's Russian pronunciation, published in 1877, is still a valuable study on Slavonic phonetics. The works of Neville Forbes and W. R. Morfill have outlived the quickly changing fashions in the field of philological research work.

I need not mention other distinguished representatives of Slavonic Philology in this country, who are still in life, but we cannot better begin our work than by paying an appreciative tribute to them.

GRIGORE NANDRIȘ.

¹ V. Jagić, *Istoriya slavyanskoj filologii* (Encyklopedija slavyanskoj filologiji, вып. 1, Stptbg, 1910, p. 1) "Славянская филология в обширном значении этого слова обнимает совокупную духовную жизнь славянских народов, как она отражается в их языке и письменных памятниках, в произведениях литературных, то отдельных личностей, то общей силы простонародного творчества, наконец в верованиях, преданиях и обычаях."

² H. Ułaszyn, *O istocie filologii słowiańskiej* (II. Międzynarodowy Sjazd Sławistów (Filologów Słowiańskich), Warszawa, 1934)

³ G. Iljinskij, *Что то славянская филология ?* (Ученые Записки Госуд. Саратовского Университета I, вып. 3, 1923) : "Славянская филология есть культурно-историческая дисциплина, изучающая духовную деятельность Славянства, поскольку она проявляется в слове (в языке) и его произведениях."

⁴ See, Frank Wollman, *Naše pojetí slovanské filologie a její dnešní úkoly* (Slavia XVIII, Praha, 1947-1948).

⁵ A. Mazon, *Le patrimoine commun des études slaves* Leçon d'ouverture du cours de langues et littératures slaves au Collège de France, le mercredi 6 février 1924 (Revue des Etudes Slaves, IV, 1924, pp. 113-32).

⁶ Venceslas Lednicki, *Les études de langues et de littératures slaves*. Leçon

d'ouverture du cours de langues et littératures . . . a l'Université de Bruxelles, le mardi 16 novembre 1926 (Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles, No 2, déc 1926-janv 1927, pp 1-23)

⁷ F Wollman, *Slovesnost Slovanů*, 1928, cf *Slavia*, XVIII, 254.

⁸ S P Obnorskij, *Očerki po istorii russkogo literaturnogo jazyka staršego perioda*, 1946, pp 3-8

⁹ Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique, XLIII, 1946; Revue des Études Slaves, XXIII, 1947, p 188

¹⁰ Cf F Wollman, *Slovesnost Slovanů*, 1928, J Gołabek, *Zadania i cele studjum literatur słowiańskich w Polsce* (Ruch Słowiański 2, 1929, p 325 sq.); J. Gołabek, *Zagadnienie łączności literatur słowiańskich* (ib p 370 sq.), A Bruckner, *Eine slawische Literaturgeschichte* ? (Dichtung und Welt Beilage zur Prager Presse, 4 10 1931); A Bruckner, *Geschichte der slawischen Literaturen* (Slawische Rundschau, 4.1932, p 1 sq.), F Wollman, *Die vergleichende slawische Literaturgeschichte*, Eine Erwiderung (Dichtung und Welt Beilage zur Prager Presse, 22 11 1931); F Wollman, *Vom Geiste des literarischen Schaffens* (Slawische Rundschau, 4 1932, p 115 sq.)

¹¹ Byzantino-Slavica 2, pp 1-23, and *Slavia* 1881, pp. 870-84

¹² M Małeckı, *Czy św. Cyryl i Metody byli Słowianami* ? (Inter Arma-K Nitsch, pp 51-7), V Iagić, *Entstehungsgeschichte der Altkirchenslawischen Sprache*, 1913

¹³ F Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX siècle*, Paris, 1926 (Travaux publiés par l'Institut d'Études Slaves, No 4), id, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*, Prague, 1933 (Byzantino-Slavica supplementa, Tome 1)

¹⁴ W v Wartburg, *Problèmes et méthodes de la linguistique*, 1946, p 191

¹⁵ George Sampson, *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature*, 1941, p 171.

¹⁶ Franz Bopp, *Über das Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache in Vergleichung mit jenem der griechischen, lateinischen, persischen und germanischen Sprache*, Frankfurt, 1816, Rask, *On the Origin of the Old Norse or Icelandic Language* (1814), Copenh., 1818.

¹⁷ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*, 1916, p. 14.

¹⁸ V. Brøndal, *Linguistique structurale* (Acta Linguistica I, Kopenhagen, 1939).

¹⁹ F de Saussure, *Cours de ling gén*, p 127. "La langue est un système dont tout les parties peuvent et doivent être considérées dans leur solidarité synchronique"

²⁰ J Baudouin de Courtenay, *Versuch einer Theorie phonetischer Alternationen*, 1895

²¹ F de Saussure, *Cours de ling gén*, p 19 "Leur mérite fu de placer dans la perspective historique tous les résultats de la comparaison, et par la d'enchaîner les faits dans leur ordre naturel"

²² Cf. W v Wartburg, *Das Inneinandergreifen von deskriptiver und historischer Sprachwissenschaft* (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sachs. Ak der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig Phil.-Hist Cl, 83 Bd, 1 Heft, 1931), cf. A. Sechehaye, *Les trois linguistiques saussuriennes*; Ch Bally, *Synchronie et diachronie*.

²³ N S Černodanov, *Strukturalizm i sovetskoe jazykoznanie* (Izv. Ak. SSSR, VI, 1 Lit, 1947, p 120).

²⁴ J Gilléron, *Pathologie et thérapeutique verbales*, Paris, 1921

²⁵ E. Benveniste, *Nature de signe linguistique* (Acta Linguistica I, Kopenhagen, 1939)

²⁶ Pierre Naert, *Arbitraire et nécessaire en linguistique* (Studia Linguistica I, Lund, 1947)

²⁷ A Meillet, *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indoeuropéennes*, 1934, pp 14-15.

²⁸ F de Saussure, *Cours de ling. gén.*, p 102. "Le signe linguistique est arbitraire."

²⁹ Cf O. Jespersen, *Philosophy of Grammar*, 1924, p 7.

³⁰ Cf L. Hjelmslev, *Principes de grammaire générale*, 1929, p 111

³¹ O Jespersen, *Logic and Grammar* (S.P.E Tract No XIV, 1924)

³² W Wundt, *Volkerpsychologie*, I *Die Sprache*, 1904

³³ Benedetto Croce, *Estetica* XVIII, ed Bari, 1908

³⁴ Karl Vossler, *Positivismus und Idealismus in der Sprachwissenschaft*, 1904; id, *Die Sprache als Schöpfung und Entwicklung* 1905, id., *Geist und Kultur in der Sprache*, 1925

³⁵ C Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, XIX, 1922, pp 871-2; also I 3

³⁶ Max Muller, *Biographies of Words and the Home of the Aryans*, 1888, p 120.

- ³⁷ H Sweet, *The History of Language*, 1900, p. 11.
- ³⁸ Cf Jespersen, *L'individuel et la communauté linguistique* (Linguistica, 1923, p. 128), id, *Mankind, nation and individual from a linguistic point of view*, p. 11 sq., London, 1947, S Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, 1922, p. 25.
- ³⁹ Cf John Orr, *Linguistic Geography as a corrective to Etymology* (Transactions of the Phil Soc, 1948).
- ⁴⁰ J Kurylowicz, *Études indo-européennes*, 1935.
- ⁴¹ E Benveniste, *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européennes*, 1935.
- ⁴² Cf. A Sommerfelt, *Some new ideas on the structure of Indo-European parent language* (Transactions of the Phil Soc, London, 1945).
- ⁴³ Cf N. Marr, *Der japhetische Kaukasus*, 1923 (and his subsequent studies in Russian).
- ⁴⁴ Cf F Braun, *Die Urbevölkerung Europas und die Herkunft der Germanen*, 1922.
- ⁴⁵ Cf W. K Matthews, *The Japhetic Theory* (The Slavonic and East European Review, No 68, 1948, pp 172-92).
- ⁴⁶ T Auguste Comte, *Cours de philosophie positive*, I, p. 5 sq.
- ⁴⁷ Cf Vendryes, *Le langage* (Russian translation), 1937, p 315; O. Jespersen, *Language*, 1925, 324, 326.
- ⁴⁸ I I. Meščannov, *Problema stadijalnosti i razviti jazyka* (Izv Ak N. SSSR, 1947, Lit.-Ling, VI, 3, pp. 173-88. A study on general linguistics without one single example in text).
- ⁴⁹ Cf. I. G. Kurylowicz, *Ergativnost' i stadijalnost' v jazyke* (Izv Ak N. SSSR, 1946, Tom V, vyp 5, Lit.-Ling, pp 387-93); id, *Językoznawstwo rosyjskie ostatniej doby* (Język Polski, XXVII, 1947, 4).
- ⁵⁰ Twaddell, *On Defining the Phoneme* (Language Monographs, XVI, 1935, p. 10).
- ⁵¹ Bloomfield, *Language*, pp. 32 sq; *Modern Philology*, 25, pp. 211 sq.
- ⁵² K. Sandfeld-Jensen, *Linguistique Balkanique*, Paris, 1930.
- ⁵³ O. Jespersen, *Sprogets udvikling og opstaden*, Kbh, 1926, pp 135 sq.
- ⁵⁴ R O. Šor-N S Čemodanov, *Vvedenie v jazykovedenie*, Moskva, 1945, p 255.
- ⁵⁵ H. Sweet, *History of the Language*, 1900, pp 141, 142.
- ⁵⁶ F de Saussure, *Cours de ling gén*, 1916, p. 127.
- ⁵⁷ Cf. J R. Firth, *Sounds and Prosodies* (Transactions of the Phil. Soc, 1948).
- ⁵⁸ Troubelskoy, *Grundzüge der Phonologie* (Travaux du Circle linguistique de Prague, Vol VII).
- ⁵⁹ Twaddell, o.c, p 58.
- ⁶⁰ Cf. D. Jones, *Some Thoughts on the Phoneme* (Transactions of the Phil. Soc., London, 1944).
- ⁶¹ Cf F Hintze, *Bemerkungen zur Methodik phonologischer Untersuchungen der Wortstruktur* (Studia Linguistica, II, 1, 1948, p. 75).
- ⁶² A. Meillet, *La méthode comparative en linguistique historique*, Oslo, 1925, p. 109.
- ⁶³ A. Meillet in *Archivio glottologico italiano*, 1926, sezione neolatina, p. 149, ap. B O Unbegaun, *La langue russe au XVI^e siècle—1500-1550*, 1935, Préface.
- ⁶⁴ Goethe, *Faust*, Pt. I, tr Anna Swanwick.

THE PROSE OF PUSHKIN

PART I

WHEN Vladimir Solovyev, in his famous article "The Role of Poetry in the Verses of Pushkin," compared Pushkin to Byron and Mickiewicz and pointed out that "in some ways one may prefer" the two latter to the former, inasmuch as "Byron and Mickiewicz were more *significant* than he"—"Byron surpassed Pushkin by the intensity of his self-consciousness and self-assertion. . . . Mickiewicz was greater than Pushkin in the depth of his religious feeling, the earnestness of his moral demands on personal and national life, the loftiness of his mystical conceptions and, above all, in his constant tendency to subordinate all personal and everyday things to that which he deemed absolutely imperative"—he supported by this comparison his fundamental view of Pushkin, namely, that "Pushkin remains a poet *par excellence*, a more genuine exponent of pure poetry than all the others." ¹ The qualities of Byron and Mickiewicz, said Solovyev, "were such that they would have found expression one way or another, even if these two mighty men had not written a single line of poetry." "And since they were, moreover, poets by the grace of God, and poets of genius, the dominant aspects of their personalities over and above their general significance naturally found expression also in their poetry. . . ." But "Byron and Mickiewicz brought in a content which, significant though it was, was not however essential to poetry as such. . . ." "Pushkin never had such a dominant central content of personality, but he simply had an eager, open soul, unusually receptive and responsive to all—and nothing more. The only great and important thing that he knew himself to possess was his creative gift; it is clear that he could not contribute anything *of his own* that was of universal significance to poetry, which remained with him *pure poetry*, receiving its content not from outside, but from itself." ² As usual, Solovyev brilliantly and precisely formulated his view of poetry in general and of Pushkin's poetry in particular. Solovyev's general æsthetic thesis anticipates not only the Formalists, but also the well-known work of Abbé Brémond, *De la poésie pure*. As regards his observations on Pushkin, they, to a certain extent, develop what had been said before Solovyev by Chernyshevsky.

Here is what Chernyshevsky wrote in 1855: ". . . The most important thing is that Pushkin was by preference a poet of form *par excellence*. By this we do not mean that his fundamental role

in the history of Russian poetry was to perfect the verse form ; such an idea would reflect too narrow a conception of the role of poetry in society. But indeed the primary significance of Pushkin's works is that they are beautiful—or, to use an expression so popular nowadays, artistic. Pushkin was not a poet with a definite outlook on life, as Byron was ; he was not even a poet of thought in general, as, for example, were Goethe and Schiller. The artistic form of *Faust*, *Wallenstein*, and *Childe Harold* came into being to express a profound philosophy of life ; in the works of Pushkin we do not find this. With him artistry is not a mere shell but kernel and shell all in one.”³ No less characteristic are the following remarks of Chernyshevsky on Pushkin as “ a historical poet ” : “ . . . But here, too, Pushkin remained true to himself : he did not express anything of his own ; his view of historical characters and historical fact was no more than a reflection of generally accepted notions which were repeated by everyone at that time, repeated without particular enthusiasm, because there was very little substance in them. . . . Generally speaking, the strong point of Pushkin's historical works is the general psychological verisimilitude of the characters, and not the fact that Pushkin saw in the events depicted by him their profound inner significance.”⁴

Chernyshevsky and Solovyev were probably right in their own way. True, the purely æsthetic element in Pushkin is the vital force of his art, of this there can be no doubt. Nevertheless, this aspect of Pushkin's art did not in the least detract from the enormous *ideological* role of Pushkin's poetry in the life of Russian society and in the subsequent development of Russian literature.

Is it necessary to remind anyone that Onegin became the classical prototype of the “ superfluous man ” in the Russian novel, and perhaps in Russian life ; that with Tatyana begins the gallery of women created by Turgenev and Goncharov ; that out of Pushkin's poetic allusions arose in Dostoevsky the problem of the imposter ; that Pushkin's “ anti-Polish lyrical trilogy ” determined the trend of Russian political thought to our days ; that Pushkin's poetic interpretation of Petersburg—bound up, it is true, with Mickiewicz and Gogol—for many decades captured the imagination of Russian poets and writers ? And this, of course, is by no means all ; countless examples could be cited.

However, the problem of Pushkin's prose still stands apart, as it were, and despite the great number of works about it which have appeared in the last thirty years certain doubts still persist about the actual role which the *Tales of Belkin*, *The Captain's Daughter*,

and Pushkin's other tales have played in the development of Russian literature in general and of the Russian novel in particular.

It is true that these doubts exist chiefly among the wide circles of Russian readers ; but even among Russian literary scholars one can still encounter different, and sometimes contradictory opinions, not to mention the fact that up to this day no work has appeared which would sum up the results of research in this field.

I obviously cannot enter into detail here, so I must concentrate on the essentials. The role of Pushkin as a poet requires no explanation—Pushkin is, above all, the culminating point of Russian 18th-century poetry and, at the same time, in the broad sense of the word, a synthesis of Russian national and Western European cultural tradition. As such he became the source of inspiration for the subsequent generations of Russian writers and poets. Pushkin did not come out of the blue—Russian 18th-century poetry found in him its final expression.

It was precisely because of this, because Pushkin was not only the ultimate, but the most exquisite, brilliant and complete expression of this tradition, that he became, at the same time, the father of Russian 19th-century literature.

Everyone has always agreed on this point, but agreed mainly with regard to Pushkin's poetry. His prose is a different matter. In this sphere, Pushkin proved to be much more of a deliberate and vigorous innovator than continuator or epigone, for the simple reason that there was nothing, or almost nothing, to continue. But it was exactly this that his contemporaries did not understand.

Of Pushkin's Russian predecessors in the realm of prose, only two names are, strictly speaking, worth mentioning : Radischev and Karamzin. (Bolotov and Fonvizin should also be mentioned, but they would require special comment.) But Radischev was not a novelist, while Karamzin had to take the very first steps in Russian narrative prose, which fact to a certain extent limited him.

Without any desire whatsoever to belittle the significance of Karamzin's fiction or his *Letters of a Russian Traveller* and their role in the formation of the Russian literary language, I must, nevertheless, point out that the demands of the times rapidly outstripped them ; Russian literature needed not only an intensive cultivation of literary prose vocabulary and style, but also development of the technique of the short story and, still more, of the full-length novel, to say nothing of the ideological content of prose

works. (Lack of space does not permit an analysis of the role played by the novels of Pushkin's contemporaries, such as Narezhny, Marlinsky, Buřharyn, Sękowski, Veltman, Zagoskin, Lazhechnikov, Vonlyarlyarsky, and others, who in a primitive manner, so to speak, met the demands of the day, but did not exercise any great influence on the subsequent development of the Russian novel.)

If Russian poetry of the late 18th century and early 19th century could hope to compete with that of the West, Russian prose had no right even to think of such competition.⁵

In order to show at what a level Russian prose found itself before Pushkin and how clumsy was the Russian novel of that time, the following example is sufficient :

"Unlacing the upper part of her dress, I touched with my trembling and sinful hand the delight of our lives, both of which in woman are generally called the breast, and it was here that I realised that women are for men, in truth, an electric machine." This was written by M. Chulkov, a well-known novelist of the 18th century.⁶

Even in Pushkin's time and after him the accepted Russian prose-writers—the literary critics—sometimes wrote in a style that was little better. Here is an eloquent example—Shevyrev's article on Pushkin himself :

"Pushkin's works, examined in their entirety, are a wonderful mass, completed columns, either already erected or waiting for the hand that will erect them, finished architraves, and chiselled ornaments and withal a rich store of marvellous ready material. Yes, yes, all Pushkin's poetry represents a wonderful elaborate sketch of an unfinished structure, which the Russian people throughout many centuries of its life is destined to continue building and to complete gloriously."⁷

Many of Pushkin's contemporaries—Vyazemsky, Marlinsky, Katenin, Sękowski, V. F. Odoevsky—complained about the lack of a Russian prose and the one who complained most of all was Pushkin himself. He not only complained but, at the same time, put forward definite, precisely-formulated demands. Pushkin's first remark concerning the subject of prose is perhaps his most characteristic and important one : "D'Alembert said once to La Harpe : 'Do not praise Buffon to me, that man writes : "The most noble of all man's acquisitions was this animal, proud, spirited, etc."' Why not say simply—"horse"?' La Harpe is surprised at the philosopher's dry reasoning. But d'Alembert was a very intelligent man—and, I must confess, I almost agree with his opinion. I shall note

in passing that the man in question was Buffon—that great portrayer of nature. His style, flowery, rich, will always be a model of descriptive prose. But what can be said of our writers who, considering it base to describe the most commonplace things simply, hope to animate their childish prose by padding and vapid metaphors? These people never say *friendship* without adding: ‘That sacred feeling, whose noble flame, etc.’ Instead of saying *early in the morning*, they write: ‘barely had the first rays of the rising sun illuminated the eastern rim of the azure sky . . .’ How novel and fresh all this is—is it better simply for being longer? Voltaire may be considered the best model of sensible style. In his *Micro-megas* he ridiculed the subtle refinement of the expressions of Fontenelle, who could never forgive him that. Precision and brevity—those are the first virtues of prose. It demands thoughts and more thoughts—without them brilliant expressions serve no purpose; poetry is another matter (however, even in poetry there would be no harm in our poets having a greater sum total of ideas than they usually have. Our literature will not advance very far on the reminiscences of past youth).

“Question: whose prose is the best in our literature?”

“Answer: Karamzin’s. That in itself is not much of a compliment.”⁸

These remarks, extremely valuable and characteristic, belong to the year 1822. In 1823 Pushkin added to Karamzin Prince P. A. Vyazemsky, as worthy of praise as a prose writer. In a letter to him, he wrote: “. . . yes, for God’s sake, do not neglect prose: you and Karamzin are the only ones who have mastered it—Glinka has mastered the language of feelings . . .”⁹ And this, as we already know, is not enough—“prose demands thoughts and more thoughts.” Pushkin remained true to this idea in 1824 when he complained about the absence of a “metaphysical language” in the Russia of his time. “The civilisation of our age,” he wrote, “demands serious subjects for minds that can no longer content themselves with brilliant play of imagination and harmony, but scholarship, politics, and philosophy do not yet express themselves in Russian.”¹⁰ And he goes on to say that “even in simple correspondence we are forced to *create* locutions to express the most common notions.”¹¹ This he repeats verbatim in 1825.¹²

In 1827, after praising Vyazemsky for the “liveliness” of his prose, Pushkin again returns to the subject of “thoughts”: “He (Vyazemsky) possesses the rare gift of expressing his thoughts in an original way—fortunately, he thinks, which is something quite

rare among us . . . as one should try to have the majority of votes on one's side. Have respect for fools!" ¹³

In the same year, 1827, he makes another very important and characteristic remark: "We use prose as if it were poetry, not because of necessity, not for the expression of necessary thought, but simply for the sake of an agreeable display of form." ¹⁴

In 1828, while still insisting on his principle of "thought" and returning to the subject of "simplicity," he introduces a new theme of "the untutored genius of the people" and "the strangeness of common parlance"—that, he says, is the mark of a "mature literature." ¹⁵ "The works of the English poets," he says, ". . . are full of deep feeling and poetic thoughts expressed in the language of the honest common man. Thank God, our time for that is not yet ripe. The so-called language of the gods is so new to us that we call anyone a poet who can compose ten iambic verses in rhyme. The charm of naked simplicity is still so incomprehensible to us that even in prose we pursue obsolete embellishments. . . . Not only have we not thought yet of bringing our poetic style closer to noble simplicity, but we even try to impart pomposity to our prose." ¹⁶

To this period belong Pushkin's first essays in the realm of imaginative prose; in the two or three years following *The Negro of Peter the Great* appeared the *Tales of Belkin*, *History of the Village Goryuhino*, and then *Dubrovsky*, *The Queen of Spades*, *Egyptian Nights* and *The Captain's Daughter*. During the second half of his short life Pushkin was clearly tending more and more towards prose, which he alternately described as "humble," "contemptible" and "austere."

How then did he carry out his programme? How did the Russian literary and reading circles receive Pushkin's prose; what influence did this prose have on Russia, and what was the response to it in Western Europe?

Leaving for the time being the first question, let us begin with the second.

Very few of Pushkin's contemporaries appreciated his achievements immediately. But even those whose attitude towards his prose works was favourable, accepted them with reservations and grasped only part of the poet's achievements.

Sękowski, undoubtedly an intelligent and highly educated man, at once understood the significance of the social-cultural aspect of Pushkin's prose language: he sought and awaited "the language

of good society." "If you like," he wrote in his French letter to Pushkin, "we still do not have a real Russian language of good society since our ladies speak Russian only to their servants; but we must create this language, create it and make these same ladies adopt it. This honour falls to you, to you alone, to your taste, to your amazing talent" ¹⁷ Sękowski saw in Pushkin's prose the "universal Russian" language, created precisely by Pushkin—Sękowski found it in *The Queen of Spades*. "The language of your poetry," he wrote, "which is equally understood by all classes and equally liked by all, this language you have transferred into your prose." ¹⁸ One cannot help feeling surprised that it was left to a Pole to notice this. However, Sękowski dwelt only on this, only the creation of a "universal Russian" language struck him. In any case, it is only this that he mentions to Pushkin, stressing, however, that Pushkin was "beginning an entirely new prose" Sękowski's remarks are true and valuable. Much later, in 1847, when Pushkin was already dead, Vyazemsky, admiring Pushkin's historical sense and the harmoniousness of his narrative style (in *The Negro* and *The Captain's Daughter*), wrote: "The narrative is vivid throughout, but deliberate and calm, maybe too calm. One feels as though Pushkin were on his guard; by self-imposed soberness he seemed to try to avoid the least suspicion of his having drunk of the cup of poetry. The prose writer locked himself tightly into his prose so that the poet could not even look in on him." ¹⁹ Vyazemsky stressed Pushkin's dislike of "seeking effects" and adds that Pushkin "perhaps carried this principle almost to the point of pedantry." ²⁰ Besides, Vyazemsky considers "clarity, insight, and soberness" to be Pushkin's most characteristic traits. ²¹ Pushkin the historian is also very aptly characterised by Vyazemsky. "It is not history that he would embody in himself and his time, but it is himself that he would transplant into history and the past. . . . Pragmatic history, political history, text-book history is absent here [in *The Negro*]. Here we have, only fleeting, so to speak, accidental touches. But how much moral and artistic truth there is in those touches . . ." ²²

However, it was neither Sękowski nor Vyazemsky who determined the destiny of Pushkin's prose among his contemporaries. Its destiny was determined for many years to come by Belinsky and Chernyshevsky. It is enough to quote a few opinions of these two critics to make obvious how deep the misunderstanding was.

Belinsky, whose first review of *Tales of Belkin* was rude and negative, retained this unfavourable attitude to the end of his days

and condemned them even more severely, although without the rudeness of his first review, in his famous article of 1846.

This is what Belinsky wrote in *Molva* in 1835. “. . . Have it as you will, but spring is the very best time of the year. Autumn is all right if it is fruitful and abundant,²³ if it is lit by the last farewell rays of the magnificent sun; but what if it is barren, muddy and foggy? And yet this happens so often. Here before me lie the *Tales* edited by Pushkin; could they also have been written by Pushkin? . . . True, these tales are entertaining, they cannot be read without pleasure; this is due to the charming style, to the art of story-telling [*conter*]; but they are not works of art, they are merely stories, little fables. They will be read with pleasure and even with delight by a family, gathered some dull long winter evening by the fireplace; but they will not set aflame the blood of a spirited youth, nor light his eyes with the fire of rapture, nor will they disturb his sleep—no—after reading them one may sleep like a log. Had these tales been the first work of some young man, this young man would have attracted the attention of *our* public; but as the work of *Pushkin* . . . autumn, autumn, cold, rainy autumn after a beautiful, luxuriant, fragrant spring . . . Had the name on the cover been Mr. Buřharyn's even I would be ready to think: is not Faddey Venediktovich in truth a genius? But *Pushkin* . . . have it as you will, it is even sad to think.”²⁴ *The Queen of Spades* Belinsky considered “over-praised,” and he recognised as worthy of Pushkin only *The Shot*.²⁵

And here is his opinion of Pushkin's prose, which we find in the 1846 article. Having praised *The Negro*, having said that in comparison with it the stories of Kukolnik are “poor and pitiful”, having declared, however, that “it is not a great honour to be taller than pygmies, and we have no one else to compare with it [*The Negro*],” Belinsky proceeds to review the *Tales of Belkin* and Pushkin's other prose works, and here he states that the *Tales* were “received coolly by the public and still more coolly by the periodicals,” that “although it cannot be said that there is nothing good in them, yet these tales were unworthy of either the talent or the name of Pushkin.” “They are somewhat like Karamzin's tales,” wrote Belinsky, “with the sole difference that Karamzin's tales were of great significance for their time, while *Tales of Belkin* were below their time. Particularly poor is one of them—*The Peasant-Miss*—improbable, farcical, portraying the life of the squires from the idyllic point of view. *The Queen of Spades* is, strictly speaking, not a tale, but a masterly story . . . strictly

speaking not a tale, but an anecdote: for a tale the subject-matter of *The Queen of Spades* is too exceptional and fortuitous . . ." ²⁶

Belinsky was somewhat more favourable towards *The Captain's Daughter* and *Dubrovsky*, but still with some strong reservations. "The insignificant, colourless character of the hero of the story and his beloved Marya Ivanovna and the melodramatic character of Shvabrin all belong to its striking shortcomings; however, Belinsky agreed to recognise the novel as "one of the most remarkable works in Russian literature." In his criticism of *Dubrovsky* Belinsky once more points to the melodramatic qualities in the character of its hero, asserting that the hero "does not arouse any sympathy." ²⁷

I shall return to these critical remarks of Belinsky, which themselves do not stand up under criticism. First, though, I must deal with Chernyshevsky, whose evaluation of Pushkin's prose was no less negative.

At the very beginning of his classical work, *Studies in the Gogol Period in Russian Literature*, Chernyshevsky asserts that "Gogol was the father of Russian prose, and not only was he its father, but he soon gave it a decided preponderance over poetry. . . . He had neither predecessors nor helpers in this task. To him alone prose owes its existence and all its achievements. 'What! He had no predecessors and no helpers? Can the prose works of Pushkin be overlooked?' . . . No, they cannot, but in the first place they do not by far have the same importance in the history of literature as do his poetical works. *The Captain's Daughter* and *Dubrovsky* are tales, excellent in the full sense of the word; but tell me, where was their influence reflected? Where is the school of writers who can be called the followers of Pushkin as a prose-writer?" ²⁸

Continuing his discussion on the importance of Gogol's "influence," Chernyshevsky points to the fact (not true, by the way) that "Gogol appeared before Pushkin as a prose-writer." "The first of Pushkin's prose works to be printed, not taking into account some insignificant fragments," continues Chernyshevsky, "were *Tales of Belkin*, in 1831; but everyone will agree that these tales had no great artistic merit. Then, up to 1836 the only work printed was *The Queen of Spades* (in 1834)—no one doubts that this short piece is beautifully written, but at the same time no one will attribute to it any special importance." ²⁹

As one can easily see, Chernyshevsky and Belinsky agreed on many points. In any case, Pushkin was excluded as a possible factor in exercising active influence on the subsequent development

of Russian prose. This appraisal of Pushkin's prose by such authoritative Russian critics could not but influence the literary orientation of that time. It was this appraisal that was to a large degree responsible for the negative influence. For many years Gogol remained the recognised "father of Russian prose."

Both Belinsky and Chernyshevsky were, of course, wrong. They not only overlooked the artistic merits of Pushkin's prose (their weak, forced praises do not alter the situation), but they proved very near-sighted in another sense too—they misjudged the importance of Pushkin for the Russian novel of his time and completely failed to foresee the possibility of any subsequent influence of Pushkin on Russian prose in the persons of its most significant representatives. Lack of space does not permit me to enter into an analysis of the causes that brought about this negative appraisal. One thing I will say, though: it was not accidental, it was related to the "social" demands which Belinsky and Chernyshevsky made on literature with their enthusiasm for the satirical trend and, finally, with their extremely one-sided and erroneous interpretation of Gogol's art.

But this is not the point. The point is that, as I already mentioned, the authoritative formulations of Belinsky and Chernyshevsky left their mark. Pushkin the prose-writer had to wait long for a revaluation in Russia. I cannot enter into the question as to when and why this revaluation came. My present aim is simply to ascertain how we of today look upon Pushkin's prose and, in general terms, to determine the extent of its influence on Russian writers of the second half of the 19th century.

First of all I must stress the variety of Pushkin's *genres*: historical novels (*The Negro of Peter the Great* and *The Captain's Daughter*); psychological novellas (*The Queen of Spades*, *Egyptian Nights* and *The Shot*); novel of manners and adventure (*Dubrovsky*); a *genre* grotesque (*The Undertaker*); satirical *genre* sketch (*History of the Village Goryukhino*); jocular literary parody in the form of a narrative vaudeville (*The Peasant-Miss*); whimsical fairy-story (*The Snowstorm*); playfully-sentimental tale (*The Station-Master*); biographical sketch (*Kirdjali*); travel notes (*The Journey to Arzrum*). Then—the variety of themes and plots, the subtle play with literary tradition and clichés, a double play, so to speak, along the line of parodying the plot and the cliché, and along the line of perfecting the traditional situations and devices. I shall limit myself to a few examples:

In *The Peasant-Miss*, Pushkin gives us a playful parody, cloaked

in subtle irony, on several old plots simultaneously : the Shakespearean and Walter Scottian theme of lovers belonging to hostile families ; the Western European (Mme Montolieu and A. Lafontaine) and Karamzinian (*Poor Liza* and *Natalie, Boyar's Daughter*) motif of the love of an aristocrat for a peasant ; the secret marriage theme. M. N. Speransky, Eichenbaum, Yakubovich, Tomashevsky, Vinogradov and others have written about this. Moreover, Pushkin playfully unmasks the Byronic type by means of its parallel appearances before the "miss" and before the "peasant." To the unmasking of the Byronic hero corresponds the unmasking of the sentimental "provincial miss." The vaudeville motif of disguise (Beaumarchais and especially Marivaux) is introduced as a *pendant* to this "spiritual" masquerade.

In like manner one should not forget the presence of the play with the age-old cliché of recognition (which appears by the way also in *Snowstorm*—more about this later). This is not all—Pushkin complicates his play by the fact that even without direct hints the connection with *Eugene Onegin* is evident—Pushkin, as it were, parodies himself. Allusions to other authors (Nodier, Karamzin) play a prominent part and, finally, the epigraph from Bogdanovich, very subtly revealing the function of the heroine's double role, not only in the story as a whole but also in relation to the hero. (The part played by epigraphs in all of the *Tales of Belkin* has been brilliantly explained by V. Vinogradov³⁰—especially effective is the function of epigraphs in *The Snowstorm*, *The Undertaker*, and *The Station-Master*, to which I shall yet return.) In *The Station-Master* the play with the plot of *Poor Liza* is the substance of the story. The ironic hint, anticipating the unexpected happy ending of the adventure of the "poor girl"—"the stray lamb" seduced by "the wealthy hussar"—is hidden in pictures depicting the history of the prodigal son. (This was very successfully pointed out by M. O. Gerschenson.³¹) "The stray lamb" became "the wealthy lady," while the station-master fell victim, not so much to what happened as to puritan morals which were thrust on him by the German pictures hanging in his little house. (To what was said by Gerschenson may be added that it is a very significant fact that Pushkin gave them so much attention—usually Pushkin sets the scene with very brief "stage remarks"; while in this case all four engravings are described in detail and this description occupies, comparatively speaking, a great deal of space in the short story. This, of course, is no accident. Because of these pictures the whole of *The Station-Master* has truly become a "puzzle picture.")

In *The Snowstorm*, as I think I have been able to prove,³² Pushkin perfected the treatment of a difficult and unusual situation—he found a happy solution. I have in mind the application of the device of “recognition” to the case of the separated husband and wife. The whole literary genealogy of *The Snowstorm* is very complex—it can be traced to the old Greek novel, the Greek and Roman tragedy and comedy, *via* Regnard and the “tearful” French comedy of the 18th century, to say nothing of Pushkin’s intricate toying with the theme of fate and the betrothed, embodied in the images of the snowstorm—about which V. Vinogradov has written so fascinatingly.³³ In the two tales, *The Snowstorm* and *The Station-Master*, and in *The Undertaker*, epigraphs play a decisive role in the stories and at the same time reveal, so to speak, their supplementary content. In *The Snowstorm* we have a quasi-realistic illustration of the theme of Zhukovsky’s *Svetlana* with the sombre colouring of Bürger’s Russified ballad transposed into Marya Gavrilovna’s dream. Here again there is evidence of Pushkin’s supreme mastery.

A concealed polemic with Prince Vyazemsky is carried on in *The Station-Master*. In his poem, *The Station*, Vyazemsky contrasts the boredom and filth of a Russian post-stage with the attractive, clean, cosy and interesting Polish stations with their “chicken, crawfish and asparagus” (Vyazemsky wrote this line in Polish. “kurczęta, raczki i szparagi”), with the “guitar on the wall,” “with the weapons of old Polish glory,” with “fresh flowers on the windows,” with “framed features of the heroes of Kraków and Wilno,” with “the tragic and touching novel,” and with it “the folios of Dmuszewski” “on the shelf,” with “the wife or daughter of the commissar,” “the Polish woman—in a word, everything is said; here is the portrait and the madrigal,” and, finally, with the journey to Warsaw and all the entrancements that this journey promises. . . .

By his story Pushkin defends, as it were, not only the Russian station-master, as Vinogradov points out, but the Russian station in general; it is as if he were answering Vyazemsky: the daughter of the Russian station-master is not a bit inferior to the daughter of the Polish “commissar,” while the adventures at a Russian station can be no less fascinating than a journey to Warsaw. The Polish patriotic engravings (apparently of Kościuszko and Jasiński—mentioned later, by the way, in *Pan Tadeusz*, as well as the line: “po chłodniku szły raki, kurczęta, szparagi”³⁴) are opposed to the pictures of the parable of the prodigal son.

In *The Undertaker*, as Eichenbaum has pointedly remarked, there

is "play with the plot by means of false movement · the dénouement brings us back to the moment with which the plot began and destroys it, converting the story into a parody" ³⁵ The part played by the epigraph is no less important than in other tales: to the "cosmic horror" of Derzhavin is opposed the "professional indifference" of the coffin-maker. The comparison is undoubtedly suggested by Shakespeare. To Adrian a coffin is the same as a suitcase. I believe that these examples are enough to show that the *Tales of Belkin* represent a pure literary game. It is a sort of literary chess; an abstract speculation, so to speak, intended for literary "gourmets." It is exactly in this that the quintessence of Pushkin's literary efforts is concealed—efforts clearly of the highest order as they in themselves are proof of Pushkin's artistic supremacy. They are a result of this supremacy. The very nature of these efforts and intentions is witness to how high were the aims of Pushkin's art. The very fact that Pushkin could allow himself such play with literary traditions and literary technique is in itself extremely significant. Deliberate play with literary stereotypes, which often takes on the character of literary parody, is possible only on the condition of being *saturated* with popular forms and devices; it is within reach only of a great master, certainly not of a novice. From all that has been said above, it follows that the ideological element is not the main one in the *Tales of Belkin*. If there is such an element, it is not to be found where Belinsky looked for it. That is why Belinsky was sadly mistaken when he saw in *The Peasant-Miss* an idealisation of the life of the squires. Pushkin was not defending anyone here, he was simply toying, *playing the virtuoso*. This is what Belinsky completely failed to understand. No less typical, in this respect, is Dostoevsky, with his Makar Devushkin and the latter's admiration for *The Station-Master*, which he contrasts with *The Overcoat*. All this, of course, is a case of peculiar, though perfectly legitimate literary Daltonism.

The Shot is a different matter; at least, Belinsky judged it to "be worthy of Pushkin." And no wonder—Belinsky was the first to say all that mattered most about *Mozart and Salieri*, and therefore, he could not overlook *The Shot*. It is a pity, however, that he did not explain why he liked it.

The Shot, as was brilliantly shown thirty years ago by Iskoz (Dolinin), is connected with a series of works in which recurs a contrast of two human types (Boris Godunov—The Pretender, Salieri—Mozart, The Miserly Knight—Albert), of the free and the

unfree personality, of the born ruler and the usurper, of the one who commands power and is its master, and the one who serves it and is its slave ; a contrast of spontaneous will and activity to cautious calculation. This leads to the theme of rationalism and irrationalism (for the sake of simplicity I use these un-Pushkinian terms), as well as to the theme of the usurper, the usurper as such, of the psychological essence of usurpation (in *Boris Godunov* the historical usurper is not the psychological usurper—that is the lot of Boris).

Sylvio—here I do not agree with Eichenbaum,³⁶ is by no means a secondary character in the story : the significance of the contrast between Sylvio and the young count was understood by Dostoevsky who, under the cloak of a deliberately crude parody, fully explored in his *Notes from Underground* the profound philosophical and psychological allusions which he discerned in *The Shot*.³⁷

The same should be said of *The Queen of Spades*. This “ anecdote ” is pregnant with meaning both as a psychological story about a man “ hypnotized by an idea,” and as a social-historical study of the “ Napoleonic ” type (Stendhal-Dostoevsky).

Belinsky could say nothing worse than what he said of Grinev, Masha and Shvabrin—especially of Grinev. Shvabrin is drawn from life (although Prince V. F. Odoevsky also thought him “ morally fantastic ”), he is based on historical facts and documents. Masha—although she is a literary relation of Walter Scott’s heroines—is Tatyana’s own sister, she was “ tuned ” by Pushkin in the key of his poem “ I loved you, it may be that my love . . . ”³⁸ But let us leave them—Grinev is, in a sense, more important. He is—if one may say so—the finest, the unique device of Pushkin the historian. The *Ich-Erzählung* method was in this case of invaluable service, precisely owing to the average character of the narrator. It serves as a disguise for Pushkin’s political strategy. Thanks to Peter Andreyevich Grinev’s “ insignificance,” to his mediocrity, Pushkin succeeded in creating the illusion of an accurate historical picture. Thanks to Grinev “ war and peace ” appear in the novel such as they appeared to everybody at that time, and not as “ war and peace ” as Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy understood it (this was noted with great subtlety by Leontyev).

Thanks to Grinev Pushkin could freely portray Pugachev without “ answering ” for him before Nicholas I, who refused to see in him an historical personage.³⁹

Thanks to Grinev Pushkin could make his picture of the life of the Russians of that time truthful and convincing ; he showed them through their own eyes—they knew only what they them-

selves saw, or heard from people just like themselves—no more. *That* and *only that* Grinev saw and knew, and *that* was what he told about, without “wily sophistry.” After all, Pushkin could not make him into a Belinsky!

Pushkin used this device quite consciously. His theoretical utterances on this subject fully confirm this.

“The principal charm of Walter Scott’s novels,” he wrote in 1830, “lies in the fact that we are introduced to the past not through the *enflure* of French tragedies, not through the primness of sentimental novels, not through the *dignité* of history, but in a contemporary, domestic manner . . . ce qui nous charme dans le roman historique—c’est que ce qui est historique est absolument ce que nous voyons—Shakespeare, Goethe, Walter Scott have no servile predilection for kings and heroes . . .”⁴⁰

Comparing in 1830 the “Scotch wizard” with his “imitators” he said: “Like Agrippa’s disciple they, having conjured up the demon of antiquity, did not know how to manage him and fell victim to their own insolence. Into the age into which they want to carry the reader they take over a heavy stock of domestic habits, prejudices and daily impressions. Under the plumed beret you recognise the head groomed by your barber; through the lace ruff à la *Henri IV* peeps the starched cravat of today’s dandy. Gothic heroines are educated at Madame Campan’s, and 16th-century statesmen read *The Times* and the *Journal des Débats*. How many incongruities, unnecessary details, important omissions. How much refinement. And, above all, how little life. . . .”⁴¹

Not a little of what Pushkin said here so brilliantly was in fact repeated (or perhaps it was a mere coincidence?) by Turgenev and Leontyev in connection with *War and Peace*. (I shall mention in passing that, as I have already written several times, *War and Peace* is an intentionally anti-historical novel and most certainly not lacking in life.)⁴²

Closely related to the problem of evoking the past is, in Pushkin the historical novelist and Pushkin the novelist of manners, the problem of historical and social stylisation: the best and most brilliant examples of this are to be found in *The History of the Village Goryukhino*, in *Dubrovsky*, in the fragment *Cæsar was travelling* . . ., not to speak of *The Negro of Peter the Great* and *Roslavlev*.

In his prose Pushkin carried out to the full his own programme (insofar as his life, cut short so early, allowed him) and thereby rendered a great service to Russian literature. First of all we must emphasise the excellent architectonics, the composition of his tales

—their lucid and logical construction. No less characteristic is the power of the plot—it acts not only immediately and incontrovertibly, but also flexibly and freely, although it is tightly bound by the theme. All the characters are subordinated to this power. True, this is easily achieved in non-psychological works, in novels and stories of pure “adventure,” as for example *The Snowstorm* and *The Peasant-Miss*, where the author has no special need to take into account the fact that a character may not fit in psychologically with the action or situation imposed on him. But even here the necessary minimum of this “psychological fitness” for the intended part is present. This is one of the most important elements that go to make up the harmoniousness of the whole.

In works with rich psychological content (*The Queen of Spades*, *The Shot*) the psychology of the characters collaborates with the plot, never interfering with either psychological or social verisimilitude. Here we can observe a truly free collaboration—there is no question of any coercion. And then—the astonishing swiftness of action. In *The Captain's Daughter* the plot, according to Prince Mirsky's apt expression, acts like a coiled spring. From beginning to end the action unfolds without pause; there are practically no so-called static motifs—all the motifs are dynamic.

And how can one but admire the amazing economy of artistic means which has long since been noted by Russian and foreign critics! Pushkin's narrative is like a coded message in which each cipher speaks a lot and costs a lot.

Simplicity of style—an ascetic simplicity along with a sort of chemical saturation of content. No ornaments, no unnecessary epithets, metaphors, similes. No lyricism, declamation, rhetoric, emotional tenseness. No vagueness. All this, however, is well known.

Sentences are short, nearly all of them are main clauses constructed in the natural, logical Russian order: subject, complement and predicate. The verb and the noun are the main components of a phrase. The adjective and the adverb appear only to mark, so to speak, the movement, the transitions and changes—changes of image and mood. But this is always connected with the object under observation, it never arises out of the author's “lyrical emotion” or by way of a play with sounds and words as in the case of Gogol.

In this sense Pushkin was of course a disciple of French 18th-century writers and perhaps of Shakespeare. Voltaire wrote in exactly the same vein—compare, for example, his *Candide* (and also

Byron's *Don Juan*, written in the same style, although in verse, and inspired by Voltaire).

And of Shakespeare Pushkin himself said: "The ghost scene in *Hamlet* is written entirely in a facetious, even low style, but your hair stands on end from Hamlet's jokes."⁴³

It is significant that though Pushkin thought (he wrote to this effect in 1825) that the "romantic transitions" of the "*swift-moving* tales" (thus he characterised Marlinsky's prose) "are good for a Byronic poem, while a novel demands *chatter*,"⁴⁴ "tackle a regular novel [he wrote to Bestuzhev-Marlinsky in another letter of the same year] and base it on free conversation or letters, otherwise the style will always savour of Kotzebue"⁴⁵—he did not introduce "chatter" into his own "novels."

Finally, the "ideological" content of Pushkin's prose proved to be exceedingly rich, the principle that "prose demands thoughts and more thoughts" was fully carried out: he did not "psychologise" his prose, he "logicised" it, impregnating it with ideological, instead of emotional, content.

And therein lies the substance of Pushkin's reform: "chatter" gave place to "thoughts and more thoughts." This principle did not fail either Pushkin or Russian literature.

The carrying-out of this principle by Pushkin himself did not in the long run pass without leaving its mark—Russian literature returned to Pushkin's prose, even though at first it didn't realise this.

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(To be concluded)

¹ Incidentally, the same view was expressed by Belinsky. "Pushkin was primarily a poet, an artist, he could not have been anything else because of his nature" (Cf. V. G. Belinsky *Izbrannye sochineniya*, Oiz, Gos izd, Moscow, 1947, p. 523)

² Solov'yev, V., *Sochineniya*, Vol IX, pp. 296-98.

³ *Russkie pisateli XIX veka o Pushkine*, ed. by A. S. Dolinin, Gosizdat, 1938, pp. 250-51. Let me note here that Solov'yev says: "Without disturbing the giant shades of Homer and Dante, Shakespeare and Goethe—one can prefer both Byron and Mickiewicz to Pushkin." We see how very close indeed he was to Chernyshevsky.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁵ Belinsky was even more severe: "The idea of poetry was ordered by mail from Europe to Russia, and appeared in our country as an overseas innovation. It was understood as the artistry of composing verses for solemn occasions." (Cf. Belinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 291)

⁶ Cf. V. Sipovsky *Ocherki po istorii russkago romana*, St. Petersburg, 1909, Vol. I, p. 611.

⁷ See N. G. Chernyshevsky, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii*, Moscow, 1947, Vol. III, p. 107.

⁸ *Pushkin o literature*, Academia, M.-L., 1934, pp. 15-17.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 60

- ¹³ *Pushkin o literature*, Academia, M-L, 1934, p. 110
¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 111. ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 153. ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 153
¹⁷ See *Russkie pisateli XIX veka o Pushkine*, Leningrad, pp. 143-44.
¹⁸ He calls *The Queen of Spades* "a lovely thing," adding: "You are creating something new, you are beginning a new epoch in literature, which you have already adorned in another sphere" *Ibid.*, p. 144
¹⁹ *Russkie pisateli XIX veka o Pushkine*, pp. 38-39.
²⁰ *Ibid.* ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.
²² *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 37.
²³ We know that the *Tales of Belkin* were written in Boldino in the autumn of 1830, which is now known as "Pushkin's golden autumn"
²⁴ V. G. Belinsky, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii*, ed by S. A. Vengerov, Vol. II, St. Petersburg, 1900, p. 60
²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61
²⁶ V. G. Belinsky, *Izbrannye Sochineniya*, Moscow, 1947, p. 523
²⁷ *Ibid.*
²⁸ N. G. Chernyshevsky, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii*, M., 1947, Vol. III, p. 16
²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.
³⁰ Cp. V. Vinogradov, "O stile Pushkina," *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, Vol. 16-18, M., 1934, pp. 141-91.
³¹ *Mudrost' Pushkina*, 1919
³² Cp. W. Lednicki, "Bits of Table Talk on Pushkin: III *The Snowstorm*," *The American Slavic and East European Review*, Dec. 1947, pp. 110-33.
³³ "O stile Pushkina," *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo*, Vol. 16-18, M., 1934.
³⁴ *Pan Tadeusz*: Book I and Book V
³⁵ *Pushkin-Dostoevsky*, St. Petersburg, 1921, p. 91.
³⁶ *Dom Literatorov*, as above, p. 90.
³⁷ I am engaged at present in establishing a connection between *The Shot*, *The Diary of a Superfluous Man*, and *Notes from Underground*
³⁸ This was once noted by M. L. Hofman
³⁹ As we know, Pushkin had to change, on the demand of Nicholas I, his title *The History of Pugachev* to *The History of the Pugachev Rebellion*
⁴⁰ *Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii*, pod red. Tsyavlovskogo, Academia 1936, Vol. V, p. 276.
⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36
⁴² Cp. W. Lednicki, *Quelques aspects du nationalisme et du Christianisme chez Tolstoi*, Cracovie-Paris, 1935, and W. Lednicki "Tolstoy Through American Eyes," in the *Slavonic and East European Review*, London, 1947.
⁴³ *Pushkin o literature*, p. 153
⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 77 ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 89

VLADIMIR AND THE ORIGIN OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

THE Baptism of Prince Vladimir (978-1015) at the end of the 10th century, followed by the conversion of the nation to Christianity, is one of the most studied episodes in the early history of Russia ; but it is so beset by problems that it has been a subject of dispute from the middle of the 11th century until the present day. The origins of the Russian Church were examined in detail in Russia in the 19th and especially in the first decade of the 20th century.¹ During the last twenty years the same subject has once more attracted much attention. A number of publications dealing with it have appeared in Europe and on the other side of the Atlantic.² Their authors have carefully scrutinised the Scandinavian Sagas, Western Chronicles, the writings of Byzantine, Arab and Armenian historians for their references to Russia of the 10th and 11th centuries, and as the result some obscure points especially connected with Vladimir's own baptism, have been clarified by comparing the data of the Russian Chronicles with the facts given in non-Russian sources. Attempts to solve the problems of the original organisation of the Russian Church have been less satisfactory, and conflicting theories still exist. Prof. Vernadsky, for instance, considers that the Russian Church was under the Archbishops of Tmutorkan during the first fifty years of its existence. Mr. Jugie sees it as a part of the Roman Province ; Mr. Laurent and Mr. Honigmann think that it was from the beginning controlled by the Patriarchate of Constantinople. M. Priselkov's suggestion, made in 1913,³ that the Russian Church was under the jurisdiction of Ochrida also finds qualified ⁴ and unqualified supporters,⁵ and these disagreements have caused a serious gap in the present understanding of the important period when the foundations of the Russian Church and State were laid.

The purpose of this article is to return to the Russian sources once more, chiefly to the Chronicles, and in the light of the latest research to examine their accounts of the last twenty-five years of Vladimir's reign. The major difficulty here is not lack of information but its biased nature ; and the success of this study depends therefore, to a large extent, on the ability to discover the causes of the ambiguity of the existing text of *The Tale of Bygone Years* (Povest Vremenykh Let) hereafter referred to as the *Povest*.⁶

I

This important document forms an introduction to the majority of Russian Chronicles. Its oldest, and therefore most authentic, versions are found in the *Lavrentievsky* (1377) ⁷ and *Ipatievsky* ⁸ (end of 14th century) *Chronicles* which are almost identical as far as the *Povest* is concerned, except for their chronology. Though these copies of the *Povest* are separated by some two hundred and fifty years from its compilation, the close resemblance of these versions suggests that its text was standardised at some early date and adhered to by later copyists.

Besides the *Povest*, the *Chronicle of Novgorod* also contain some valuable information about the origin of the Russian Church.⁹ Unfortunately its oldest copy, the so-called "Synodical," ¹⁰ which dates probably from the 13th century ¹¹ lacks the first hundred and twenty-eight pages, covering the period from the 9th century till 1016. Though the missing parts can be restored from some later manuscripts, these may have been affected by various alterations. Much additional information, not found either in the *Povest* or "Novgorodsky" chronicle, is preserved in the later collections of Russian Chronicles, like that of Nikon,¹² which was composed in the 16th century. Its compilers may have used manuscripts which were of equal if not greater authority than the present text of Lavrentievsky's chronicle, but which have since been lost. Several facts recorded in the Nikon Chronicle may have been borrowed from these ancient sources. Unfortunately, however, the compilers of this 16th-century chronicle also incorporated into their narratives various episodes of doubtful origin which have caused them to be discredited by modern historians. The same can be said about Tatishchev's *History of Russia*.¹³ He had access to several ancient documents, unfortunately no longer traceable, but he lacked the ability to discriminate between reliable and unreliable information.

Besides the Chronicles there are several other Russian works of the 11th century dealing with Prince Vladimir. The most important of them is *The Memorial and Praise of Prince Vladimir*, attributed to the Monk Jacob.¹⁴ Its chronology of Vladimir's conversion differs from that given by the *Povest*, and appears to be the more authentic of the two. The eloquent treatise on "Law and Grace" composed by the Metropolitan Hilarion between 1037 and 1050 also gives a vivid portrait of the great Prince.¹⁵ This cannot be said, however, about the life of "the Blessed Vladimir," which contains a great deal of legendary material. A. A. Shakhmatov made a successful recon-

struction of its original text, but even in his purged edition there is more fiction than history.¹⁶

Thus it is possible to summarise the survey of Russian sources in the following way: The *Povest* remains the main source, but the facts and dates reported in it have to be checked and corrected by the earlier descriptions of Vladimir's conversion as preserved by the Chronicle of Novgorod and in the writings of the Monk Jacob and the Metropolitan Hilarion. The later chronicles and Tatishchev should be used only with considerable caution.

The origin of the *Povest*, its author or authors, and the date of its composition have been closely studied by many Russian historians. The older school of these, typified by Makari,¹⁷ considered the *Povest* to be a trustworthy account of bygone years, recorded some time in the 11th century by a simple but devout monk. This point of view was seriously challenged at the end of the last century, when contradictions and inaccuracies were noticed in the narrative of the *Povest*. Its author, once highly esteemed, was discredited and treated as an ignorant and bigoted ecclesiastic, unable to distinguish between fact and fiction.¹⁸ A further development in the study of the *Povest* took place when A. A. Shakhmatov (d. 1916) discovered the composite nature of this document. Owing to his knowledge of the text he was able to trace several revisions of the *Povest* (1095, 1112, 1116, 1118), in the course of which its narrative had been considerably altered to correspond with the ecclesiastical tendencies of its successive editors.¹⁹ Shakhmatov's theory is generally accepted to-day, but it tends to minimise the importance of the central figure—the original compiler, who selected from the varied materials at his disposal the facts which he deemed necessary to preserve, and arranged them in accordance with his own preconceived ideas. Shakhmatov's absorption in textual criticism led him to lay too much emphasis on the idea that the *Povest* was a mosaic of haphazardly collected stories put together by different men who often sharply disagreed with each other. Prof. S. H. Cross's opinion about the authorship corrects this bias and is the more balanced judgment on this controversial subject. He returned to the traditional view that, in its main outlines, the *Povest* is the work of a single author. "It is not intrinsically impossible that the entire *Povest* was written or compiled by one monk of the Crypt Monastery in Kiev in the course of the second half of the 11th century."²⁰

It is evident that the *Povest* could never have been produced by the uncoordinated efforts of several writers: it bears the imprint of a single mind too clearly. Though the name of the author is

disputed²¹ he can almost certainly be identified with the young monk who, according to his own account,²² at the age of seventeen (about 1065-1070), was received into the Monastery of the Crypt by Theodosius (d. 1074), and who finished his literary career some time between 1110 and 1120. But even if the biography of this outstanding man is still unknown, it is possible to reconstruct the principles he upheld and the methods he used to impress his political and ecclesiastical creed upon the minds of his readers. Prof. N. K. Nikolsky describes the author of the *Povest* in the following way: "We are dealing here neither with the compilation of a naïve scribe nor with an impartial historical record, nor even with ancient legends, but with the work of a mature historian with a distinct outlook."²³ The author of the *Povest* was a militant churchman who believed ardently that Byzantine Orthodoxy with its centre at Constantinople was the only pure source of Christian enlightenment for the whole world: at the same time he was a patriotic Russian, who considered the Princes of the House of Rurik as the sole legitimate rulers of his country, and the best guarantors of its integrity and independence. He expressed these convictions with such force and ability that they became accepted by later generations of Russian political and ecclesiastical leaders. Thus the compiler of the *Povest* appears not as a dispassionate scholar but as an experienced controversialist who wrote a biased story of Russia's conversion with the avowed intention of influencing the future of his country.²⁴ At the same time he was able to present his prejudices disguised as impartial and well-documented narrative.²⁵

Nevertheless, this does not mean that the compiler was altogether an untrustworthy historian. He had access to authentic documents, and he relied on eye-witnesses. He says, for example, that he knew a monk called Eremia, who remembered Russia's conversion to Christianity.²⁶ It is also probable that he was acquainted with the famous St. Nikon (d. 1088) who, according to Priselkov's suggestion,²⁷ was no other than the Metropolitan Hilarion, the best informed Russian ecclesiastical leader of the century. Moreover, the compiler was writing when other versions of Russia's change of religion were probably in circulation²⁸ and this made it impossible for him to present a too arbitrary story of the great event.

The *Povest*, therefore, contains fragments of authentic information, grouped in such a way as to convey the impression desired by its author. But if there are disadvantages in dealing with an account representing a party point of view, there is also the advantage of possessing a document written by an intelligent and able

man, who knew the facts and selected them with great care to suit his object. He left to modern historians the task of regrouping them so that events would appear in their original sequence.

2

A good introduction to the study of his handling of historical material is a comparison of the story of Vladimir's baptism, as narrated by the compiler with the facts gathered from other sources, both Russian and non-Russian.²⁹ The latter suggest the following sequence of events: The crushing defeat suffered by the Imperial army at the hands of the Bulgarians (17 August 986) provided a dramatic opening for the conversion of the Russian Kagan to the Byzantine tradition of Christianity. The loss of their army forced Basil II (976-1025) and his brother Constantine to change their hostile attitude to the Kievan ruler. The young Emperors were in desperate need of allies: they sacrificed their pride and sent envoys to Kiev, offering their friendship to Vladimir in return for his military aid. The Imperial Embassy was warmly welcomed in the Russian capital since the request brought by it provided Vladimir with an opportunity to make his Empire a part of Christendom under the most favourable circumstances.

Meanwhile the position of the Brother Emperors grew even more desperate owing to a rebellion of the Asiatic army, started by Bardas Phocas on 15 August 987. The situation was such that the Kagan was able to demand almost any price for his help. The conditions laid down by Vladimir may only be surmised, but they probably included such points as his marriage with the Basil's sister, as a pledge of his incorporation on the Imperial family; and the establishment in Russia of a Church with Bishops whose titles and status would be adequate to the power and prestige of the Kievan Empire. Though it is impossible to glean the details of these discussions, it is apparent that they were concluded in the shortest possible time, and that it was Vladimir who dictated the conditions. In accordance with the agreement reached, Vladimir was baptised, most probably on his estate near Kiev,³⁰ known later as Vasiliev,³¹ either at the close of 987 or in the first two months of 988.³² He chose the name "Basil" (Vasili) which was the same as the Emperor's.

Vladimir's next move was to send a company of his best troops to the rescue of the Emperors and to demand the dispatch of their sister, Anna, in return. He left Kiev in 988 at the head of his army but probably did not himself go further than the cataracts,³⁴ while six thousand of his men sailed to Constantinople. The arrival of

this force at once altered the balance of power on the shores of the Bosphorous. The Emperors, who had hardly any territory except the capital left to them by the spring of 988, immediately launched a successful counter-offensive against the rebel general, Bardas Phocas. The excellence of Vladimir's troops was such that they were victorious in all their engagements, and on the night of April 12/13, 989 Phocas was finally defeated and died on the battlefield. The flame of rebellion enveloping the entire Asiatic part of the Empire was suddenly extinguished, and Basil and Constantine saw themselves transformed overnight into the undisputed masters of the greatest and strongest Christian State.

It would be too much to expect of these men that at the moment of their triumph they should keep the terms of agreement forced upon them by a barbarian Prince in a time of extreme danger. Vladimir was quickly informed that Anna was unwilling to marry him. Probably the Emperors hoped that now they had little to fear from their rejected brother-in-law, but they underestimated his determination. Vladimir did not reconcile himself to defeat but devised a new scheme and at once rushed his troops towards the Crimea. By 27 July, 989, three months after Basil's victory over Phocas, the Kagan of Kiev was in control of Kherson, the supposedly impregnable stronghold of the Byzantines on the Northern side of the Black Sea. Though his victory was spectacular yet it is doubtful whether by itself it could have induced the Emperors to surrender. But Vladimir had luck on his side. The fall of Kherson coincided with the outbreak of another rebellion in Asia Minor, started this time by Bardas Sclerus, and the combination of these two attacks forced the Emperors to fulfil their original bargain, and to send their sister Anna to the Crimea. The wedding was celebrated in Kherson in the autumn of 989. Vladimir thus attained his ambition; he became a brother-in-law of the Basileus—a Monarch equal to them in power and honour.

He spent the winter in the Crimea, and in the spring of 990 started on his triumphant homeward journey, accompanied by his wife and clergy, carrying precious relics and the necessary Church equipment for the immediate Christianisation of his vast dominion. He reached his capital in the summer of 990, and at once began to organise the mass baptism of his people. This commenced at Kiev and continued in all the principal cities of his realm.

Such is the story of Vladimir's conversion, as drawn from Byzantine and other sources. It must now be compared with the narrative of the same events in the *Povest*.

This version also starts with the Bulgarian campaign of 986³⁵ followed by the description of the intense diplomatic negotiations between Vladimir and his neighbours. These discussions are fully reported in the *Povest*; but all political implications are carefully concealed and they are presented solely as a contest between spokesmen of different religions who all endeavour to win the Kagan over to their side. The victory is ascribed by the *Povest* to the envoy of the Byzantine Empire, introduced as a Greek Philosopher. But though Vladimir is fully convinced of the truth of Eastern Orthodoxy he hesitates to be baptised and decides "yet to wait a little"³⁶

The first part of the narrative of Vladimir's conversion is almost entirely taken up by a verbose and in part distorted exposition of Eastern Orthodox doctrine, which the *Povest* assigns to the Greek Philosopher.³⁷ According to Shakhmatov this confession was borrowed by the compiler from the story of King Boris of Bulgaria's conversion to Christianity in 864-865.³⁸ This ill-constructed admonition was intended to conceal the humiliating surrender of the Byzantine Empire to the political and ecclesiastical demands of the Russian Kagan. It is interesting, however, that the compiler was careful to omit all the references to the historical personalities mentioned in the Bulgarian document—such as Constantine, the name of the Philosopher, or Leontius the Metropolitan, or Photius the Patriarch of Constantinople. These names, however, reappeared in the Russian Chronicles of the 15th and 16th centuries when the memory of events of the 10th century was sufficiently obliterated.³⁹

Having succeeded in concealing the plight of the Byzantine Empire during the years 986-987 by means of a theological smoke-screen, the author used another method in dealing with the expeditionary force sent by Vladimir to Constantinople. This expedition was described under the wrong year (980), and was presented in such a way as to suggest that Vladimir was obliged to send away his best troops to the Emperor as he had no means of supporting them.⁴⁰ Thus the compiler was able to present the events during the three fatal years, 986, 987, 988, in a suitable disguise, still adhering to the facts and yet avoiding any acknowledgment of political motives or any confession of Byzantine weakness. The year 989 proved the hardest to camouflage, and here his ingenuity was put to the most exacting test. He was confronted with the two tasks: (a) introducing Vladimir's campaign in the Crimea, and (b) reporting the capture of Korsun (under this name Kherson is described by the *Povest*) by the victorious Russian army.

The *Povest* was unable to provide any plausible reason for

Vladimir's attack, for it had consistently misrepresented all the events that led up to it, and therefore had to introduce the Crimean campaign without any logical sequence and in direct contradiction to the theological victory of the Greek Philosopher, which immediately preceded the description of the war against the Greeks. Its culminating point, the surrender of Korsun, had to be acknowledged; but in order to mitigate its effect, the *Povest* added an invented episode about Vladimir's blindness and his subsequent baptism in the city itself. Thus it could appear that the surrender of the city was providential, as the irresolute Russian Prince could only be brought to the baptismal font by such dramatic occurrences as the loss of his sight and the fall of a Byzantine stronghold.

This was the weakest link in the carefully constructed chain of interpolations. The author had to falsify both the date and the place of such an important event as the baptism of the Russian Prince.⁴² In order to defend his weak position, the compiler launched a spirited counter-attack against those who insisted that Vladimir was baptised in Vasiliev.⁴³ To make the position of his opponents worse, the compiler ascribed to them the lack of agreement as to the place of the Prince's baptism, mentioning the circulation of conflicting reports among "ignorant" people.⁴⁴ The *Povest* ended its narrative with Vladimir's triumphant return to Kiev and the mass baptism of its inhabitants. This comparison between the version here given and the most probable reconstruction of the same events is instructive. It shows the *Povest* to be well-acquainted with the key facts of Vladimir's change of religion; but their historical sequence is upset, and the motives behind the Prince's actions are obscured. This object is achieved by the deliberate misrepresentation of his character. In the *Povest* Vladimir appears prior to his conversion as sensual and weak, easily intimidated and lamentably lacking in will-power; for a long time he cannot make up his mind to embrace Christianity; even when, having been frightened by a picture of the Last Judgment, he decides to be baptised, he postpones the realisation of his plan till blindness forces him to act. This portrait contrasts with the picture of the same Prince, as drawn by Hilarion, who praised the Kievan Kagan as one of the greatest rulers of Russia—a man who dictated his will to Constantinople, brought about the conversion of his people, and maintained unchallenged control over his vast Empire for some thirty-five years.

This misrepresentation of the Kievan Prince and the careful omission of all reference to the political motives accompanying his

conversion create the impression that the compiler wanted to present the Christianisation of his country as an event which had a purely religious significance. The Byzantine Church, according to his version, handed over to the Russians the treasure of its Orthodoxy moved solely by its own missionary zeal, whilst the Russians received it with childlike simplicity and joy. Throughout the whole narrative the supremacy of religion over the secular, of the Church over State, is consistently maintained.

3

Having established the tendencies and the technique used by the compiler covering the years 986-990, one might well expect the same author to treat the next period in a similar spirit. The first thing that impresses the reader of the next chapter is the scarcity of information about the Christian period of Vladimir's reign. The author of the *Povest* seems to have exhausted his interest in Vladimir after dealing with the conversion. He filled page after page with the interminable discourse of the Greek Philosopher, but of the actual establishment of the Church among the Russian people he had very little to say. The few references to Vladimir's ecclesiastical policy are confined to the years immediately following his baptism; and they stop altogether after 996, when the Cathedral of Kiev was solemnly handed over to the clergy by its Prince-Founder. There are two possible explanations of this attitude: either that period of Russian history was so uneventful that nothing happened worth mentioning, or that Vladimir's conduct was so much disapproved of by the compiler that he preferred to bury it in silence. It is difficult to accept the first explanation. Vladimir's reign saw one of the greatest cultural revolutions in the history of Russia and this does not tally with the series of years when nothing is reported by the *Povest* except the deaths of members of Vladimir's family.

The second explanation is more convincing as it makes sense of the scattered references to the Church of that period found in the *Povest*. These begin with the entry under the year 989: "After these events Vladimir lived according to Christian law; and he decided to build a stone Church dedicated to the Holy Mother of God; and he brought the craftsmen from Greece, and adorned it with Ikons, and entrusted it to Anastas Korsunin. He appointed priests from Korsun to serve in it."⁴⁵ Under 6504 (996) the *Povest* states: "Vladimir, upon seeing his Church completed, entered it and prayed to God . . . and he added, 'I bestow a tithe of my property and of my cities upon this Church of the Holy Mother of

God !' And he gave the tithe to Anastas Korsunin and made a great festival on that day for his Nobles and for the Elders of the people, distributing also much alms amongst the poor." ⁴⁶

Under the same year further details are given about Vladimir's changed conduct as a result of his conversion : his unbounded generosity to all the sick, afflicted and distressed ; his unwillingness to inflict the death penalty upon anybody, including robbers, owing to his fear of " sin ", and the rebukes he received from the Bishops on account of his clemency. ⁴⁷ The last entry referring to the Church is found under 1007 but it has no importance : it merely states that the remains of his son Iziaslav and of his grandson Vseslav were transferred to the Church of the Mother of God. ⁴⁸

The first chronicle of Novgorod has several references to Vladimir's ecclesiastical policy, ⁴⁹ which however only differ verbally from the text of the *Povest*. But under the year 989 it gives the name of the first Bishop of Novgorod, an important contribution to knowledge, for no bishop is mentioned by his title in the *Povest*, until the Greek Metropolitan Theopemt is introduced under the year 1039. ⁵⁰ The Chronicle of Novgorod says : " Vladimir and the whole Russian land were baptised and the Metropolitan was appointed in Kiev, and an Archbishop in Novgorod, and priests and deacons, and there was joy everywhere. And Archbishop Akim Korsunin came to Novgorod and destroyed the heathen temples." ⁵¹ The same chronicle gives the list of the Kievan Bishops, starting with Theopemt, and of the Novgorod Bishops headed by Akim Korsunin. ⁵²

These few remarks, chiefly relating to the foundation of the Cathedral of Kiev, are all that the *Povest* and the Chronicle of Novgorod have to say about the initial organisation of the Russian Church. This information would help little to solve this problem but for several references to a man called Anastas the Korsunin, who is regarded both by the *Povest* and the Chronicle of Novgorod as the key ecclesiastical personage of Vladimir's reign, and who alone is mentioned by his Christian name several times in these documents. The correct interpretation of Vladimir's Church policy depends, therefore, to a considerable extent on the more precise definition of Anastas' hierarchal status. He can justly be described as the mystery man of Vladimir's Empire. He suddenly appears on the scene during the siege of Korsun in 989, is mentioned by the *Povest* more often than any other man during the remaining years of Vladimir's reign, and then vanishes from Kiev in 1018, in the train of the retreating army of Boleslav, King of Poland.

His career can be best studied by examining all the references made to him in the *Povest*. He is mentioned first as a traitor who shot an arrow into the Russian camp from the walls of besieged Korsun ; the secret message attached to it helped Vladimir to cut off the city from its water supplies, and led to the quick surrender of the fortress.⁵³ The second reference to Anastas is very different : he has changed his rôle of audacious adventurer for the honourable position of an important dignitary. The *Povest* narrative runs as follows : " Hereupon Vladimir took the Tsaritsa (Anna) and Anastas, and the priests from Korsun together with the relics of St. Clement and of his disciple Phœbus, and selected also sacred vessels and Ikons for the services." ⁵⁴ All further references to Anastas indicate that he was the leader of the Kievan clergy, a person responsible for the Cathedral and the finance of the whole Church. In 992 Vladimir hands over the Cathedral to him,⁵⁵ and in 996 he is appointed by the Prince to be the recipient of the tithe ⁵⁶ ; but on none of these occasions is any explanation given as to his hierarchical position. He is invariably described as Anastas " Korsunin." In its last reference to him the *Povest* relates that when in 1018 Boleslav, King of Poland, fled from Kiev " he took with him Jaroslav's property and the boyars, as well as Jaroslav's two sisters and Anastas the tithesman, whom he appointed as the guardian of the property, as the latter had won his confidence by his flattery." ⁵⁷ In this quotation Anastas is described as the tithesman, but this does not help to clarify the situation, since no such office is known in any period of Russian history, and this is the only reference to it in the Chronicles. It is clear that the compiler of the *Povest* had no intention of stating precisely Anastas' position, and probably hoped that his readers would find it difficult to place Vladimir's favourite anywhere in the hierarchical scale. If such was his intention he certainly succeeded, for ancient and modern students of the *Povest* have become hopelessly confused, and have as a result failed to understand the constitution of the Russian Church during the first decades of its history.

Three different suggestions regarding Anastas' identity are possible : he could be a layman appointed by Vladimir to look after the finances of his Church : he could be the presiding presbyter of the Cathedral of the Tithe : and he could be the leading Bishop of the Russian Church. The narrative of the *Povest* permits any of these three solutions, and both the Chroniclers of the 15th and 16th centuries, as well as modern historians, have defended one or other of these points of view.⁵⁸

At first sight it seems more in accordance with the present text

of the *Povest* to regard Anastas as a layman, but this creates a number of serious difficulties. It is hard to explain, for instance, why a layman is not only singled out and called by his Christian name whenever Church matters attract the attention of the *Povest*, but (and this is still more perplexing) why he is always mentioned in front of the priests, in a place normally belonging to a Bishop.

There are two possible explanations of this treatment of a layman: First, that Vladimir deliberately tried to break away from the traditional order of the Church and appointed a layman as the leader of the clergy. Such a supposition is obviously incompatible with the temper of the epoch, and clashes with the high praise given to Vladimir by such strictly orthodox theologians as the Metropolitan Hilarion and the Monk Jacob, both of whom compared the Prince to Constantine the Great. The second explanation is that Vladimir selected Anastas as a candidate for the Episcopate, but for some unknown reason he could not be ordained, and remained till the end a Bishop-designate. This is plausible but it conflicts with the appointment of Joachim as a bishop to Novgorod, who, like Anastas, was brought by Vladimir from Korsun.⁵⁹ If the Russian Prince was able to secure episcopal ordination for one of his candidates it is probable that he could do the same for his favourite—Anastas. Besides, the Chronicle of Novgorod states explicitly that Vladimir had a Bishop of Kiev⁶⁰ and the *Povest* confirms it by describing the consultations which he had with his episcopate there.⁶¹

If the second alternative, that Anastas was a presbyter, is accepted—the point of view shared by the majority of later chroniclers—some of the difficulties disappear at once. For instance, it becomes natural that Vladimir entrusted the Holy Ikons, the relics, and the whole fabric of the Cathedral to Anastas as the senior presbyter, as is twice stated by the *Povest*.⁶² But new difficulties are raised when he is considered as presbyter, the main one being the explanation of the unwillingness of the *Povest* to call Anastas a priest. He is always mentioned together with other priests but he is never identified with them, on the contrary he is presented as a superior to the rest of the clergy. If Anastas was a priest there seems to be no plausible reason why the *Povest* would not state it plainly. Besides, if Anastas was a leading layman or a presiding presbyter such interpretations of his position would presuppose the existence of some other cleric in Kiev as its Bishop. Scholars holding these views, with few exceptions, trusted the reliability of the later Russian Chronicles, which mentioned Michael, Leo and John as the first Kievan Bishops.⁶³

There is, however, sufficient evidence to-day that none of these was a contemporary ⁶⁴ of Vladimir, and this means that no bishop of Kiev is known from that period, except Anastas.⁶⁵ In the absence of a prelate who could be placed on the Metropolitan Seat of Russia, the leading and yet non-episcopal status assigned to Anastas becomes highly improbable.

The inconsistency and obscurity of the *Povest* disappears, however, as soon as the word " Bishop " is put in front of " Anastas " ; with such an addition all the references to him become comprehensible and the narrative convincing. But there is one strong objection to this, viz. the refusal of the *Povest* itself to call Anastas a bishop.⁶⁶ This obstacle is not so formidable as it may appear at first, for though it is difficult to explain why the *Povest* should avoid calling Anastas a priest (if he was one of the clergy) it is, on the contrary, easy to discern the motives behind the *Povest's* refusal to call him a bishop. Such an unwillingness could be caused by the compiler's disapproval of the first Kievan Bishop : in that case he could not start a frontal attack upon him, for this would seriously discredit Vladimir's Christianisation of the country. Equally, he could not remain entirely silent about Anastas, for he wrote when the latter was still remembered by the people. So he was left with the third possibility of calling him merely Anastas Korsunin. By so doing he could express his opposition to the prelate and yet avoid an open clash with those who venerated the memory of the great Prince. If this interpretation is correct, then the method used was truly ingenious : ⁶⁷ the compiler reserved for the senior hierarch a prominent place in his narrative, and yet described him in such a way that the bulk of the readers could easily draw wrong conclusions about the constitution of the Russian Church.

Such an approach to the *Povest* narrative reveals something more important than the bare name of the Bishop of Kiev, for Anastas provides an important clue to the general understanding of Vladimir's ecclesiastical policy. He is introduced by the *Povest* as a traitor to his city and also as a person who, at the risk of his own life helped Vladimir to capture the Byzantine stronghold. The implications of this incident are clear : Vladimir offered the highest ecclesiastical honours to the man who served him faithfully. Thus Vladimir appears in a new light, as a ruler who was determined to keep the Church under his unchallenged control, who wanted to remain an autocrat not only in the sphere of politics and military matters, but also in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. He chose as his chief bishop neither a Byzantine hierarch, nor a Latin

prelate with their allegiances to their superiors, but his own trusted man whose complete obedience he had no reason to doubt.⁶⁸ Vladimir is enshrined in the memory of the nation as the Founder of the Church. All other leaders, including Anastas, Dobrynia and Putiata were mere executors of his will. The compiler's refusal to describe Anastas as a bishop must not be attributed, therefore, to the personal defects of the Kievan prelate, but to the general trend of Vladimir's ecclesiastical designs.

(To be concluded)

N. ZERNOV.

¹ An excellent summary of the conclusions then reached is given in an article by Polonskaia, *K voprosu o Khristianstve na Rusi do Vladimira*, Zhurnal Ministerstva Norod Prosv, 1917, N71, pp 53-80.

² The following list of some of them will indicate the extent of recent research — V. Zaikin, *Christianity in the Ukraine during the time of Jaropolk* (967-79) *Analekta Ordinis*, S. Basili III (1928), 1-2 (in Ukrainian)

E. Shmurlo, *Where and When was Vladimir Baptized?* (in Russian), Praha, 1926

N de Baumgarten, *Le dernier Mariage de St Vladimir*, *Orientalia Christiana*, vol. XVIII (1930).

N de Baumgarten, *Olaf Trygvanson roi de Norvege et ses relations avec St Vladimir de Russie*, *Orientalia Christiana*, vol. XXIV (1931)

N. de Baumgarten, *St. Vladimir et la conversion de la Russie*. *Orientalia Christiana*, vol XXVII, 1932

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³ M. Priselkov, *The Outlines of the Ecclesiastical and Political History of Kievan Russia* (10-11 centuries), St. Petersburg, 1913.

⁴ Slaviansky Sbornik, Moscow, 1947. Tikhomirov, p. 156.

⁵ Koch and Fedotov Tomasivsky, *Vstup do Istorn Cerkvy na Ukraim*, *Analekta Ordinis* S. Basili 4 (1931), also defends Priselkov's Thesis

⁶ All further quotations from the *Povest* follow the English version of Samuel Cross, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, Harv Univ. Press, 1930.

⁷ *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei*, vol. I, St. Pet., 1846

⁸ *Pol. Sob Rus Let*, vol. II, St Pet., 1843; 2nd ed, St Pet., 1871

⁹ *Novgorodskaya Letopis*, St. Pet., 1888.

¹⁰ A. Shakhmatov, *Account of the text of Novgorod Chronicle*, in the *Chronicle of Novgorod*, Camden 3rd series, vol. XXV, Lond., 1914.

¹¹ The first half of this manuscript (1016-1200) probably belongs to the beginning of the 13th century and is therefore the earliest copy of any Russian Chronicles in existence. See *Nov. Let*, St. Pet., 1888. *Introd.* p. VI.

¹² *Nikonovskaya Letopis*, Pol Sob Rus Let, vol IX-XII, St Pet, 1862-1901.

¹³ *Istoria Rossuskaia*, Vol 1-4, Moscow, 1768-1784

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¹⁵ *Slovo o Zakone i Blagodati*, edited A. V. Gorski, *Pamiatniki Dukhovnoi Literatury*, Moscow, 1847.

¹⁶ "Pamiat Blagovernago Knaza Vladimira" Sbornik statei, posviashchennykh, V I Lamanskomu, St Pet, 1907-1908, vol II, pp 1138-48

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²⁰ *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, p. 85

²¹ Istrin, *Moravskaya Istoria Slavian*, Byzantinoslavica (1931), p. 315, thinks that the compiler's name was Nestor; Priselkov, *Nestor Letopisets*, St Pet, 1923, p. 102 sq., identifies the compiler with the author of the life of St Theodosius and of St Boris and St Gleb ²² Lav, p. 69

²³ Nikolsky, "Povest as Source for the History of the Early Period of Russian Literature and Culture" Leningrad Academy 1930 p. 100

²⁴ Eremin, *Povest Vrem Let*, Lening, 1947, pp. 20 sq

²⁵ Nikolsky, *op cit*, p. 48 ²⁶ Lav, p. 81

²⁷ Priselkov, "Outlines," pp. 183 sq

²⁸ Tatschchev, vol I, p. 29 sqq Golubinsky, *op cit*, I, pp. 12 sq

²⁹ See Priselkov, *op cit*, pp. 26-35, and Baumgarten, *St Vladimir*, pp. 72-73.

³⁰ Golubinsky, *op cit*, vol. I, p. 133.

³¹ The name of the estate, *Vasiliev*, identical with Vladimir's Christian name Vasil, suggests that it was chosen by the Kagan as the place for his baptism.

³² The Russian calendar at that time fixed the New Year on March 1st, hence the possible divergency between the various sources giving 987 and 988 as the year of his baptism.

³³ Some Arab historians report that Vladimir went himself to Constantinople. Modern historians are divided on this point, see Baumgarten, *St. Vladimir*, pp. 73-77.

³⁴ Lav, p. 31 ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

³⁶ In Lavrent Chronicles out of fourteen pages dedicated to Vladimir's conversion nine are taken up by the philosopher's speech

³⁷ See Shakhmatov *Odin iz istochnikov Letopisnago skazania o kreshchenii Vladimira*, p. 68, Kharkov, 1905.

³⁸ Shakhmatov, *ibid.*, p. 70

³⁹ Lav., pp. 33-34

⁴⁰ Monk Jacob in his *Memorial of Prince Vladimir* gives the following chronology of the same events "Vladimir lived after his baptism 28 years (987-1015) The next year after baptism he went to the cataracts, in the third year he captured the city of Korsun, in the fourth year he laid the foundation of the stone Church of the Holy Mother of God . . he died in peace on 15th July, 1015" *Drevne Russ. Letop.*, Academia Moscow, 1936, p. 332

⁴¹ The task was facilitated by the private character of the baptism of Vladimir, which took place away from the capital, on his own estate Ignorance of it among the bulk of the people was therefore possible.

⁴² Lav., p. 48. ⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 52. Ipatiev, 1871, p. 83.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53 ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54. ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 55

⁴⁷ Nov., 1888, p. 71 (991); compare Lav, p. 52; Nov., p. 71 (996); Lav, p. 53, Nov., p. 75 (1007); and Lav., p. 55.

⁴⁸ Lav., p. 66 ⁴⁹ Nov., 1888, p. 68. ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69

⁵¹ Lav, p. 47 ⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 50. ⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 52

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53 ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁵⁶ The Chronicle of Nikon treats Anastas as a layman. Nikon, IX, 66-67. Baumgarten, *St Vladimir*, p. 105, and Golubinsky, I, p. 319, take the same point of view. Anastas is described as a priest by the following Chronicles I Nov, p. 71. Sofiiskaia, V, 121 Voskresenskaia, VIII, 313; Ermolin, XXIII, 16. Tipograf, XXIV, 39. Vernadsky, *The Status of the Russian Church*, p. 309, supports this opinion. Priselkov, *op. cit.*, p. 52 sq., treats Anastas as a Bishop of Kiev, and he is called Bishop in the "life of Blessed Vladimir." *Sbornik Posviash. Laman-skomu*, St. Pet, 1908, vol. II, pp. 1143-46.

⁵⁹ Nov, p. 68.⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 68⁶¹ Lav., p. 54.⁶² *Ibid*, pp. 62, 63⁶³ See Golubinsky, vol. I, p. 354, who believed that Leo was the presiding Bishop of Vladimir's time.⁶⁴ The Chronicle of Nikon IX, pp. 57, 61, 65, gives the following list of Vladimir's prelates Michael (989-992), Leo or Leon (992-1008), John (1008-1030). The first two bishops are described as sent to Vladimir by no less a person than the Patriarch Photus himself who died in 891, a hundred years before Russia's conversion to Christianity. This fact naturally raised an early doubt about the reliability of the information supplied by the latter Chronicles. The names of these bishops were, however, not simply invented in the 15th and 16th centuries; they were all historical personalities who lived either before or after Vladimir's time, and were chosen after careful search of all relevant documents by the Russian mediæval historians, who could not accept the strange fact that no bishops in Kiev were mentioned in the *Povest* until 1039. This proved that no document available in the 15th and 16th centuries contained any reference to the genuine bishops of Kiev from Vladimir's time. See Golubinsky, vol. I, p. 275, Taube, *Rome & la Russie*, pp. 44-45; Priselkov, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40, 134-49; also Shakhmatov, *Odin iz istochnikov letopisnago skazaniia o Kreshchenii Vladimira*, Kharkov, 1905, pp. 72-73.⁶⁵ See the latest attempts to discover the name of Vladimir's bishop. Honigmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 148 sq., 157⁶⁶ It is possible that some earlier Russian Chronicles called Anastas a bishop, but the authority enjoyed by the *Povest* gradually eliminated the use of this title. This can be deduced from the present text of the Novgorod Chronicle. It runs as follows. "When the Church (that of the Tithe) was finished and adorned with the Holy Ikons (Vladimir) entrusted it to a priest, Anastas; the bishops from Korsun he appointed to celebrate in it (991)," I Nov., p. 71. It is obvious that this text is identical with that of Lavrentievski's copy which, under the year 989, states "When (Vladimir) finished the building of it (the Church of the Tithe) he adorned it with Ikons and entrusted it to Anastas Korsunin; and the priests from Korsun he appointed to celebrate in it" (Lav, p. 52).

The Novgorod version as it stands at present is undoubtedly corrupt. It suggests an impossible constitution of the Cathedral Chapter in Kiev, which seems to consist of one presiding presbyter and a number of bishops. Lavrentievski's version corrects this error, but the question arises "how could the word 'bishops' get into the place of the word 'priests' in the Novgorod Chronicle?" The most plausible explanation is that the original version ran as follows "entrusted it to a bishop Anastas, the priest from Korsun he appointed . . ." The copyist, however, thought that the order of the words "bishop" and "priest" became confused, for he had never heard of Anastas as a bishop of Kiev. Only a few pages earlier the same compiler inscribed a list of Kievan hierarchs copied from some other source, which started with Theopemt (I Nov., p. 69), and thus ignored Anastas' existence. So the compiler put the word "priest" in the place of "bishop," and "bishop" in the place of "Priests"; but by so doing he created still greater confusion which he made no attempt to clarify.

⁶⁷ The author of the *Povest* was not the only man who used this weapon against his ecclesiastical opponent. An interesting precedent is provided by German Bishops who in their "*Libellus conversione Bulgariorum et Carantorum*" (870/1) called the famous Archbishop Methodius sent to Moravia by the Pope as "quidam Græcus Methodius nomine." (Mon. Germ. Hist. S. Sm. XI, p. 1326)⁶⁸ Shakhmatov in his article '*Korsunskaya Legenda o Kreshchenii Vladimira*, Sbornik Lamanskago, p. 1117, expresses the opinion that another man, a Norman by name Zhdebern, sent the arrow into the Russian camp. The same Zhdebern was dispatched to Constantinople to make a peace treaty with the Emperors, and he brought back to the Crimea the Princess Anna. It is possible that Anastas was the Christian name of Zhdebern, and in that case Vladimir's choice of his chief ecclesiastical agent fell upon one of his old companions-in-arms. It is equally possible, however, that the plot to surrender the city was engendered by several people, including Zhdebern and Anastas. One thing remains obvious—Vladimir had associates and friends inside Korsun, and this is proved both by the quick surrender of the city and by the generous treatment of its inhabitants. It is clear also that Anastas was one of the most prominent men among Vladimir's supporters in the Crimea.

THE CHEREMIS FOLKSONG: A SOVIET VIEWPOINT *

THE Cheremis—known to themselves and to Soviet officialdom as Mari—speak languages belonging to the Uralic family, specifically, to the Volga-Finnic branch of the Finno-Ugrian group, their closest relatives being the Mordvins. Today, the bulk of the Cheremis-speaking population lives in the Mari Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which is situated on the north bank of the Volga, between Gorky (the former Nizhny Novgorod) and Kazan. Its capital, where the book which forms the basis of our remarks was published, and where its sponsoring agency, the Mari Institute for Scientific Research in Language, Literature, and History is presumably also located, is Joshkar-Ola,¹ formerly known as Krasnokokshaisk, and, before the Revolution, as Tsarevokokshaisk.

The Cheremis speak at least two sharply different groups of dialects, or perhaps two languages each with several dialects. The two are generally known in the literature as eastern, forest, or meadow (*olək*), and western, or mountain (*kuruk*) Cheremis. The study here examined deals almost exclusively with the former group. Since it pretends to establish chronological sequences, to probe into historical antecedents, this circumstance to a large extent vitiates the arguments used by the authors wherever they depart from a strictly synchronic analysis. The story of the evolution of the traditional song constitutes one of the main sections of the book, and therefore the lack of comparative perspective is one of its shortcomings; the more so as the songs of the eastern Cheremis differ considerably from the songs of the western Cheremis, as G. Karmazin has already pointed out, "sowohl im Versbau und in der Zahl der Verse als auch und besonders in den Melodien und dem eigentlichen Inhalt." ²

A second, and major shortcoming of this work is that it ignores almost all important collections of Cheremis folksongs which have appeared during the past half-century. Most curious of all omissions, it makes no use of the chief collections published within Russia itself and in Soviet times, notably the three by the distinguished native Cheremis philologist, V. M. Vasiljev.³ Outside of Russia, approximately 1,000 folksong texts have appeared in print, and at least

* Cp V. M. Berdnikov and E. A. Tudorovskaja, *Poetika Marišskikh Narodnykh Pesen* Margosizdat, Joshkar-Ola, 1945.

some of them should certainly have been consulted. The major collections,⁴ in order of their appearance are :

1889. Arvid Genetz, *Ost-Tscheremissische Sprachstudien*. JSFOu 7. There are 105 Cheremis songs (pp 62-87), with German translations (pp. 158-81).

1895 Volmari Porkka, *Tscheremissische Texte* (Ed. Arvid Genetz). JSFOu 7/1. There are 144 Cheremis songs (pp. 34-58), with German translations (pp. 101-40).

1926. Ernst Lewy, *Tscheremissische Texte*. (Hannover, Orient-Buchhandlung Heinz Lafaire) This collection includes only 7 songs (vol. 1, pp. 41, 49), with German translation (vol. 2, pp 45-46, 55-56).

1929. Robert Lach, *Gesänge russischer Kriegsgefangener*. Vol 1, part 3 : *Tscheremissische Gesänge* Transcription and translation into Hungarian by Ödön Beke , from Hungarian into German by Christine Rohr (Wien and Leipzig, Holder-Pichler-Tempsky A -G) This collection embraces 233 songs.

1931 Yrjö Wichmann, *Volksdichtung und Volksbräuche der Tschere-missen*. MSFOu 59. There are 218 songs here with German translation, 50 of which were previously published, with Hungarian translation, in NyK 38. 218-45 (1908), and 54 of which in *Tscheremissische Texte mit Wörterverzeichnis und Grammatikalischem Abriss* (Helsinki, 1923), without translation. In addition, the collection by a native Cheremis, G. Karmazin, of 233 songs, appears as an appendix to the work of Wichmann.

1939. Heikki Paasonen, *Tscheremissische Texte* (Ed. Paavo Siro). MSFOu 78. There are 252 songs here (pp. 93-180), with German translation

Among the preceding, only the 1929 collection contains the melodies as well, some 70 of which are variants. Wichmann states in the preface to his 1931 work that he has recorded 29 songs on phonograph cylinders. Basing his transcriptions on N. Suvorin's collection from Kazan, Ilmari Krohn⁵ has published Cheremis melodies and, basing his on Wichmann's cylinders, so has Béla Bartók.⁶ Thus the total number of melodies available in print, including Vasiljev's, surpasses considerably 500. Nor have they lain fallow : they were examined both structurally and from the comparative viewpoint by Zoltán Kodály, and others.⁷ In the present study, the authors pay little attention to the music accompanying the songs which they examine. In their view the relation of text to melody is that of content to form, the two together constituting a unity of thought, which is expressed in the words, and feeling, which is expressed in the melody. Words and melody are thus composed simultaneously and by the same individual (p. 15). In spite of this view, they make no attempt to analyse the song as

a unit, except in the section on rhythm (pp. 69-72), where they point out that word stress is affected by the musical beat. This is an interesting though not unexpected possibility, not brought out in previous studies. While the stress automatically falls on the final vowel (at least, in some dialects), it may be removed to the penultimate, the musical beat thus overriding linguistic considerations: sung *oi, kodáleš, kodalēš*, instead of spoken *oi kodalēš, kodalēš*. A puzzling phenomenon, which strikes any reader of Cheremis songs, is the seemingly meaningless addition of sound sequences (not morphemes) to words belonging to various grammatical categories. These can be explained only as line-lengthening elements to make the text correspond to the melody in length. Therefore, without a knowledge of the music, certain parts of the text cannot be explained by purely linguistic methods at all.

One of the authors, V. M. Berdnikov, was himself a Cheremis, and he wrote the first draft of this book. The other author, E. A. Tudorovskaia, made the present version, based on the first draft, supplementing it with a theoretical framework, particularly the evolutionary background. The chief source on which this book is based is the collection gathered on two expeditions (1938, 1939), conducted by the Mari Institute. Part of this material is said to be published, part of it still evidently lies in archives. In general, the sources of particular songs used as illustrations are specified only vaguely; thus, over two dozen songs are marked *Kolkhoz Muro*, which may be the title of a collection or may simply mean "Songs From the Collective Farm," thus specifying the locus of their origin. Among other identifiable sources are F. Vasiljev's grammar⁸ which also includes 70 songs, with thematic classification, and his introduction, entitled "Structure of Cheremis Songs"—which is perhaps the first attempt at a poetics of the Cheremis folksong—to A. Aptriev's collection.⁹ If the reader wonders why there are no sources dated from the decades just preceding and just after the Revolution, the following explanation may or may not satisfy him, depending on his political views (pp. 11-12): the pre-Revolutionary Mari intelligentsia, allied with the Tsarists and with the then newly rising nationalistic bourgeoisie, falsified folklore in order to base on it their theory of the past greatness of the Cheremis people; this they did in order to isolate the Cheremis people from the other peoples of Russia at the time of the civil war. After the Revolution, these very same people had to be used in official positions by their Soviet masters, since they constituted the only available intelligentsia.¹⁰

The book is divided essentially into two parts: the division is

based on the distinction the authors establish between two fundamentally different types of song, *protiazhnata pesniâ*, which we shall render as "the traditional song," and *koroikaâ pesmâ* or, "the new song." Since a given traditional song may be equal in length with a given new song, the Russian terms "long" and "short" seem unfortunate.

The traditional song is first studied from the point of view of its evolution (pp. 13-44), and then its poetic devices undergo scrutiny (pp. 44-72). The first section indulges in statements about the origin of folksongs in general, which leads to the establishment of certain thematically based classifications of the Cheremis folksong. These do not differ from the conventional classifications found, for example, in Wichmann's collection, or Karmazin's essay. In other words, songs are classified according to the occasion when sung (e.g. weddings, memorial feasts), or according to who sings them (e.g. the bride, children, a man about to be drafted), etc.

In the next section, the main point established by the authors is the differentiation of two types of images characteristic of a traditional song, namely, the focal image and the supplementary image (or set of images). This may be illustrated by the following song, sung by a recruit about to leave for war (Wichmann, 1931, p. 254) :

The morning sun emerges,
The birch top reddens ;
The noon sun rises,
The meadow dries ;
The evening sun descends,
Underneath the willow water springs ;
So when we are about to depart,
Water springs into your eyes.

In this song, the focal image is the final one : the image of tears rising in the eyes of those who stay at home, while their beloved one departs. This image is climactic, the three previous images being preparatory and merely supplemental to it. The sun moves through three points : morning, noon, evening. At each point, the sun performs an action : it reddens the birch top, it dries the meadow, and it causes the water to spring beneath the willow. This last action leads to a parallel : the departure of the soldier causes the tears to rise. The type of construction here illustrated is typical of the traditional form : the focal image is taken from human life ; on the other hand, the supplementary images are taken from nature

or the sphere of domestic objects.¹¹ The focal image is always the final one.

The authors discuss in somewhat mystical terms ("psychological parallelism") the development of this characteristic construction (pp. 28-31). The end point of this development is called by the authors *stupenchatyi riad*, which we may call "spiral construction." We illustrate with the following unpublished song from Sabujal village: ⁴

Oh, oh, the Vjatka is very wide.
 The meadow is wider than the Vjatka.
 Hillocks upon the meadow,
 A copse of black alders on each hillock,
 Boughs upon the alders,
 Flowers upon the boughs,
 Upon each flower an alder berry
 That alder berry gathering, gathering,
 My index finger wore off
 While to you coming, coming,
 My gelding's hoof wore off.

The last image here is still the focal image and sets the theme for the song, the distance and other difficulties to be overcome before a man can reach his sweetheart. The preceding images are spirally ordered: the Vjatka river is wide, but the meadow wider still; it embraces hillocks. Now the spiral contracts: hillock includes alders, alders include boughs, boughs include flowers, flowers include berries. The spiral here is spatial; in other songs, it might be numerical, or pertain to quality or to family relationships. The final image may stand altogether outside the sequence, as it does here, or may form an integral part of it. The final image may even stand in contradiction to the image preceding it; the authors call this "negative parallelism" (pp. 37-40).

The poetic devices of the traditional song are examined under nine headings. Characteristically, one of the most essential aspects of poetic construction, namely, metrics, is dismissed altogether. The inability of the authors to cope with structural analysis of form is revealed by the following statement (p. 70): "Speaking about the rhythm of [Mari] folksongs, we can establish neither a syllabic nor a tonic nor a syllable-tonic system of composition. All attempts to establish in oral folksongs either the one or the other system of composition have given nothing definite. . . . It appears that the rhythm of folksongs, from the point of view of known systems of composition, does not come under any norm." Clearly, here is a

task which remains to be done : a purely linguistic examination—as opposed to the present, almost exclusively content-based analysis—such as has been worked out for Mordvin, the closest relative of Cheremis, by R. Jakobson and J. Lotz.¹² The study of metre should precede the study of meaning, and generalisations about the latter without knowledge of the former may be on shaky grounds.

The authors list conventional Cheremis poetic symbols, such as snow and rain—tears and grief ; strawberry, apple, and raspberry—beautiful girl, happiness ; wind—bad news ; threatening cloud—unhappiness, misfortune ; cuckoo—sorrowful mother, girl, or widow ; the birch—a son ; to cut down a birch—to send off the son ; beehive—family, children ; the swan—news, letters from the son ; ribbon—road, a century, life ; the goose—relatives ; starling—desire for children, a girl's heart. It is interesting to contrast the signification of some of these same symbols with their Russian equivalent, where birch stands for girl, swan for bride.¹³ The cultural (including linguistic) function of these symbols—their relation to other segments of culture—in no way emerges from the present study, where the authors' primary concern appears to be with hypothetical psycho-historical origins. This sometimes degenerates into nonsense, as for example, when they state (p. 46) that the relation of a symbol to what it signifies is one of effect to cause. The distinction between symbol and metaphor is altogether hazy ; the latter, the authors allege, grew out of the former.

The third device, comparison, is at least clearly definable, since it involves the presence of certain specific Cheremis morphemes—such as *kaj*, *kañe*, *seman*—meaning “as, like,” etc. This is said to be now the most popular device, but this is an opinion not backed here by a statistical analysis (while it may indeed be the most frequent one, it should be substantiated by a count in a closed corpus). Items which are often compared include : “Your body is like a squirrel (marten), your eyes are like stars, you have a voice like a bell, you have eyes like black currants” ; actions or attributes may also be compared besides substantives. A song may consist of nothing but a set of comparisons.

Certain epithets in Cheremis often accompany specific nouns, by convention : thus, a gelding is said to be white, a birch leafy, a kerchief silky, a rabbit or cuckoo spotted, a beautiful male or female grey-eyed and white skinned, or, contrariwise, black-eyed and swarthy, a pigeon red-footed, etc. This apposition may also be purely phonetic : *wiit ümbalse wütele*, “snipe-upon water.”

Next, the authors pass on to a discussion of "emphasis." These include such devices as repetition (e.g. "high, high mountain"), and certain syntactic arrangements (e.g. "I had a goose whiter than white").

They point out that nature, in a Cheremis folksong, is never depicted as an end in itself but only as a background to the focal image.

In discussing the phonetic organisation of the songs, the authors again indulge in generalisations which are not based on linguistic or statistical analysis. Thus, they mention that Cheremis abounds in homonyms, but do not show to what use these are put in practice. In fact, they claim that most cases which seem to the listener to be the product of deliberate planning are due to the high incidence of similar forms. The following illustration will serve to show the contrary (Lach, 1929, p. 86, with spelling here changed from phonetic to phonemic):

indeš iaš alalšažəm	A nine year old gelding,
indəral, indəral toldalna.	Harassing, harrassing we came
kandaš iaš alalšažəm	An eight year old gelding,
kandaral, kandaral toldalna.	Resting, resting we came.
šəm iaš alalšažəm	A seven year old gelding,
šəmatəl, šəmatəl toldalna.	Caressing, caressing we came.
başlı یدər obdačıžəm	Vašli's daughter Ovdət'i
šəmatəl, šəmatəl nanğajalna.	Caressing, caressing we carried off.

Here the initial verbs used in the even-numbered lines are obviously selected to alliterate with the numbers which open the odd-numbered lines 1, 3, and 5. Note also the internal alliteration in the even-numbered lines and 1, as well as the rhyme pattern a b a b a b a b, and the repetition of the element *al* at regular intervals throughout the song. We do not believe that this highly intricate organisation could be entirely accidental. Actually, rhyme is rare, and seems to result from the repetitive use of parallel morphological constructions which fall at the end of certain lines. Line finals are almost always verbs (the poetic use of syntactic inversion being extremely rare) and this again makes for coincidence of sequences. The a b type of rhyme thus comes to characterise songs which are spirally ordered.

We saw that, as regards the traditional Cheremis folksong, the authors have been able to contribute little that is original. The section devoted to this subject covers two-thirds of the book. The

last third of the book, dealing with the new song, cannot fail to be more interesting to us, since it describes and analyses data the very existence of which was unknown and certainly not heretofore available in print, at least not outside of Russia. Yet the pages of this section are padded even more than previously, this time with remarks which by their hyperbolism give the impression of personal opinion moulded by the party line. For, in this last chapter, the authors concern themselves with the influence of the "new life" under the Soviet on Cheremis folksongs.

This chapter, entitled, "The Poetics of Short Songs," is divided into four sections. The first, "The Contemporary Short Song," deals with origins, the suitability of this form to the new circumstances of life under the Soviet, and its relation to the Tatar *tagmak* and the Russian *chastushka*.

Karmazin (1931, pp 380 f.) closed his discussion of Cheremis poetics by stating as his opinion that "unsere tscheremissischen Lieder in nicht ferner Zukunft nur noch historische Bedeutung für die gelehrte Welt dartstellen werden, da unsere tscheremissische Jugend heute mit Hingebung tatarische Lieder in der Originalsprache singt." The Cheremis, as is well known, had been held in subjection by the Mohammedan Tatars until the fall of Kazan, in 1552. This lengthy contact resulted in considerable acculturation, including linguistic, as reflected by some six to seven hundred Tatar loan words.¹⁴ Nor did this process of acculturation cease with the fall of Kazan, since the Cheremis, though they came progressively more under Russian Christian influence, still live in the close neighbourhood of the Tatars. By 1931, as Karmazin goes on to say, only the more conservative women clung to singing in Cheremis, whereas the men sang more and more in Tatar, leading him to the pessimistic conclusion that "vielleicht ist die Zeit nicht fern, wo die Tschere-missen und Tataren zu einem Volk verschmolzen sein werden." Even those who did not sing in the Tatar language sang *tagmak*-songs, that is, songs constructed both in text and in melody on Tatar patterns.

By implication, at least, we sense from the present work that the Tatar songs cannot have assumed the crucial importance Karmazin attributed to them. We learn that the Tatars, conversely, sing songs in the Cheremis language too. The whole topic is dismissed here in about a dozen lines (pp. 80-81). The implication seems to be that the new song overrides considerably in importance both the traditional song of the Cheremis and the *tagmak* borrowed from the Tatars, though both still continue to be sung.

As to its construction, the new song differs from the old in that it never takes as its model the spiral type of composition and usually does not contain more than one supplementary image for every focal image. The new song may, however, contain, unlike the traditional song, several focal images (as in the illustration below).

In length, the "short" song may vary from two to sixteen lines, the great majority being, however, of four lines. Of the songs containing more than four lines, the eight-line songs are most common. The longer (4+) new type songs differ further from the traditional long song in their tendency to divide into four-line stanza-like sequences. Many of them contain not one, but two or more focal images, one at the end of every four lines :

The big bridge sways
When the automobile passes over.
Many people rejoice
When we, who are left behind, sing.
We sing songs,
And the wind carries them far off.
To the new life, the good life,
Comrade Stalin is leading us.

These songs, furthermore, display a tendency to disintegrate into several independent four-line songs, as did the example shown above : in 1938, it was recorded independently both as an eight-line song and as two separate four-line songs. Of the songs which contain only one focal image, the four lines which contain that image may free themselves from the rest of the song which then disappears, being no longer sung. Six- and ten-line songs have a tendency to fill themselves out to eight and twelve lines. This is accomplished by simple repetition of certain lines—usually those containing a focal image.

Besides its preference for the shorter four-line form, the new song also tends to shorten each individual line, thus reducing the total number of words in each song. Images therefore are surrounded by less detail than in the traditional song. The authors assume the complete superiority of the new song over the old, and argue desperately to establish the æsthetic pre-eminence of the former. Therefore, the tendency to reduce the number of words is said by the authors to increase the poetic value of the contemporary song over that of the traditional song, since a limitation of the number of words used in a song is bound to call for a more careful selection of the apt word.

The manner of construction of the great majority of new songs is exactly the same as that of the four-line traditional song. Most of them consist of two parallel images, each of them two lines in length. There has appeared in the new song, however, an entirely new type of construction whereby the parallel pattern is abandoned, and the theme put forth in a unified, logical fashion. An example brought by the authors is the following (p. 87):

The kolkhoz workers drink tea,
Playing a phonograph.
They laugh, they dance,
Rejoicing in the new life

This type of construction is usually applied to songs of socio-political significance, though it may also appear in lyrical or love-songs.

As for the poetic devices characteristic of the new song, it is stated that the use of the comparison has gained ascendancy over the use of the symbol and metaphor, the two latter requiring thought patterns which are now too archaic for modern Soviet realism. They therefore occur in folksongs only as survivals of a pre-Communist past. In some cases where traditional symbols appear in new songs, they may even have a meaning which is opposite to their traditional significance. In the following example (p. 83), the wind's passing through the forest is compared with something pleasant—with a reaction to a beautiful girl. In older songs the wind was traditionally the symbol of bad news:

The black forest was penetrated
By a light wind.
My soul was touched
By a beautiful girl.

In content, the new song appears quite different from the traditional song. This, however, might well have been expected in light of the innovations brought about by the normal process of acculturation. New items of everyday importance have taken their place in the images of Cheremis folksongs. The tractor, the collective farm, the airplane are common. Where words pertaining to family relationship once assumed an important role in the folksong, these have, to a large extent, been replaced by words implying new types of social relationships—the stakhanovite, the young Communist, the deputy, and the father is replaced by Lenin and Stalin. Furthermore, the psychological matrix of the new song seems changed from that of the traditional song: whereas the latter was usually the

conventional and poetic expression of individual, personal experience, the contemporary song most often assumes a social, collective significance. It reflects the passing political scene with amazing rapidity. Within two days after the proclamation of the new Soviet constitution, it was possible to hear songs such as the following (p. 77) :

The new law given by Stalin
Will make the whole people well-off.

As to melody, the new song is sung with any tune which happens to be current at the time of its composition. Some three to five melodies may exist at any given time, and these are rapidly replaced by new ones. It is a feature of these melodies that, while the text of a folksong may spread among all of the Cheremis people, the melodies, on the other hand, remain within certain areas.

In the last section, "The Life of the Short Song," the authors discuss its social function: the new song is primarily preferred by the youth. It is for them an expression both of their struggle for the "new life" and also of their new feeling of social freedom in contrast to their former sense of oppression under the old patriarchal system of the Cheremis people. By way of contrast with the new song, the authors bring the following example (p. 98) of the type of song sung by the youth in pre-revolutionary times :

As a boat which sinks beneath a heavy passenger,
So I, a child, am runed among my large family ¹⁶

In many cases the old people look with disfavour upon the new song, and most of them continue to express themselves in the traditional forms.

Until recently, the new song was most often heard at the evening gatherings of the young people, and at places of work—both during work and rest periods. Since then, the sphere of the song has widened to include the programme of the propaganda brigade, concerts, radio programmes, and artistic contests. Because of this extended usage, many new songs have first been performed before the public, and then taken up by it, rather than first finding currency among the people, as formerly. Furthermore, it has become the custom to compose new songs deliberately for certain occasions, for example, to fit the topic of a meeting. The propaganda brigades (*agitbrigada*) have at hand prepared texts of songs which fit a wide selection of situations which may arise, so that by simple insertion of certain words and names the songs come to apply to any specific circumstances to which the brigade aims to call attention: drunkards, lazy people, embezzlers, and other vicious elements

(p. 78), one may imagine, are powerfully affected when they hear their names sung publicly by members of the brigade.

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¹ From the Cheremis *joškar*, "red," and *ola*, "town"

² *Über die tscheremissischen Lieder*, p. 381 This constitutes the introduction to the Appendix of Wichmann's 1931 collection (see reference in text below)

³ *Ma:ri muro* [= Cheremis Song] *Pesni naroda mari* (Kazan, 1920), 95 pp *Mari muro* (Moscow, 1923), 85 pp The former contains 309, the latter 167 songs, with melodies Also a third collection (Moscow, 1937), has appeared with 221 tunes (personal communication, George Herzog) A fourth collection, not referred to, and not available to us for inspection, is I. S. Ključnikov, *Marla muro muraš tunžitššo saβžš* [= A Collection for Teaching to Sing Cheremis Songs] (Moscow, 1923)

⁴ Cf. Sebeok, *Cheremis Folklore I. Scope and Content* (in press), especially for bibliographic abbreviations used, and for the dialects involved

⁵ *Sammlbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 3 430-38, 741-43 (1901-1902), 15 melodies

⁶ *Hungarian Folk Music*, Appendix III, p. 87 (London, 1931), 3 melodies

⁷ *Sajátosság dallamszerkezet a cseremisz népzeneben* [= Characteristic Melody Structure in Cheremis Folk Music], *Emlékkönyv Balassa Józsefnek* [= Memorial Volume for József Balassa], pp. 181-93 (Budapest, 1934) See also, Bence Szabolcsi, *Népvándorláskori elemek a magyar népzeneben* [= Elements From the Period of Migrations in Hungarian Folk Music], *Ethnographia* 45 138-56 (1934)

⁸ *Grammatika Cheremisskogo jazyka, posobie k izučeniju cheremisskogo jazyka na lugovom narečii* (Kazan, 1887)

⁹ *Sbornik Cheremisskikh pesen* . (Kazan, 1908)

¹⁰ Cf. the Cheremis prayer (Wichmann, 1939, p. 29) "Great *šurem*-god, save our sacrificial grove from evil, from [men] of evil [intentions], from [Russian] priests and officials" Cf. also the proverb "Sheep and pig don't live together; the Russian and the Cheremis don't live together" (from Petrušen See Note 4, above).

¹¹ But not always; a supplementary image taken from human life may also occur "The student from Vjatka | Struggles, looking at his book | That father, that mother, | Struggles, looking after the child" (From *Nyznaja Sukša* See Note 4, above)

¹² *Axiomatik eines Verssystems am mordwinischen Volkslied dargestellt* Thesen zu einem Vortrag im Ungarischen Institut Stockholm, am 8-ten April 1941 See also, John Lotz, *Notes on Structural Analysis in Metrics*, *Helicon* 4 119-46 (1940).

¹³ Both *bereza*, "birch," and *lebed*, "swan," are feminine nouns in Russian, and thus cannot stand for male symbols. There is no grammatical gender in Cheremis

¹⁴ M. Rasanen, *Die tatar. Lehnwörter im Tscheremissischen*, *MSFOu* 50 (1923)

¹⁵ See *Bolšaja Sovetskaja Entsiklopediia*, s. u. *chastushki* (Moscow, 1934); L. Sheptaev, *Sovetskaja Chastushka*, in Mark Konstantinovich Azadovskii, *Sovetskii Folklor* (Leningrad, 1939), U. M. Sokolov, *Russkii Folklor* (Moscow, 1941), pp. 400-12 (with brief bibliography).

¹⁶ We have, in fact, precious little information concerning the influence of Cheremis parents and the family upon personality formation What little we know comes from autobiographies See Lewy (1926, 1 62-63, 2 72-73) "... I have always lived in fear and mourning . . . my older brothers drove me to school I was always afraid . . ." etc. Cf. also the very intriguing unpublished (cf. Note 4, above) autobiography from the village of Otjugowo (collected by Beke), where the fundamental motivations are economic, depending basically upon the narrator's interactions with his father For method and interpretation, cf. Clyde Kluckhohn, *The Personal Document in Anthropological Science* (in *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology, and Sociology*, Bulletin, Social Science Research Council, No. 53, pp. 79-173 [1945]); Clyde Kluckhohn, *A Navaho Personal Document With a Brief Parenthetical Analysis*, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 1 260-83 (1945), and A. L. Kroeber, *A Yurok War Reminiscence. The Use of Autobiographical Evidence*, *ibid.*, 3 118-32 (1945).

KARL STÄHLIN : 1865-1939

A CHAPTER OF GERMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY ON RUSSIA

KARL STÄHLIN, the eminent historian whose name became first known in this country in connection with his work on English but who later concentrated on Russian history, and who, when he died on 29 August 1939, was one of the outstanding non-Russian authorities in this field—was born in Breitenau, Bavaria, on 21 January 1865. Before embarking on an academic career he served as an officer in the Bavarian army, and studied at the Military Academy in Bavaria. In a certain degree this training was responsible for the concise history *Der deutsch-französische Krieg 1870-71*, published in 1912, which is noteworthy for lucid presentation of military problems.

Stahlin was already over thirty when he left the army and definitely devoted himself to the study of history at Heidelberg. In 1905, at the age of forty, he became *Privat-Dozent* and five years later *Ausserordentlicher* (extraordinary) *Professor* at the same University. Speaking of these years at the celebration of his sixtieth birthday Stählin did not regret this late start, but expressed his belief that anyone intending to become a historian should spend some years with a profession that was likely to give him practical knowledge of life.

It was during his first years at Heidelberg that Stählin's attention became completely absorbed by English history. In connection with research work mainly concerned with the Elizabethan period he undertook extensive researches in this country of which he retained the warmest recollections to the end of his life.

His inaugural lecture, in 1905, also dealt with British historical problems—*Die Politik der Englischen Landesgrenze von einst und jetzt* (*Die Schottische und die Indische Frage*), published as an extended paper in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1907 (Vol. 98, pp. 55-115). But the main outcome of his English studies were three interconnected works: a book published in 1902, *Der Kampf um Schottland und die Gesandtschaftsreise Sir Francis Walsinghams*, a pamphlet published three years later, *Die Walsinghams bis zur Mitte des 16 Jahrhunderts*, and the first volume of a large-scale biography, *Sir Francis Walsingham und seine Zeit*, which appeared in 1908. All three works were highly praised by experts both at the time and later (see :

A. F. Pollard, in *English Historical Review*, 1906, Vol. 21, p. 202, and 1911, Vol. 26, p. 176, and C. Read's *Mr. Secretary Walsingham, and the policy of Queen Elizabeth*, 1925, Vol. III, pp. 450-52). However, the second volume of the larger work remained unwritten, for by this time Stählin began to be increasingly interested in problems bearing upon Russian history. The first impulse in this direction was given by a fact from the history of his own family. One of his distant forbears in the 18th century was the well-known Jacob Stahlin—a learned man who as a member of the Russian Academy of Science, and one-time teacher of the future Emperor Peter III, had played a prominent rôle in St. Petersburg for fifty years (1735-1785). Having decided to write an extensive biography Stahlin undertook in 1910 his first journey to Russia in order to collect the essential materials which were scattered in various Russian archives and libraries. His impressions of this journey and of early contacts with Russian problems are vividly reflected in a little book published in 1913, which is remarkable for a deep and sympathetic appreciation of Russian art and literature, so unusual in those days: *Über Russland, die Russische Kunst und den grossen Dichter der Russischen Erde*. The biography of Jacob Stahlin appeared only after the World War—at first as a short sketch, in 1920, in the series *Quellen und Studien*, Vol. I, and later, in 1926, as an extensive, masterly written and finely illustrated study: *Aus den Papieren Jacob von Stahlin's. Ein biographischer Beitrag zur deutsch-Russischen Kulturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Dealing minutely with the wide range of Jacob Stählin's interests and with the varied scientific and artistic functions he was called upon to perform, the final version of the work presents a colourful picture of cultural life in 18th-century Russia with its manifold contacts and conflicts between Russian and non-Russian leading figures.

By the time this valuable work was published Stählin had already definitely made a specialty of Russian history, and was holding the appropriate chair at the University of Berlin. He had left Heidelberg in 1914 in order to become professor in Strassbourg. However, the normal flow of his work was very soon interrupted by the war, and although he was already nearly fifty he rejoined the army, and even earned the Iron Cross "when it still meant something." In connection with his military duties he had an opportunity of visiting Southern Russia, but with the loss of Alsace in 1918 came his involuntary transfer to the University of Leipzig where, in 1919, he was installed in the capacity of an Honorary Professor. Fortunately a vacancy opened very soon in Berlin owing to Theodor

Schiemann's decision to give up the chair he had held since 1892 with the special assignment of lecturing on Russian history.

As the founder of serious Russian studies at the University of Berlin, Theodor Schiemann was looked upon as the most authoritative expert on Russian affairs in general, and as such he had often been consulted by William II. Deeply embittered by the ruthless Russification policy of the Russian government in his native Baltic Provinces, Schiemann despised Russian culture wholesale, and after the outbreak of war, in 1914, his weekly articles in the old, ultra-conservative *Kreuzzeitung* (which from 1902 on used to be re-issued each year in a collected volume under the title of *Deutschland und die Grosse Politik anno . . .*) became so anti-Russian that he soon got out of touch with his readers, consisting in the main of staunch Prussian junkers. While these circles, and to a great extent the public at large, were completely intoxicated by the *Gott-Strafe-England* spirit, Schiemann not only persisted in propagating the Pan-German dreams, shared also by Rohbach and many others, concerning the need of splitting up Russia, but was even ready to accept a compromise peace with treacherous Albion in order to give Germany the chance of settling the Russian question once for all. This dramatic divergence of opinion led within a few weeks to Schiemann's disappearance from the pages of the *Kreuzzeitung* to which he had contributed since 1893. To make things worse his place was very soon (in November 1914) taken over by Otto Hoetzsch who, already in pre-war days, was always—just as in the post-war years—in favour of good relations and friendly co-operation with Russia in all spheres—irrespective of the form of Russia's government. Hoetzsch naturally desired victory for his own country, but he made no secret of his conviction that the war was an equally great disaster for both Germany and Russia, and that it was in the future interests of both countries to finish it as painlessly as possible in the spirit of Bismarck's policy towards Austria in 1866. In his weekly surveys (collected later in *Der Krieg v. die Grosse Politik*—3 vols.) he steadfastly opposed all extravagant anti-Russian peace aims which would tend to exceed the barest frontier security measures. He even had the courage to criticise the treaty of Brest. But already before this crucial moment the clash over Russia had reached its climax with the venomous pamphlet of Johannes Haller, *Die Russische Gefahr im Deutschen Hause* (1917). Infuriated by the re-issue of Hoetzsch's book *Russland. Eine Einführung auf Grund seiner Geschichte von 1904 bis 1912*, Haller, an embittered German-Baltic historian like Schiemann, not only endeavoured to prove

Hoetzsch's complete ignorance, but also bluntly accused him of subservience to Russia if not of plain betrayal of German interests. In order to restore the perspective it is quite sufficient to add that in 1913 when the book was first printed, the Russian government immediately debarred it from circulation in Russia. For the rest, a detailed and scholarly vindication of the serious and well-balanced work—the second, revised and enlarged edition of which had appeared in 1917—was effected by Stählin in 1919, in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 119, pp. 283-303. *Zur Beurteilung der Russischen Geschichte*. Hoetzsch himself had already given a spirited reply to Haller in 1917, in his book *Russische Probleme*.

Worst of all perhaps in the eyes of the circles concerned was Hoetzsch's attitude to the Baltic problem. In his opinion, sympathy and cultural support for the Baltic Germans should not be permitted to create political situations that could endanger the harmonious relations between Russia and Germany which he always considered as being of primary importance. Apart from all the other circumstances this alone would have sufficed to estrange Schiemann who was looking forward to a final solution of the Baltic problem. He was now not only relying on victory, but was certain of seeing Russia in upheaval in the very first months of the war (*Russland auf dem Wege zur Revolution*, 1915), at a time when Russia's morale (as Hoetzsch pointed out) surpassed all expectations, and was still unbroken. After the German invasion of the Baltic Provinces Schiemann had the satisfaction in 1918 of becoming "Kurator" of the old, now re-Germanised University of Dorpat. However, his triumph was but short. After the German collapse and the inglorious disappearance of his patron and friend, the Kaiser, Schiemann returned to his Berlin post (1919) which he obviously did not wish to relinquish definitely without first securing the succession to the exclusion of Hoetzsch. Duller than ever as a lecturer, completely uninspiring as a teacher, and in consequence deserted by students, but wearing as before the tiepin with the Kaiser's initials and retaining the aloofness and typical mask of a German *Geheimrat*—under which it was surprising to find a human and accessible kernel—Schiemann carried on like a tragic symbol of the past until March 1920. Significantly enough the last of his traditional Friday night seminars took place—as he himself duly recorded—in darkness caused by the general strike against the Kapp *Putsch*.

By this time he was evidently no longer hesitating to withdraw, since he knew that his chair and post as Director of the *Seminar für Osteuropäische Geschichte* would be occupied by Stählin. He

could of course not foresee what fate had in store. Only a few months later, in the same year, the new Prussian Minister of Education, the Social Democrat, Konrad Haenisch, created a number of additional chairs, i.e. personal posts for members of the teaching staff who for political or religious reasons had been kept in the background under the old régime. Among these men was also the conservative Otto Hoetzsch, since 1912 Extraordinary Professor, who was now given a special chair for East-European History. Having thus become second director of Schiemann's *Seminar für Osteuropäische Geschichte*, Hoetzsch with an appropriate sense of humour honoured the memory of the founder by hanging up in the Directors' room a photograph which he had received from Schiemann with a highly appreciative dedication after he had edited the *Beiträge zur Russischen Geschichte. Theodor Schiemann zum 60 Geburtstag von Freunden und Schülern dargebracht*, in 1907.

There was even more and grimmer cause for irony in the fact that Stählin's attitude to Russia did not basically differ from the ideas of Hoetzsch. Had Schiemann lived longer—he died 26 January 1921—he would probably have found even less common ground with his successor than with Hoetzsch. The latter was, after all, akin to him as far as Prusso-German internal affairs were concerned, while Stählin, a South-German democrat, accepted the new republican order whole-heartedly, and supported it as best he could; although at the same time, in contrast to Hoetzsch, he never attempted or had the desire to play a rôle in politics. He simply considered it his civic duty to lecture to the men of the loyal republican *Reichsbanner*; and it was in keeping with his straightforward and chivalrous character that he came forward as one of the relatively few university teachers who protested publicly against the vile campaign of abuse and slander carried on by the reactionaries against the first President of the Reich, the Social Democrat, Friedrich Ebert.

In contrast to his predecessor, Stählin showed a complete lack of nationalist bias even in regard to problems which had a topical sting. In his books on Alsace-Lorraine—already in the short version of 1918, but particularly in the extended and augmented *Geschichte Elsass-Lothringens*, published in 1920, Stählin sharply criticised German policy and admitted the sins of the German administration. For this he was of course duly attacked by chauvinists, and in his reply in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1922, Vol. 126, pp. 80–96; *Zur neueren Elsass-Lothringischen Geschichte*, he had to defend himself even against personal insinuations.

But apart from any topical questions Stählin's and Schiemann's approach to Russian problems differed quite fundamentally. For Schiemann social history was of interest only insofar as it had bearing upon political events; and Russian cultural life was for him almost non-existent. Thus in his main work *Geschichte Russlands unter Kaiser Nicolaus I* (1904-1919) he scarcely differentiated between the older and the younger Slavophiles, and his appreciation of Pushkin is about equal to the understanding of the poet by the Emperor. On the contrary, Stählin as we have seen, was from the start attracted by cultural problems, and he retained throughout the years the liveliest interest in all aspects of Russian life. While working on his monumental *Geschichte Russlands von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (1923-1939) he studied with painstaking thoroughness the progressively mounting piles of Memoirs which he also liked to take as a subject for his seminars.

The interest he took in studies of this kind was backed by Stählin's innate love for literature and the arts in general. A ceaseless and intensive worker who—gently guarded by his wife and daughters—spent days on end at his desk, making copious extracts of materials in a speedy short-hand of his own, and writing all his manuscripts himself—Stählin nevertheless did not miss any concert or exhibition of importance. He found time to read every outstanding literary work. The deep culture of his mind was unobtrusively reflected in the style of his study and of his home in general, as well as in the manner in which he would entertain his students at the end of term. Even when he was preoccupied with Russian problems, Stählin's interests retained a definitely universal tinge, and it was no accident that from 1922 on he was entrusted by the faculty with lecturing on "universal history" in succession to Hans Delbrück. Even leaving aside articles like *Orient and Okzident im Ablauf der Indischen Staatengeschichte* (Festschrift for Marcks 1921), or *Absolutismus und Aufklärung* (in Knauer's *Weltgeschichte*, 1935), the variety of Stählin's interests is sufficiently attested by the account of his visit to Central Asia which he undertook in the autumn of 1931: *Russisch-Turkestan gestern und heute* (Quellen und Aufsätze, Vol. 12). For those who knew him this little book will remain a vivid reminder of the remarkable receptivity which distinguished Stählin even at an advanced age. With youthful alacrity he was always ready to look around, to enrich his knowledge, and to be instructed by anyone who could supply the information desired. The unassuming manner in which he expressed surprise and pleaded guilty of ignorance—which as a matter of fact usually turned out

to be a mere misunderstanding caused by his slight deafness—was so void of German professorial dignity that in earlier years it was apt to mislead. Occasionally it even undermined his authority in the eyes of young students before they realised that his knowledge of the subject was deeper than the speaker's.

With the period of Stahlin's directorship of the *Seminar für osteuropäische Geschichte*, and of his active professorship in Berlin, 1920–1933, coincided the brilliant and irreproachable years of Hoetzsch's academic activities. Although he was often in danger of being distracted and diverted by politics, Hoetzsch could, until 1933, pride himself on never having mixed up scholarship with politics. In his capacity of historian he had the skill to keep absolutely clear of narrow-minded party bias or prejudice. It was a pleasure worthy of noting to watch the completely stupefied faces of the promising supporters of the extreme Right after Hoetzsch, a leading conservative M.P., against whom they did not dare to protest, had suddenly with purest conviction proclaimed that the best book to be found on labour conditions in the pre-war industry region of Łódź was the Ph.D. thesis by Rosa Luxemburg; or when, with his usual pleasant smile, he explained that the attitude of the German princes whom Napoleon promoted in rank was prompted by exactly the same psychology which makes every *Kellner* (waiter in a German restaurant) aspire to become an *Ober* (i.e. the senior waiter).

In these days the *Seminar für osteuropäische Geschichte und Landeskunde*, with its two outstanding directors and its exquisite, both up-to-date and retrospectively expanding, library was ever more assuming the character of a historical research institute. This development was further intensified by the revival, in 1931, of the excellent, strictly specialised *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte* which had been brought to a standstill by the World War. Historical and cultural studies at the *Seminar* were throughout these years effectively complemented by courses on Russian law and institutions, regularly conducted by the late Dr. Zaitzeff (formerly of Kiev University), as well as by occasional classes on Russian geography and economics. From all these activities sprang simultaneously a continuous flow of publications, each of the two directors editing a special series of monographs.

In his clever and dignified speech of welcome at the "Week of Russian Historians" in July 1928, which was attended by a large Soviet delegation consisting of both Marxist and old bourgeois historians, Hoetzsch had reason enough to point to the work develop-

ing under the lead of Stahlin and himself. He looked forward with optimism, provided research remained free and unhampered by outside pressure and stimulated only by a free competition of ideas and methods (cf. *Osteuropa*, 1927/8, p. 745 *sqq.*). The only deep anxiety he expressed was the lack of *Nachwuchs* (younger people) fit to take over from him and his few colleagues. . . . Probably neither he himself nor even the greatest pessimist among his audience foresaw at that time that the sound and steady development could peter out so soon and under such lamentable circumstances as it actually did, and that already in 1934, he in particular would be willing to publish a volume consisting mainly of his earlier and best historical articles—with a preface expressing satisfaction that now at last had come the chance for unfettered national research

It would of course lead us too far to discuss the whole series of *Quellen und Aufsätze* edited by Stahlin, 1920-1935. Several of the twelve volumes were written by him. Two of these—the first, dealing with Jacob Stählin and the last, on Turkestan—we had already occasion to mention. Of special interest is the sixth volume (1927): *War der 1764 Getötete Gefangene von Schlüsselburg der Russische Ex-Kaiser Iwan VI?* This fascinating pamphlet is a vivid example of Stählin's qualities as a scholar. Even without having witnessed and participated in the process it should not be difficult to realise the amount of complicated research undertaken in this attempt to unravel the mystery of the man who claimed to have saved the unfortunate boy-Tsar Ivan VI, deposed in 1741 and supposed to have been killed as a prisoner in Schlüsselburg in 1764. An earlier volume in this series, the third (1921): *Der Briefwechsel Iwans des Schrecklichen mit dem Fürsten Kurbskij (1564-1579)*, shows Stählin not only as a superb stylist as always, but introduces him also as a fine translator and editor of intricate texts, subtly adapting the old German Scriptures to suit the casual inaccuracies occurring in some of Ivan's quotations.

Having in the spring of 1933, reached the final age limit with undiminished intellectual and creative powers, Stählin accepted his retirement from the post of Director, at first with regret but soon with a sigh of relief at being spared to adjust himself to the new conditions, and free to devote himself entirely to his *opus magnum*—the "History of Russia from the Earliest Times" already mentioned. The first volume of this work which had originally been planned in two volumes appeared in 1923, and carried the story down to Peter the Great. It was a sound and scholarly book, though without claims to any particular originality, being based in the main

on the Russian histories by Klyuchevsky and Platonov. With each succeeding part, however, the work rapidly increased both in breadth and in depth. The second volume, considerably larger than the first, was published in 1930, and was devoted to the 18th century alone. The third volume, issued in 1935, covered a still shorter period—from the death of Catherine II to the end of the reign of Nicolas I. The rest of the story, down to the Revolution of 1917, filled two parts of a fourth volume—each approximately the size of the earlier ones. The character and significance of the work developed in step with the size. From the second volume onward it has been increasingly based on independent research as well as on new sources and on unpublished materials from various archives. Of the latter many had been used or given *in extenso* in preliminary studies published by Stählin in various periodicals. Thus, a long series of contributions to the *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte*, Vols. VI and VII, consisted of copious extracts from the archives of Nicolas I's political police, the so-called "Third Department," made by Stählin in Moscow during his last visit in 1931. Unfortunately it would again lead us too far to enumerate and survey all such publications. The same applies to the numerous earlier articles—on Peter the Great, on Russia and Europe, on Panslavism, on 19th-century European politics, and so on, which have played a subsidiary rôle in the creation of Stählin's *opus magnum*, and which have remained scattered in periodicals and collected volumes.

Although towards the end of his life his health began to fail badly, Stählin was able to pursue his plan and had the satisfaction of seeing his great work not only completed, but also published. Both parts of the last volume of his "History" appeared in 1939, a few months before his death on 29 August. His passing, almost on the eve of the war, was preceded by a long and trying illness, but fate was at least lenient in sparing him the outbreak of a conflict which he instinctively dreaded already in 1933.

The events of the last ten years have proved beyond doubt that the loss of this eminent scholar and upright man meant also the definite end of a memorable chapter of German research on Russian history. His colleague Hoetzsch's death in 1946, was but a pathetic postscript. As a scholar he had evidently lost his nerve before the abrupt and mortifying end of his public career in 1935, which is said to have completely broken his old resilience as a man.

LEO LOEWENSON.

JAN NERUDA: POET AND ESSAYIST

"NATIONS do not change, they add to themselves." This is true of most writers, too, as they develop from immaturity to full-blown authorhood. It is certainly true of Neruda.

The only son of a Prague barracks quartermaster and a simple pious woman who had been in service, Jan Neruda (1834-1891) grew up amid the back streets and faded baroque palaces of Old Prague on the left bank of the Vltava, a district known as Little Side. A happy street urchin with mischievous playmates (door-bell-ringing was as popular then as now), he witnessed many of the stirring events of his day. At the age of ten he saw the first train leave Prague for Vienna. Aged twelve he saw Prague lit by gas for the first time. New discoveries in astronomy and physics were being made. Telegraphy was a novelty.

At fourteen young Neruda was impressed by the twin giants of the Slav Congress: Palacký and Šafařík. Other Czech writers of his day made an equally strong appeal, especially Havlíček-Borovský, the literary critic and political writer, and Erben, the folk-poet. To the former Neruda dedicated two poems, one in his *Book of Verses*, the other in *Ballads and Romances*. It was Erben who personally interested the young poet in the ballad form, and his influence is clearly seen in Neruda's first literary effort *The Gallows Bird*, published in Lumír in 1854. It was to Erben that Neruda dedicated the following trifle, published in his first complete work, *Cemetery Flowers*, in 1857.

There is more sense in
Gilding gold,
Lighting the sun,
Painting the rainbow,
Firing a volcano,
Hardening diamonds,
Or hastening the clouds,
Than in lyricising your songs,
O Poet Erben.

As a boy, Neruda paid frequent visits to country relatives. Long jaunts with friends to distant parts of Bohemia and Moravia, preceded by an affectionate send-off from his mother, brought him adventure and experience. Tattered, tired and sunburnt, after sleeping on hay, in barns, or in the bed of some kindly country

parson, he would return home by hitch-hiking on a wagon. He kept diary-notes of things he had seen and heard: a castle ruin, or a folk-song. An essay of his about a lake in Slovenia, paralleled by a poem *Černé jezero* in *Ballads and Romances*, show him to have been impressed by natural grandeur. Like Dickens, though not as a social reformer, nor yet as a sufferer from cruelty and neglect, Neruda had a vivid youthful recollection of people and things, of character and local atmosphere. Like Dickens he was awed by deep water, dark cupboards in old houses, old clocks, church bells and cemeteries.

Neruda was a boy of artistic and musical temperament. He was profoundly moved, he tells us, by a performance of Smetana's *Dalibor*. "The finale, rising upward like the pillars of a Gothic cathedral, brought me to my feet in ecstasy, tense and lost to the world." It was fitting that he should have ignored both his mother's wish that he should become a priest, and that of his father to put him to army accountancy. Neruda's fondness for his mother shines through his many poetic references to Mother, Mother and Child, The Virgin Mary.

His fondness for nature, unusual in a town-bred boy, emerges from his *Book of Lyrical and Miscellaneous Verses* and a later work, *Simple Motives* (1883), a collection of verse divided according to the seasons. His style is simple alike in language and theme:

Startled, the lark
Flies from its nest.
—"Don't be afraid.
See those two lovers
They want a nest
Where they can rest.
They won't touch yours."

"Neruda was *born* a poet, but *became* a journalist," says Vrchlický in an introduction to Neruda's poems. "His poetry," he says, "was ahead of his times." Disappointed by the adverse criticisms of J. Malý, the critic, and ignored while the poems of his school-friend V. Hálek, co-founder of the journal *May*, were being publicly praised, Neruda turned more and more to prose. His first job as reporter to the Prague *Tagesbote* gave him the opportunity to perfect his technique of writing from observation. Gone were the wistful days of *Cemetery Flowers*, with their stereotyped reflections on death and the futility of living—echo of Mácha and Byron.

Neruda the reporter became Neruda the essayist; indeed he is

regarded as the founder of the Czech essay. But the literary form he used covered a wider range of themes than is represented by the English term essay, for which there is no equivalent in Czech. The new genre, the "feuilleton," included the essay, the editorial, the leader and the feature article. In Neruda's eyes it was a higher form of journalism quite distinct from simple reporting.

Neruda's prose work vacillates between the feature article and the essay, sometimes bordering on the short story. His writings are objective and subjective by turn, masterpieces of observation and reflection, covering politics, literature, music (Neruda "discovered" the musician Smetana), and above all the interesting personalities of Prague.

Neruda's interests were wide, but his sympathies were with the poor and the downtrodden, the back-street dwellers of Little Side, characters human and likable for their very weaknesses, vivid in spite of the drabness of their garb. One unforgettable pen-picture is that of the old slum woman (in *Small Talk*) who shares a bare room with her daughter and granddaughter, and who ekes out a meagre living by stripping posters from hoardings.

To keep pace with the requirements of his journals (*Hlas, Čas* and *Národní Lusty*) Neruda had to write three essays a week, an output which finally totalled some 2,500. Often he had to ask himself the question: What shall I write about now? To keep his prodigious output going he kept a card-index of ideas, notes on important occasions, and neat turns of phrase.

To his native perceptiveness Neruda added two qualities learnt in journalism: quickness to spot essentials, and facility of style. He made use of the arresting opening and the surprise ending. He could build up everyday characters into stimulating and unforgettable pictures. With detached sympathy he could see the odd and the humorous side of people's struggles, weaknesses, hopes, fears, fortunes and misfortunes. In form Neruda's essays remind us of Robert Lynd, in content of J. B. Priestley.

From time to time Neruda published his essays, character-sketches and short stories in book form. Such collections are his *Arabesques* (1864), *Tatters*, sketches from the lives of gangers working on a new railway, *Various People*, descriptive of men and women he met on his travels, and *Little Side Tales*, his best-known work.

*Little Side Tales*¹ are drawn from that part of Old Prague where Neruda lived and died. He knew it intimately. Like the young Dickens in *David Copperfield* he observed the comings and goings of his mother's friends and relatives, and the scene is always the

Little Side tenement house. Sometimes he gives us a character sketch, sometimes a short story. Now it is the general store and the storekeeper's wife who dreams of winning lottery numbers ; now the death and funeral of a recluse ; now the tragi-comedy of the tenement landlord hopelessly in debt, who earns a precarious living as an office clerk until, discharged from his post for inefficiency, he is forced to borrow money and swallow insults. Or it is the efforts of the landlord's wife to marry her daughter to a promising young tenant. Or the struggles of a budding author, Neruda himself in thin disguise. Or the small talk of the office hierarchy. Or an incident of jealousy between a newly married couple. Or a comedy of errors involving a supposedly rich widow, a "gold-digger," an innkeeper, and various domestic animals. Or a row over a share in a lottery ticket.

Such are the essays and sketches that form the first part of *Little Side Tales*, bearing the ironical sub-title *A Week in a Quiet House*. The date is 1867. The rest of the book is of later date and shows more maturity. It tells why two coffee-house habitués refused to speak to each other for years ; about Beggar Vojtišek and his end ; about the shrew with a passion for funerals ; about three students, including the author, who sit on the tenement roof at night and tell of their earliest recollections ; about the mad doctor who raises the "dead" ; about the faded simpleton who throws away his collection of precious stones ; about the outsider, a tradesman who tries to set up shop in Little Side ; about a helpless girl in a storm after a dance ; about a night spent in a cathedral when the author was a boy ; about a youthful attempt to overthrow Austria ; about Mad Mary who tends three graves—and why.

The last portion of the book is entitled *Figurky* (*Character Sketches*) and tells of two months spent by the author as a subtenant in Little Side, and of the crisis which made him leave.

The various parts of the book are of widely different date. The "plot" against Austria had appeared in *Lumír* in 1877, and most of the rest had been published before as supplements. It is hard to see the reason for some of the writer's inclusions, e.g. the two paragraphs or so on how to write a short story, and the naïve incident at the "Three Lilies" (was this the "Golden Lily" on Old Town Square, where the *Journal of the Czech Museum* first appeared in 1827 ?), a trifling sketch prized by some Czech critics but without appeal to an English reader. It should be said in parentheses that British standards of prose criticism stress plot, movement and incident, and would award highest marks to *Figurky*. Czech

criticism favours characterisation as in *At the Three Lilies* and *The Water Man*. Indeed, Neruda's weakness in our eyes is that he cannot command or sustain a plot. His choice of essays and tales is odd, and their arrangement haphazard. For these and other reasons Neruda never became a novelist.

Neruda's school-friend and literary rival Hálek died in 1874 at the age of twenty-nine. Four years later Neruda's *Cosmic Lyrics* appeared. These poems sought parallels between the new discoveries about the universe and the lives of earthbound human beings. *Cosmic Lyrics* established Neruda's reputation as a poet. *Ballads and Romances* followed in 1883, a collection suggestive of the work of Cowper and Chatterton. *Simple Motives* appeared in the same year. In this collection of lyrical reflections on the four seasons Neruda pays tribute to his friend Hálek.

August. Light and warmth
Linger in the air.
But the acacia-trees
Stirring in the breeze
Rustle autumn rain
As they shed their leaves.
Scarce a zephyr stirs
Scarce a tree-top sways. . . .
Sweet it is to die
In the summer of one's days.

Neruda's fame was now twofold. He was the popular essayist, the established poet. He made trips to France, Italy, Egypt and Palestine, embodying his impressions in collections entitled *Various People*, *Lesser Trips*, and *Pictures from Abroad*, the latter resembling Čapek's well-known "Letters."

At the height of his fame Neruda underwent an extraordinary change. No longer was he the mouthpiece of the May Poets (Frič, Hálek, Mayer, Heyduk and Karolína Světlá), the admirer and imitator of Mácha's subjective and melancholic "Byronism," the immature poet of *Cemetery Flowers*. At the age of twenty-four he had said "Let us learn from other nations. Let us make their ideological world our own. This constant talk about nationalism is an outworn thesis from our point of view." How different was the Neruda of middle age, the Neruda of success and fame, the Neruda turned nationalist. A hortative essay, *In the Mountains*, which was later embodied in the collection entitled *Small Talk*, sets the pattern for this new phase in Neruda's literary life. News had reached him of the destruction by fire of the National Theatre in

1881, while he was on holiday in a mountain village. Angered at the loss of years of endeavour, enthusiasm and hard-earned money he gives vent to bitter feelings on the character of his countrymen. With little relevance to the subject he rages:

"We Czechs start everything in a frenzy of divine fire, but the fire dies out the very next day, and freezes cold the day after." "From the past," he goes on, "we never seem to learn anything." But the Czechs are redeemed in a final note of optimism, contradicting the sentiments he has just expressed. "Frivolity has given place to virile sincerity, sluggishness to resoluteness, vagueness to firmness . . . a miracle has happened. We've genuinely started to like each other."

Reflections on the Czech character now become more frequent. "Czechs are half angel, half devil, like the bicoloured Czech flag." "I am very much of a Czech," he writes in a letter to a friend, "and if anything of mine is deemed worthy of the Czech name, then I am glad—as a Czech." The letter ends: "Let every writer express his own being, however shallow. . . . Literature cannot grow except as purely Czech literature, equal in status to all others." *Songs of Friday* and *Various Motives* express his prevailing mood, from the thunderous march of heroes and symbolical lions down to the touching tale of the Czech child in exile, whose caged lark, taught to sing "Where is my home" (the Czech national hymn), has died of a broken heart, and awaits burial on its native soil.

Czech or European, Neruda cannot forget his birthplace, Little Side. Whether it is Joe the Harpist, Dotty John, Franz the hunch-backed fiddler, characters of youthful recollection in *Arabesques*, or whether it is Eber, Bavorová, Rybář, painter Augusta, the "Conductor's wife," mad Provazník or the landlord's daughter Otylie of *Little Side Tales*, his characters are essentially good folk beset with human weaknesses. They are as alive today as when they were first conceived, indeed a successful film was recently made of the book. Lest we should miss any fragment of the Old Prague picture we are given a tailpiece of indifferent verse entitled *Summer Recollections* about Prague's parks and flirtations. This unworthy work is topped by the epigram:

What's nothing in prose
Goes into verse.
It's still nothing.
But it's somehow different.

Had Neruda had the gift of a novelist he might have planned a

family novel on the lines successfully adopted by Galsworthy and Thomas Mann. Neruda was to Prague what Mennier and Geffroy were to Paris, Glassbrenner to Berlin. Since Kabelík wrote of Neruda's essays in 1902 that "they excite no interest nowadays" literary opinion has changed. For in Neruda's prose sketches we have valuable material for the period-historian, the sociologist and the dramatist. More, Neruda's *Little Side Tales* can serve as powerful models for the Czech story-writer of today, whose work is so often marred by obscurity, generalisation and longwindedness.

A good man (though not a sentimentalist), writing about good people, Neruda had the knack of "shrouding everything in the witching twilight of things half-remembered" as Novák puts it. In 1891, racked with sciatic pains and a broken knee, the bachelor poet and essayist was confined to the loneliness of his own room. The Bard of Little Side had not a friend or relative alive. He died on 22 August 1891. Chief mourners were his landlady and a public messenger.

STUART E. MANN.

¹ *Povídky malostranské*, reprinted by Národní knihovna, 1948 28 kcs.

FRANCIS LÜTZOW

1849-1916

ONE hundred years ago, on 21 March 1849, a son was born to the Austrian minister at Hamburg, Count Franz Lützow, and his wife, Henrietta, née Seymour. The family traced its origin back to the Middle Ages and to the plains of Northern Germany, but since the beginning of the 18th century its members were resident in Bohemia—at that time little more than a colony of Imperial Austria and the Viennese Court. The Lützows used to serve the Habsburgs as diplomats, generals and lawyers.

There was hardly any reason why young Francis should become interested in Bohemia, even if his father's estates were situated there. He attended the universities of Vienna and Innsbruck, and in 1873 started, again in accordance with the family tradition, a diplomatic career, which brought him to Rome, Brussels and finally to London. It is true, his uncle, Count Rudolph, had some relations with the Czech historian Palacký, and young Francis was interested in their correspondence. Rudolph Lützow helped the Protestant Palacký to get admission to the Vatican Archives, but he died when Francis was only nine years old. Evidently it was in London that the boy became interested in the past of Bohemia. In an article written in 1906 he describes his astonishment at the ignorance he met with abroad about Bohemia, "the most ancient kingdom of the Austrian empire." He was not the only member of the "Austrian" aristocracy, who found his way to Bohemian patriotism through his interest in the history of the country. At the beginning of the 19th century, the family of Count Parish, also of mixed German-English origin, became quite famous thanks to their attempts to secure the records of the country's past. Even in the previous century members of the Irish families McNeven and Taaffe became quite eloquent defenders of Bohemia's privileges and liberties in the face of Habsburg centralism.

In 1884 Francis Lützow acquired the old Castle of Žampach in eastern Bohemia, where he used to spend his summers. Soon afterwards he resigned his post, although he retained the title of the secretary of the Austrian embassy in London until 1890. We do not know for certain the reasons for his resignation. There is a tradition which explains it as a conflict between a defender of Bohemian "state rights" and the official policy of Vienna. We

know simply that Lutzow spent only four years in the Viennese *Reichsrat* as a representative of the Curia of landlords, and that he was a sharp critic of Austrian policy from the early nineties onwards. By that time he had made Žampach an important centre of intellectual activities for Bohemia, because in the summer months he regularly acted as host, not only to his English friends but also to prominent members of the Czech intelligentsia. Especially among the older generation and the conservatives Lützow gained many friends and even admirers. We must not forget that many of the bourgeois politicians of the period still deplored the fact that the Bohemian aristocracy remained aloof from the national programme. An individual like Lützow was looked upon as a welcome reinforcement. Thus historians like A. Rezek, J. Kalousek or J. Goll visited Žampach, where they met men of letters and scientists like Professor Albert, Jozef Hlavka, the Czech Mæcenas, the librarian Vřátko and the journalist V Hladík.

Here, too, Lutzow built up a library of some 3,000 volumes, well equipped with modern historical works, written both in Czech and German, together with a good selection of current English and French books. About the development of historiography Lutzow was remarkably well informed. Before the end of the century he knew the works of Louis Leger, Ernest Denis, Chéradame and G. O. Trevelyan; and his Ilchester lectures of 1904 on modern historians of Bohemia were to show a good knowledge of Czech historiography starting with Palacký, whose influence on English literature was the subject of one of his essays.

In 1896 Lutzow published the first fruits of his interest in Czech history and of his endeavour to present the English-reading public with a good historical survey. *Bohemia, An Historical Sketch*. It was very well received by its readers and reviewers, among them Professor Goll in *Česky Časopis Historický* (Czech Historical Review). Of course, *Bohemia* was a secondary work, for Lützow seldom used original material; but its style was lively, the whole story highly readable, and his stress on the history of Hussite Bohemia could not fail to bring success among Protestant readers. It is difficult to imagine that the Viennese government would tolerate as a diplomat a man who criticised it as sharply as Lutzow did in his paper *The Bohemian Question*, published in *The Nineteenth Century* in 1898.

The next ten years brought Lützow his greatest success. In 1899 he published his *History of Bohemian Literature*, based on the last chapter of his *Bohemia*; in 1901 he translated and edited *The Labyrinth of the World, the Paradise of the Heart* of Comenius; and

in 1902 thousands of delighted readers welcomed his handsome little book on *The Story of Prague* (in the "Medieval Towns" series). Lützow's devotion did not fail to bring him recognition; in 1902 he received an honorary Ph.D. from the Caroline University of Prague, and in 1904 he was invited to Oxford to deliver the Ilchester Lectures on the historians of Bohemia (published as *Lectures on the Historians of Bohemia*, 1905). A year later he was awarded an honorary D.Litt. by the University of Oxford. In 1909 he published his second important work, *The Life and Times of John Hus*, which was also enthusiastically received by Czech reviewers.

When the Czechs were trying tentatively to make direct international contacts Lützow's aid was invaluable. Thus he helped to organise the Czech part of the Austrian Exhibition in London in 1906, was a member of the first Czech Olympic Games Committee, and helped the city of Prague to build up its first information centre. Very slowly this "Bohemian" patriot was becoming an ardent Czech nationalist. In the *English Historical Review* he defended Czech historiography against the attacks of the German historian Bachmann. On the other hand, he enlightened the Czech reading public about new trends in English literature, writing on authors as different as Robert Browning and George Moore. Therefore it was a significant event when he was asked to supply articles on Bohemia and the Hussites for the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

The prospects of the federalism, which he considered the only possible salvation for Austria, were no longer hopeful in the decade preceding 1914. Lützow, who looked on the history of Bohemia as a drama, and often a tragedy, saw dark clouds gathering on the horizon. He clearly perceived the gulf which was slowly separating the Czechs from Vienna. In the approaching conflict he had taken sides long before Sarajevo. He was sometimes much more realistic than prominent Czech historians, Goll and Pekař for example, who did not see the importance of the struggle for universal suffrage, and were evidently still impressed by Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the Court in general. His growing radicalism can be traced in his article on *The Position of the Bohemian Nation in Austria* (1906), in his study *Later Thoughts on the Apostles of Moravia and Bohemia* (1911) and his last work on *The Hussite Wars* (1914).

It is therefore not difficult to understand Lützow's attitude towards Austria-Hungary after 1914. He was the only member of the Bohemian nobility to stand openly in opposition against Vienna. The Czech edition of his *Bohemia* (published 1911) was among the

first books on Czech history to be confiscated. In 1915, at the same time when T. G. Masaryk was opening his struggle against the Habsburgs with a lecture on Hus in Geneva, and when R. W. Seton-Watson used a similar lecture in King's College, London, for the same purpose, Lützow wrote two papers—*The Martyrdom of John Hus* and a *Message to the Preachers of To-day*, for American magazines in New York and Cleveland. On 13 January 1916, still unrepentant, he died in exile in Switzerland. His remains were finally laid to rest at Vamberk, in Bohemian soil, only in 1919. At that time, moreover, his library, literary notes, manuscripts and correspondence were transferred to the National Museum in Prague.

Lützow never aspired to be an original scholar. But he was a well-informed writer, sincerely interested in the history of the Czech nation, of which he became a member by his own choice. His books were well written and usually gave an adequate picture of problems of the Czech past. He did very much for a better knowledge of the Czech nation and was both a worthy successor of John Bowring and Wratislaw, and a predecessor of R. W. Seton-Watson and Wickham Steed. There is no better compliment possible for a historian than the fact that his books are still read and appreciated, nearly half a century after they were written.

J. V. POLIŠENSKY.

Prague

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

So far, Lützow has not found a biographer. A short survey of his life and work can be found in *Ottův slovník naučný* (Otto's Encyclopædia) Vol. XVI and Supplements III/2. Goll wrote on Lützow's work in the *Czech Historical Review* (especially Vol. II and Vol. X) and gave an evaluation of it in *Almanach české akademie* (Almanach of the Czech Academy), Vol. XXVII, 1917, pp. 100-04. Dr. A. Sum edited a symposium on Lützow, *Hrabě Lützow, Památce českého vlastence*, Prague, 1925.

SLAVONIC STUDIES IN SLOVAKIA,

1938-1947 *

I. ORGANISATION, SOCIETIES, JOURNALS

APART from the appropriate university chairs, three institutions, each with its own journal, form the main centres of linguistic research. The *Linguistic Institute of the Slovak Academy of Science and Arts*, the *Linguistic Section of Matica slovenská* and the *Bratislava Linguistic Circle* (Jazykovedný ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied a umení, Jazykovedný odbor Matice slovenskej, Bratislavský lingvistický krúžok).

First in order of importance is the *Slovak Academy of Science and Arts* which succeeded the *Slovak Learned Society* which had, in its turn, succeeded the *Šafárik Learned Society*. Included in the plans of the *Slovak Learned Society* was the publication of a journal of wide scope: *Acta Eruditæ societatis Slovacæ, Journal of the Slovak Learned Society* (*Časopis Slovenskej učenej spoločnosti*), with a linguistic section intended for readers abroad and entitled *Lingvistica Slovaca*. It was edited by Prof. Ľudovít Novák, by whom the efforts to create a representative Slovak scientific institution were initiated. Three volumes of the *Lingvistica Slovaca* were published during the war: I/II, 1939-1940, and III, 1941; and publication has continued under the *Slovak Academy of Science and Arts* with Vols. IV-VI (1946-1948) edited by Prof. Ľudovít Novák and the present head of the Linguistic Institute, Prof. Eugen Pauliny. Although the *Slovak Academy of Science and Arts* was officially set up in 1942, with Dr. Mikuláš Bakoš as General Secretary, the work of organisation has lagged behind, and the first members were not appointed until 1948. Among the linguists who have become members of the Academy are Dr. Ján Stanislav, Professor of Old Slavonic and Comparative Slavonic Linguistics, and Dr. Ján Bakoš. The preparation of a concise Slovak dictionary and of a dialect atlas are among the most important undertakings of the *Linguistic Institute*.

The *Linguistic Section of Matica slovenská* publishes the *Linguistic Review* (Jazykovedný sborník) (Vol. I/II, 1946-1947). This publication has carried on independently in place of the *Sborník Matice slovenskej* which ceased publication after No. XIX appeared in 1941. It is edited by the head of the Linguistic Section, Prof. J. Stanislav. The more popular journal *Slovenská reč* (The Slovak Language), concerned generally with the norms, cultivation and purity of the language, continues to be published and to maintain its influence, though there have been frequent changes on the editorial side. The *Linguistic Section of Matica slovenská* is already working on a three-volume *Slovník spisovného jazyka slovenského*

* A more detailed review is given by the author in *Linguistics in Slovakia, 1939-1947* (*Jazykoveda na Slovensku v rokoch 1939-1947*), published in Slovakia.

(Dictionary of the Slovak literary language), now appearing in fortnightly instalments, edited by *Anton Jánošík* and *Eugen Jóna*.

The linguistic societies have been extremely active. The *Slovenská jazykovedná spoločnosť* (Slovak Linguistic Society) worked from 1941 to 1944, with Prof. *Ľ. Novák* as President. In 1945 the *Bratislavský lingvistický krúžok* (Bratislava Linguistic Circle) was founded by a group working on the lines of structural linguistics, and publishes two journals: the review *Slovo a tvar* (Words and Forms) under the editorship of Prof. *Pauliny*, the President of the Linguistic Circle, and the *Recueil linguistique de Bratislava*, for readers abroad, under that of the Vice-President, Prof. *A. V. Isačenko*. The first yearly volume of the latter (1948) is dedicated to the memory of Prof. *Jozef M. Kořínek*, who worked at the Slovak University in Bratislava until his untimely death in 1945. A number of leading European linguists (Max Vasmer, Louis Hjelmslev, Vladimír Skalička and others) have taken part in the lectures and debates of these two societies.

One other journal, *Slovenský jazyk* (The Slovak Language [I, 1940], edited by *Henrich Bartek*, after disagreements with the Linguistic Section of *Matica slovenská*), may be mentioned to complete the list of linguistic publications in Slovakia since the beginning of 1939.

II. COMMON SLAV, GENERAL SLAVONIC WORK, CHURCH SLAVONIC, INDIVIDUAL SLAVONIC LANGUAGES

The *Slovak Academy of Science and Arts* are preparing to publish posthumously the, unhappily, uncompleted "*Od indoeuropského prajazyka k praslovančine*" (From Common Indo-European to Common Slav) by *J. M. Kořínek*, a systematic description of Indo-European and Common Slav from the phoneme and morpheme structural point of view. *N. van Wijk* in his article: *Zum urslavischen sogenannten Synharmonismus der Silben*¹ rejects the assumption of consistent correlation of softness in later Common Slav. In *Linguistica Slovaca*, III, *Š. Peciar* deals further with the origin of the Common Slav syllabic liquids $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$.

Publications on Comparative Slavonic have been largely concerned with historical phonetics. A classification by type of the Slavonic languages from the point of view of their phonological system and the use of vowels and consonants is given in *A. V. Isačenko's*: "*Versuch einer Typologie der slavischen Sprachen*."² Mention should also be made here of *O. Grinenthal's*³ treatment of the West Slav stress accent, and *N. van Wijk's*⁴ article on the phonemes $\dot{\text{i}}/\text{u}$, $\text{u}/\text{w}/\text{v}$ in the Slavonic languages. *Ľ. Novák* defines the relation of South Slovak and Ruthenian dialects within the Eurasian group in his "*Synchronic and Diachronic Notes on Central European Comparative Linguistics*": *Slovenské a podkarpatoruské nárečia vo svetle európskej fonologickej geografie*⁵ (Slovak and Ruthenian dialects from the point of view of European phonological geography). *V. Machek*⁶ published an article on the etymology of the Slav "rarogъ."

Writings on Church Slavonic have not cast such a wide net but have been concentrated on the problem of the contribution to the founding of Slavonic literature by the forbears of the Slovaks. Research has been done on the existence of an Old Slavonic liturgy and traces of the work of Cyril and Methodius on the territory ethnically Slovak. The cultural and social conditions prior to the coming of Cyril and Methodius up to the Great Moravian Empire represents another facet of the problem. The work of the Slavonic Apostles and the question of a Slovak liturgy in Slovakia has been systematically studied by *J. Stanislav*,⁷ who argues that Cyril and Methodius may justifiably be stated to have worked in Slovakia because of the extensive mediæval cult of Sts. Cyril, Methodius, Clément and Dimitri, because of the striking traces left in Slovak personal and place-names and because of the Slovak elements to be found in certain Old Slavonic records. He considers Nitra, where Methodius worked, to have been the cultural and religious centre and proves the use of a Slavonic liturgy in Slovakia. This has given rise to wide discussions, in which *D. Rapant* has taken a sceptical attitude to *Stanislav's* researches, while *I. Kniezsza*, the Hungarian Slavist, and *O. Polách* reject them altogether. A new light has been thrown on this whole problem by subsequent place-name research by Prof. *Stanislav*, proving that before the coming of the Magyars the Panonnian plain was largely inhabited by a Slovak population. These assertions have been indirectly borne out by the work of *A. V. Isačenko*: *Začiatky vzdelanosti vo Veľkomoravskej ríši (Príspevok k dejinám západoslovanského písomníctva predcyrilometodejského)* (Cultural beginnings in the Great Moravian Empire (A Contribution to the history of West Slav literature)).⁸ The author here shows how the Slavs in Central Europe had accepted Christianity from Irish monks even before the comings of the Slav Apostles to Moravia. So that basic religious texts in the vernacular should be assumed to have existed even before the 9th century. Among questions of ever-recurring interest in the field of Church Slavonic are the Freising Leaves, a new interpretation of which is given by *A. V. Isačenko* in his book: *Jazyk a pôvod Frizinských pamiatok* (The Language and Origin of the Freising Leaves).⁹ By analysing the historical phonetics, morphology, syntax and vocabulary he has reached the conclusion that the different parts belong to different literary traditions, the second part being an original Old Slavonic document of the Great Moravian tradition.

Russian studies have received considerable attention. Apart from practical textbooks, there is the "*Príručka ruského jazyka*"¹⁰ (Handbook of the Russian Language) by *A. V. Isačenko*, who is also working on the first scientific Slovak-Russian dictionary. The first volume of this (A-O), published by the *Slovak Academy of Science and Arts*, should be out by the end of 1948. *A. V. Isačenko* has also published the textbook for university use: *Fonetika spisovnej ruštiny*¹¹ (The Phonetics of Literary Russian), a detailed description and study of Russian phonetics, as follows: Part I. The historical, geographical and social basis of

literary Russian, Part II. Outline of General Phonetics; Part III. The Consonants, Part IV. The Vowels; Part V. Sentence and Syntagma phonetics. Two studies of the literary and linguistic problems of the Ruthenians have been published by V. Pogorelov¹²—V. Polák¹³ contributed a stimulating essay on the influence of Slovak upon Czech vocabulary in the 50's of the last century.

III. SLOVAK

By far the greatest amount of linguistic work has been devoted to the Slovak language. There have been a relatively large number of exploratory and detailed contributions, but less has been done by way of synthesis. The following includes only the more important

HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE

As Ľ. Novák's "*K dejinám slovenčiny v tisícročí od VI. do XVI storočia*" (History of Slovak from the 6th to the 16th century) which was announced in the *Linguistica Slovaca* I/II, has not yet appeared, there has been only one attempt to present the historical development of Slovak, that of H. Bartek: *Ľ. Štúr a slovenčina* (L. Štúr and Slovak). This formed Part Three to the edition of Štúr's work *Nárečie slovenské alebo potreba písania v tomto nárečí*¹⁴ (The Slovak dialect, or the need for writing in that dialect). He outlines the development of Slovak from the period of Common Slav and the history of literary Slovak from the 15th century up to Štúr from the point of view of structural linguistics. E. Pauliny has given an account of the external vicissitudes of literary Slovak in his: "*Letný pohľad na dejiny spisovnej reči slovenskej*"¹⁵ (Brief Survey of the History of the Slovak literary Language). Those working on the history of the literary language in Slovakia should also consider the attempts made in Eastern Slovakia. B. Bálent¹⁶ has shown how efforts were made in the middle of the 18th century to raise the Zemplín dialect to a literary language—and with recent repercussions.

Individual monographs: J. Vilikovský, in his "*Poznámky o pôvodu tak zvaných 'východoslovenských kázaní'*"¹⁷ (Notes on the origin of the "East Slovak Sermons"). The discovery of the oldest known Slovak translation of the scriptures¹⁸ has given rise to a number of articles. There have been a number of further works on the efforts of Bernolák and his followers to create a literary language. J. Stanislav considers Bernolák's method and his relation to the literary language in the critical edition of his writings *Dissertatio a Orthographia: K jazykovednému dielu Antona Bernoláka*¹⁹ (On the Linguistic Work of Anton Bernolák). B. Letz²⁰ and J. Mihál²¹ analyse and estimate the value of Bernolák's Etymologia a Slowár from the point of view of the linguistics of his time. J. Kotvan's²² monograph on the part played by Bernolák's followers, Juraj Fándly and Jozef Ignác Bajza, in the formation of a literary language before Štúr needs further treatment. The studies of A. Mráz²³

and *R. Brtáň*²⁴ deal with Kollár's philological interests and writings. A number of small contributions are concerned with the relation of the Štúr generation of poets to the literary language (*W. Bobek, R. Brtáň, J. Rekem*). *Glosy k pomeru : bernoláčtina a štúrovčina*²⁵ (Notes on the relation between the literary language of Bernolák and Štúr) by *E. Paulíny* gives a critical estimate of the literary norms from the point of view of linguistic material and its literary use. The centenary of modern literary Slovak during the war, in 1943, was only marked by various smaller articles in periodicals and newspapers, except for the popular collection *Jazyka dar* already mentioned (viz. note 15) and *Bartek's* edition of Štúr's work *Nárečie slovenské*.

DIALECTS

The former extensive studies of Slovak dialects has been continued in descriptions of smaller dialect regions and individual phenomena. A number of works have been concerned with the analysis of phonetic phenomena, rather fewer with morphological phenomena, and one or two with vocabulary and semantics. At the same time the *Linguistica Slovaca*, the *Sborník Matice slovenskej* and the *Slovenská reč* have been systematically publishing related dialect texts. The following studies of Western Slovak dialects have been made: Čadca (*A. Kellner*)²⁶ Bánovec (*A. Ján-ošík*)²⁷ Myjava (*M. Galík*), Javorníky foothills (*J. Sabršúľ*); *A. Dubay*²⁸ published a study of the linguistic features of Kiripolec, and *Ľ. Šmorič*²⁹ has given a picture of the morphological character of the Terchová dialect. Where the Central Slovak dialects are concerned the main attention has been directed to the Gemer dialect. (*Š. Tóbil*,³⁰ *J. Orlovský-Szabó* five studies in *Sborník Matice slovenskej*, *Linguistica Slovaca*, and *Elán*). *E. Paulíny* has given an analysis of the language spoken in five Upper Orava villages, in the monograph "*Nárečie zátopových osád na hornej Orave*."³¹ This gives, for the first time in Slovakia, a systematic and relatively exhaustive description of the results of structural linguistics upon historical phonetics and paradigm morphology of a single dialect. As the dialect of these Upper Orava villages is, in spite of certain features in common with Polish, to all intents and purposes Central Slovak, the greater part of the arguments and general treatment will serve as a valuable basis for the further treatment of the literary language. Where the Eastern Slovak region is concerned, the features of the North-Western dialects of Šariš have been given by *A. Kellner*.³² *J. Štolc* has devoted two articles to an examination of the Spiš dialects: *Dialektické členenie spišských nárečí*³³ and *Zmeny o u and ie i v nárečí spišskom II*.³⁴ *J. Liška* has again tackled the question of the origin of the Eastern Slovak dialects, which is still contested by certain Polish linguists. In his "*K otázke pôvodu východoslovenských nárečí*"³⁵ (with map of isoglosses) he rejects both Stieber's thesis of the Polish origin of these dialects and the explanation of the influence of Ruthenian colonisation. He has sought to explain certain linguistic phenomena by means of a detailed study of the Sotácke dialects.

ORTHOGRAPHY

As in the case of Russian, Polish and Bulgarian, the desire for simplifications has guided the development of Slovak orthography, while social and political fortunes have at the same time favoured these tendencies. The demand for radical reform was not met by the publication of the *Pravidlá slovenského pravopisu s pravopisným slovníkom* (Rules of Slovak orthography with orthographical dictionary)³⁶ A number of articles and proposals for simplification of Slovak orthography appeared in *Slovenská reč*, written by the then editor³⁷ and other contributors,³⁸ but the compromise reached in the last edition did not satisfy even *H. Bartek* who was mainly responsible for drawing up the Rules. After 1945 the question of reform was again raised (*Š. Peciar, J. Orlovský, J. Horecký*). This time a fundamental reform, such as long since proposed by *Ľ. Novák*, is demanded. A more conservative attitude is taken by *E. Jóna*.³⁹ A fresh examination of the question of the classification of words has been made (*J. Ružička*⁴⁰ and *J. Orlovský*⁴¹). Support for a radical reform has also been expressed by the Linguistic Section of *Matica slovenská*, but the initiative comes from the *Slovak Academy of Science and Arts*.

THE CULTIVATION AND PURITY OF THE LANGUAGE

A gradual change has been taking place in the attitude to "correctness" taken by the Slovak purists up to 1938.⁴² Less emphasis is placed on "distinctively Slovak features," the waves of attacks upon "barbarisms" have died down, and more attention is being paid to appropriateness in the use of linguistic resources for both general and specialised purposes, and greater emphasis is placed on syntax. *E. Paulíny*, in "*Namiesto úvodu o slovenskom purizme*,"⁴³ expresses his conviction that in fostering their literary language Slovak intellectuals do not require authoritarian directives, but broad signposts. But the linguists do not miss any opportunity of pointing out the shortcomings of the spoken language and, in particular, of journalistic style which has undergone a crisis since the last war.

THE PHONETICS OF THE LANGUAGE

H. Bartek has dealt with the descriptive phonetics of literary Slovak, and some informative articles have also been written by *Š. Sobolovský*. *H. Bartek* has compared Slovak with Czech, pointing out the greater "euphony" of Slovak, in view of its richer vowel and consonant system and of its more numerous unvoiced and "soft" consonants.⁴⁴ His ideas are given in his "*Správna výslovnosť slovenská*"⁴⁵ (The Correct Pronunciation of Slovak). This book contains many interesting observations (and is, moreover, the first work of its kind), but it is written from the purist point of view and can, as a whole, only be accepted with reservations.

Work in the field of phonetics has not been systematic. *Š. Sobolovský's* articles have been written for a practical purpose. *Š. Sabršl*

has published an experimental phonetic study⁴⁶ of quantity in the Podjavorinské dialect.

A. Jánošík has been systematically studying quantity in Slovak. He has published a series of articles in *Slovenská reč*, on the quantity of Slovak nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs and loan-words. Articles on the Slovak accent have been contributed by Š. Buc and F. Hoffmann. Polemics have arisen between Š. Peciar and J. Orlovský over the explanation of the fill-vowels (-á-, -ie-, -i-). The more important questions of Slovak phonetics include that of the rhythmic law (a maximum of three moras being possible in two immediately consecutive syllables) and its exceptions. A solution to this can only be found by means of considering the overall prosodic structure of literary Slovak. The former opinion that literary Slovak was a mora language has been rejected by Š. Peciar who, in his "*Slovenská kvantita a rytmickeý zákon*"⁴⁷ (Slovak quantity and the rhythmic law) explains how a long syllable may appear after a diphthong, and prefers to regard the Slovak system as syllabic. This also involves a different estimate of consonantal groups in loan-words: *O fonologickom hodnotení samohláskových skupín v cudzích slovách*.⁴⁸ Disagreement with Peciar's explanation has been expressed by V. Blanár, and the debate continues. Š. Peciar has also dealt with a number of questions of the Slovak phoneme system in his phonological studies.⁴⁹

GRAMMAR

There has been a further gathering and classifying of material. The treatment of grammar from the functional, structural point of view, even though still in embryo, marks a new attitude towards linguistic data. This can already be seen in the "*Gramatika jazyka slovenského*"⁵⁰ of J. Orlovský and Ľ. Arany. This textbook, officially approved by the Department of Education, contains a number of chapters which, in treatment and method, are entirely new. Two textbooks for the secondary schools have been published by J. Mihál.⁵¹ B. Letz has published a collection of his studies on Slovak etymology, *Kmeňoslovné úvahy*.⁵² Smaller contributions on etymology include the article by J. Horecký, *Mená činiteľského významu*⁵³ (Nouns signifying agents), in which the author considers not only derivative morphemes signifying nomina agentis, but also considers further derivatives and developments in their use. There have been a number of articles on the semantic and syntactical value of the different parts of speech. J. Chrápko has collected and classified a wealth of material in his monograph on Slovak interjections.⁵⁴ A valuable contribution towards synthesis has been made by E. Paulíny in his "*Štruktúra slovenského slovesa*"⁵⁵ (The Structure of the Slovak Verb), in which the author examines the structures of syntagmas in the predicate of active and passive verbs. On the whole little attention has been paid to questions of syntax (J. Mihál⁵⁶). The Bratislava Linguistic Circle has adopted a systematic study of this as its programme for 1947/48.

LEXICAL STUDIES

Lexical research has been carried on in the field of etymology by V. Polák,⁵⁷ Š. Peciar,⁵⁸ E. Jóna,⁵⁹ and of semantics and phraseology by J. Rakovský, S. Mazúr, Vl. Uhlár, M. Vančo and others. *Slovenská reč* has published regular contributions to Slovak lexical and vocabulary work, written from the purist point of view (of value for the literary norm or for substituting native words for those of foreign words). It should be added that the majority of the expressions recommended here have taken root in the literary language.

An admirable increase of work has been done on specialised terminology. J. Horecký's "*Poznámky k tvoreniu odbornej terminologie*"⁶⁰ (Notes on the creation of a specialised terminology) is the one theoretical contribution which should be mentioned, but there have been a relatively large number of practical contributions and proposals. Legal terminology has been the more thoroughly examined, thanks to the systematic effort of J. V. Ormis,⁶¹ J. Fundárek⁶² and others. Valuable work has also been done on the creation of physiological terminology by J. Ledényi,⁶³ and for natural science by O. Ferienc,⁶⁴ J. Brižický,⁶⁵ J. Futák and I. Zmoray.

PERSONAL AND PLACE NAMES

The far-reaching and thorough work by J. Stanislav in the study of place-names has roused younger people to devote interest to this field of research. J. Stanislav's two-volume work "*Slovenský juh v stredoveku*" (The Slovak South in the Middle Ages), dealing with the inhabitants of the Danube basin in the Middle Ages on the basis of very extensive place-name material, is of fundamental importance to Slovak cultural and linguistic history. This is at present (1948) in print. The author has already published some extracts concerned with the area to the South of Kožice in the Middle Ages, with the surroundings of Nitra, with the ancient Slovak character of Žitný Ostrov and the central area of Southern Slovakia.⁶⁶ Apart from this, J. Stanislav has been publishing a regular series, in *Slovenská reč*, on the etymology of Slovak place-names. Etymological studies have also been published in *Slovenská reč* by V. Polák, A. Jánošík, S. Mazúr, J. Martinek and others. Articles of a practical kind on the slovakisation of place-names in Slovakia have been inspired by the theoretical studies of J. Stanislav and Br. Varsík. In his explanations of personal names J. Stanislav has limited himself to the oldest period of our history (Pribin, the Slovak names in the Cividalský evanjeliár⁶⁷). H. Bartek has reconstructed "ancient Slovak personal names"⁶⁸ from entries in documents dating from the time of Árpád.

V. Blanár⁶⁹ has had other aims in mind in his studies. He has regarded proper names as a distinctive branch of nomenclature and, by linguistic analysis, by applying general linguistic considerations to Slovak place-name material for the first time, has related the intellectual sphere

to the phonetic, etymological and morphological principles of word formation. The linguistic approach to the study of place-names therefore represents a contribution to the synchronic and diachronic treatment of the language.

POETICAL LANGUAGE

Here, too, new methods are already to be felt. In his study "*Problém vývinovej periodizácie slovenskej literatúry*" (*Niekoľko teoretických poznámok*)⁷⁰ (Notes on the periods of development into which Slovak literature may be divided), *M. Bakoš* has given an account of the division of Slovak literature into different periods by analysis of the structure and style. *M. Bakoš's* "*Vývin slovenského verša*"⁷¹ (The Development of Slovak poetry) is the first work of its kind in Slovakia. *M. Bakoš* analyses the rhythmic structure of Slovak poetry from the time of Štúr to the present day and shows the different solutions reached by Slovak poets. The greater part of the book is devoted to an analytical account of the poetry of the Štúr and Hviezdoslav period. Isolated questions of Slovak poetry have been dealt with by *J. Brezina*, *V. Kochol*, *Š. Buc*, *J. Slačan*. As far as the different periods of the literature are concerned, most attention has been paid to the baroque poets and their works (*A. Mráz*,⁷² *R. Brtáň*), to the poetry of the Štúr period, particularly *Janko Kráľ* (*R. Brtáň*, *M. Pišút*, *J. Brezina*, *M. Povážan*) and *Andrej Sládkovič* (*V. Kochol*,⁷³ *J. Brezina*, *R. Brtáň*). The generation following Štúr has been dealt with in the monograph by *A. Mráz* on *Andrej Sytnianský*,⁷⁴ by *J. Sedlák* on *Tichomír Milkin*,⁷⁵ *A. Kostolný* on *Hviezdoslav's* works,⁷⁶ and *St. Mečiar* has given an analysis and appreciation of *Hájnikova žena*.⁷⁷ *J. Brezina* has applied the results of structural research to his literary and historical monograph *Ivan Krasko*⁷⁸ and so has *Vl. Reisel* in his "*Poézia Laca Novomeského*" (The poetry of *Laco Novomeský*) (*Rozbor básnickej štruktúry*) (An analysis of the poetical structure).⁷⁹ Coming after traditional literary and historical studies, the monographs of *Brezina* and *Reisel* mean a step forward in the scientific interpretation of poetry. But in these monographs the analytical method is applied solely to the rhythmic elements of the works, so the studies of *V. Kochol*⁸⁰ extending structural research to the field of semantics, also merit attention. Various interpretations of Slovak surrealism from varied points of view have been made by *M. Bakoš*, *J. K. Šmálov*, *J. Brezina*, *M. Povážan*, *J. Felix*, *V. Mihálik*. Fewer have been engaged on interpretations of Slovak prose. *E. Paulíny* has published a number of discourses, in *Slovenský jazyk* and *Litteraria Historica Slovaca*, on the relation between the structure of a work of art and the appropriate means of expression. *Fr. Miko*⁸¹ has made a detailed study of the style of *Vlček's Dejin literatúry slovenskej* (History of Slovak Literature). *St. Šmalák*⁸² is one of the young generation dealing with problems of Slovak prose. Here, too, should be mentioned articles concerned with the translation of poetry (*A. V. Isačenko*,⁸³ *J. Lenko*, *K. Felix*, *J. Komorský*). Problems of the

Slovak theatre and dramas have been dealt with by P. Karvaš⁸⁴ (with emphasis on theoretical considerations) and Z. Rampák⁸⁵ (with emphasis upon the historical side and development of Slovak drama).

VINCENT BLANAR.

English by VICTORIA DE BRAY.

- ¹ LS (*Linguistica Slovaca* [Bratislava]) III, 1941, 41-48
- ² LS I/II, 1939/1940, 64-76
- ³ SMS (*Sborník Matice slovenskej* [Turč Sv. Martin]) XVI/XVII, 1938/1939, 13-29
- ⁴ LS I/II, 1939/1940, 77-84
- ⁵ LS I/II, 1939/1940, 85-105 German and Russian resumés.
- ⁶ LS III, 1941, 84-88
- ⁷ The following is a selection of publications on this subject
Slovanskí apoštoli Cyril a Metod a ich činnosť vo Veľkomoravskej ríši Bratislava, SAVU (The Slovak Academy of Science and Arts), 1943 91-(I) pp + XV, with phot plates
K otázke účinkovania Cyrila a Metoda na Slovensku, 449-66, 520-39
Slovenská liturgia na Slovensku a sídle Metodovo a Gorazdovo. Bratislava, Slovenská učená spoločnosť, 1941. 43-(I) pp
Kultúra starých Slovákov Bratislava, Slovenský rozhlas, 1944 97-(II) pp
- ⁸ JS (*Jazykovedný sborník*) I/II, 1946-1947, 137-78.
- ⁹ Bratislava, SAVU, 1943 105-(II) pp + (IX) Facsim. German résumé
- ¹⁰ Bratislava, J. Horáček, 1943 232 pp
- ¹¹ Bratislava, SAVU, 1947 223-(V) pp
- ¹² *Karpatorusskije etjudy*. Filozofická fakulta, 1939 67-(IV) pp
- ¹³ SR (*Slovenská reč*) X, 1942/1943, 97-104, 150-56, 218-22, 285-89, 323-27; XII, 1943/1944, 6-12
- ¹⁴ Turč Sv. Martin, *Kompas*, 1943 419-(II) pp.
- ¹⁵ *Jazyka dar* Ed. by Jozef Štolc and Eugen Pauliny. Bratislava. Osvetové ústredie pri MŠANO, 1943 pp. 19-34
- ¹⁶ *Prvý pokus o spisovnú slovenčinu* [Literatúra a bibliografia] Turč Sv. Martin, *Matca slovenská*, 1944. 25-(I) pp
- ¹⁷ LHS (*Litteraria Historica Slovaca* [Bratislava]) II/III, 1945/1946, 95-98.
- ¹⁸ Cf. V. Jankovič, *Verbum I*, 1946/1947, 22-23 —E. Pauliny, *Verbum I*, 1946/47.
- ²⁷²
¹⁹ Bratislava, Slovenská učená spoločnosť, 1941. 120-(II) pp
- ²⁰ SMS XIX, 1941, 331-35.
- ²¹ SMS XIX, 1941, 356-88.
- ²² I. Kotvan has devoted a monograph to Juraj Fándly: *Juraj Fándly* (1780-1811) Trnava, Spolok Sv. Vojtecha, 1946 146-(VIII) + (XV), phot plates
- ²³ *Ruské momenty v diele Jána Kollára* [Štúdia], Lipt. Sv. Mikuláš, Transcius, 1946 71-(III) pp.
- ²⁴ *Vznik vývin a verzie Kollárovej rozpravy o literárnej vzájomnosti*. Štúdia. (With facsimile autograph) Lipt Sv. Mikuláš, Transcius, 1942 134-(II) pp. + (II), phot plate
- ²⁵ K. (*Kultúra* [Trnava]) XV, 1943, 97-103.
- ²⁶ LS I/II, 1939/1940, 220-29.
- ²⁷ SMS XIX, 1941, 403-19.
- ²⁸ *Sborník Spolku záhorských akademikov II*. Trnava, Bože, 1942, 431-(IV) pp. 72-103
- ²⁹ SMS XVIII, 1940, 30-44.
- ³⁰ LS I/II, 1939/1940, 208-19. 1 map German résumé
- ³¹ Turč Sv. Martin, *Matca slovenská*, 1947. 127-(III) pp
- ³² *Náľeži severozápadného Saviše* SMS XVI/XVII, 1938/1939, 35-49.
- ³³ LS I/II, 1939/1940, 191-207. 1 map.
- ³⁴ SMS XVI/XVII, 1938/1939, 50-76. 1 map
- ³⁵ Turč Sv. Martin, *Matca slovenská*, 1944. 83-(II) pp.
- ³⁶ Turč Sv. Martin, *Matca slovenská*, 1940 478-(IV) pp
- ³⁷ H. Bartek. SR VII, 1938/1939, 148-67.—SR VII, 1938/1939, 129-32.
- ³⁸ J. Žigo, J. Škultéty, J. Hrabovský.

- ³⁹ SR XII, 1946, 46-57, 103-13
⁴⁰ *Rozdeľovanie slov v slovenčine*. SR XII, 1946, 224-39.
⁴¹ SR XII, 1946, 42-45
⁴² L. M. Jánsky, *Slovenský jazykový purizmus vo svetle štatistiky* (K I-VII vol of *Slovenská reč*). LS I/II, 1939-1940, 262-71
⁴³ ŠAT (*Slovo a Tvar*) I, 1947, 1-3
⁴⁴ *Lubozručnosť slovenčiny* SJ (*Slovenský jazyk* [Turč Sv Martin]) I, 1940, 20-25, 53-59, 112-15, 141-47, 217-23, 291-97
⁴⁵ Bratislava, J. Horáček, 1944 316-(V) pp
⁴⁶ LS I/II, 1939/1940, 230-36
⁴⁷ SR XII, 1946, 137-52, 217-24
⁴⁸ SR XIII, 1947, 72-86
⁴⁹ SR IX, 1941-1942, 33-41.—SR IX, 1941/1942, 141-42 —SR X, 1942/1943, 270-81 —SR X, 1942/1943, 197-214.
⁵⁰ Bratislava, J. Orlovský, 1946 252-(IX) pp
⁵¹ *Slovenská gramatika s cvičeniami pre I a II tr slovenských gymnázií* Bratislava, Štátne nakladateľstvo, 1943. 300-(IV) pp. *Slovenská gramatika s cvičeniami pre III a IV. tr. slovenských stredných škôl* Bratislava, Štátne nakladateľstvo, 1947 259 pp.
⁵² Turč Sv Martin, *Matca slovenská*, 1943. 256-(II) pp
⁵³ SAT I, 1947, 80-86
⁵⁴ Series of articles appeared in vols VIII to XI of SR
⁵⁵ Bratislava, SAVU, 1943 112-(II) pp.
⁵⁶ SR VII, 1938/1939, 12-18, 88-96.
⁵⁷ SR XIII, 1947, 44-51.—SR XIII, 1947, 172-77 —SR IX, 1941/1942, 97-102.
⁵⁸ SR IX, 1941/1942, 196-202 —SR X, 1942/1943, 43-49.
⁵⁹ SR IX, 1941/1942, 3-8.—SR VII, 1938/1939, 226-33.
⁶⁰ SR XIII, 1947, 65-72.
⁶¹ LS I/II, 1939/1940, 272-85 —SR VIII, 1940/1941, 1-5 and numerous other articles in SR
⁶² E.g. *Právny obzor* XXII, 1939, 205-11 —SR VIII, 1940/1941, 45-48, 76-78.
⁶³ *Slovenské telovédné názvoslovie*. SJ, 1940, 85-91, 132-37, 203-11. In his *Pitevné cvičenia z topografickej anatomie I-III* terms adopted for the Slovak literary language are used
⁶⁴ *Slovenské ornitologické názvoslovie* Turč Sv Martin, *Matca slovenská*, 1942 244-(II) pp —*Slovenské názvoslovie rýb Československej republiky a susediacich krajov*. *Prírodovedný zborník* II, 1947, 65-152
⁶⁵ *Dendrologická nomenklatúra slovenskej flóry* Turč. Sv Martin, *Matca slovenská*, 1943 39-(II) pp.
⁶⁶ *K južnej a východnej hranici slovenského osídlenia v stredoveku (Príspevok k poznaniu pôvodných slovenských sídel)*. Bratislava, *Vedecká spoločnosť pre zahraničných Slovákov* 1944. 51-(I) pp and a number of studies in Vols I and II of the journal *Nás národ*
⁶⁷ LS I/II, 1939/1940, 118-50 German résumé —*Nás národ* II, 1944, 89-96.
⁶⁸ SJ I, 1940, 67-72, 115-17, 148-50, 227-29.
⁶⁹ Eg. *K jazykovej výstavbe slovenských rodinných mien* JS I/II, 1946/1947, 26-38 —*Skloňovanie cudzích rodinných mien v spisovnej slovenčine* SAR I, 1947, 70-80.
⁷⁰ Trnava, Fr Urbánek, 1944 30-II pp + (III)
⁷¹ Turč. Sv. Martin, *Matca slovenská*, 1939 141-(I) pp
⁷² *Gavlovičova škola kresťanská (Príspevok k slovenskému literárnemu baroku)* Bratislava, Slovenská učená spoločnosť, 1940 60 pp.
⁷³ *Dnešná problematika Maríny* (pp 159-181). Jubilee edition Andrej Sládkovič, Marína. Facsimile of the original edition Published on the centenary of the original edition by SAVU in Bratislava with studies by Dr. V. Kochol and Dr. J. Mišaník ed. by Dr. V. Kochol. Bratislava, SAVU, 1946 195-(II) pp
⁷⁴ *Andrej Sytniansky v slovenskej literatúre sedemdesiatych rokov XIX. storočia*. Turč. Sv Martin, *Matca slovenská*, 1945. 115-(I) pp
⁷⁵ *Literárne dielo Trichomíra Milkina* (Literary-historical study.) Trnava, Spolok Sv. Vojtecha, 1941. 165-(I) pp.
⁷⁶ Bratislava, Universum, 1939 245-(III) pp + (I) plate
⁷⁷ *Hvezdoslavova Háynkovo žena* Turč. Sv. Martin, *Matca slovenská*, 1939, 228-(II) pp.

⁷⁸ Bratislava, SAVU, 1946 184-(II) pp

⁷⁹ Bratislava, SAVU, 1946 155-(I) pp

⁸⁰ *Integrácia smyslu v poézii Laca Novomeského* LhS (*Literárnohistorický sborník*) (Turč Sv. Martin) II/III, 1945/1946, 17-47 — *Dnešní problematika Maríny* (viz note 73)

⁸¹ JS I II, 1946-1947, 38-61

⁸² *Príspevok k štýlu slovenského literárneho realizmu* SAR I, 1947, 14-21

⁸³ LHS I/II, 1946-1947, 148-63

⁸⁴ SAT I, 1947, 106-14 — SP (*Slovenské pohľady* [Turč Sv. Martin]) LXIII, 1947, 616-26.

⁸⁵ Cf *K charakteru štátorskej drámy* Turč Sv. Martin, *Matka slovenská*, 1947. 122-(II) pp — LhS I, 1944, 65-75

FRANCO-RUSSIAN DISCUSSIONS ON THE PARTITION OF AUSTRIA- HUNGARY, 1899

"INTERNATIONAL politics are a fluid element which becomes temporarily solid under certain circumstances but which falls back into its original diffuse condition with changes in the atmosphere. . . ." This *ex cathedra* observation by Bismarck indicates the dual nature of the task of political leaders in this field, first to deal with immediate and current relations and secondly to foresee, and if possible to influence, the development of the pattern of the future. The internal condition of Austria-Hungary towards the end of the 19th century gave rise to speculation with regard to its future existence and concerning the effect its dismemberment could have on the political constellation of Europe. Virulent propaganda, especially from the German national-group inside the empire, focussed attention on the possibility of the partition of Austrian lands and this topic formed one of the points of discussion between the French government and the Russian Foreign Minister when the latter visited Paris in the autumn of 1899. One must avoid attaching undue importance to these discussions as they concerned, in this particular connection, only a possible eventuality which, in fact, did not materialise within the decade. However, they are interesting as they illustrate contemporary French preoccupation and some personal reactions.¹ These become intelligible only when placed against the background of the circumstances and the polemics of the time. Inside the empire, contemporary opinion on the Austrian Question appeared in statements often violently contradictory, seldom objective, and which illustrated perfectly a confusion of thought and of analysis which paralysed any attempt to solve it. From outside, observations were, in a varying degree, governed by a hypnosis that Europe had achieved a practical political pattern and that any direct change in the extent and the power of a major unit on the continent would have meant not a mere temporary maladjustment but a fatal blow to the very balance which preserved peace. The official view in both France and Germany, the two countries most nearly affected, showed an almost identical conclusion, from

¹ Three unpublished letters concerning these discussions are appended. Wiener Staatsarchiv · Geheim XXXIII/20.

opposite standpoints, that the maintenance of Austria-Hungary was a *noli me tangere*.

"I have been unable to perceive during ten years of constant observation and experience—years, moreover, filled with struggle and crises—any sufficient reason why, with moderate foresight on the part of the Dynasty, the Hapsburg Monarchy should not retain its rightful place in the European community. Its internal crises are often crises of growth rather than of decay." ² Writing at the end of a crucial decade the Vienna correspondent of *The Times* underlined his view as that of the "best Hapsburgians," and indeed it was widely shared. Declarations of confidence in the empire sometimes came from within, especially from the Czech leaders who, following the lead given by Palacký in 1848, continued for more than sixty years to maintain that the aspirations of their people could best and most assuredly be achieved within the framework of a strengthened and vitalised Austrian empire. During the ten years or so after 1897, while it was admitted that an Austrian Question did exist, it was considered as one which could be solved certainly without endangering the very existence of the empire. ³ And these judgments were essayed in the full knowledge of the disturbances and the endemic crises of the last years of the previous century. There were, of course, the pessimists who forecast that the empire would break-up on the death of Francis Joseph, a monarch "vénérable et vénéré de tous auquel le sort a réservé le rôle de Romulus Augustule." ⁴

Of the three major influences—Irredentism, Panslavism, Pangermanism—which were responsible for the recurring internal crises and for creating in the minds of observers uncertainty about the future existence of the empire, undoubtedly the last mentioned was the most vicious and the one which made the prospect of co-operation between the national groups remote. It was vicious as its leaders showed no reserve in their attacks even on the lynch-pin of the

² H. Wickham Steed: *The Hapsburg Monarchy*, 1913. See preface.

³ For Palacký's earlier views, see *Oesterreichs Staatsidee*, Prague 1866. By 1872 they had been considerably modified. See F. Hertz: *Nationalgeist und Politik*, vol. 1, p. 370. For two articles on Palacký as a historian, see *Slavonic Review*, March 1925. For citations of statements made early in the present century, see F. Hertz: *Nationality and Politics*, pp. 202-04.

⁴ *Revue politique et parlementaire*, February 1901, in an article entitled "Le rapprochement des races latine et slave et l'Autriche-Hongrie," p. 258. "L'Autriche a cela de commun avec l'Empire ottoman que l'intérêt dominant qu'elle évoque se concentre essentiellement sur les États futurs qui devront sortir de ses éléments." Note also Albert Sorel: "Voilà un siècle que l'on travaille à résoudre la question d'Orient. Le jour où l'on croira l'avoir résolue l'Europe verra se poser inévitablement la question d'Autriche." For references to French articles, see A. Chéradame: *L'Europe et la question d'Autriche*, p. 395.

empire, the monarchy, and because the declared policy of its adherents was to negate any proposal to formulate, by agreement with the other national groups, a settlement which could have maintained a practicable balance between them. The question of Bohemia was the central point in the constitutional question of Austria, and in this a minority in the empire held it to ransom. The Badeni language ordinances of 1897 were condemned by the German-radical and Pangerman group as a violation of inherent rights, and headed by Schoenerer and his lieutenant, Hasse, they embarked on a campaign of agitation and obstruction which had as its palpable aim the assertion of the supremacy of the German group over all others, or, failing that, the dismemberment of the empire. A French observer characterised their behaviour as aiming "to excite Austria on the pretext of the Ordinances at the same time to foment enthusiasm in Germany on behalf of a threatened Germanism and to continue the campaign for as many years as was necessary finally to force the government in Berlin to intervene."⁵ It is unquestionable that this agitation was nourished from outside, and in particular by the Pangerman Union—the Gustav Adolf Verein. The fury of its onslaught knew no bounds. Their inflammatory speeches in the Reichsrat in Vienna showed the German party leaders with bitterness in their hearts and treason in their heads. Schoenerer declared his longing for the day on which an army from the German Reich would march into Austria and put an end to her.⁶ As the group increased its strength in the Reichsrat—from five in 1897 to twenty-one in 1901—the leaders consistently indulged in declarations fatuous in their temerity.⁷ The most definitive, comprehensive and naked of these came from Stein. He had already established a reputation by calling a fool anyone who was an Austrian patriot and by describing himself as "a high traitor." In the Reichsrat debate of 15th May 1906 he expressed himself as follows: "Our ideal has nothing to do with the Austrian State idea. If the Prime Minister suggests that we ought to represent the interests of the whole state, we must explain that no one can get us to do anything whatever for this Austrian state. What we do, we do solely for the German people in this state. To us, the dynasty and the Austrian state are matters of complete indifference. On the contrary, we have one

⁵ A. Chéradame. *L'Allemagne, la France et la question d'Autriche*, p. 142 of second edition, Paris, 1902.

⁶ Sitting of the Reichsrat, 8th November 1898

⁷ I have in my possession an unpublished manuscript by the late Th. v. Sosnosky on *The German Hypnosis* in which such statements are catalogued. I am indebted to this list.

hope and one wish, that we shall finally be delivered from this state, that that which must come about will occur, namely the crumbling of this state. Then the German people of Austria will be able to live happily outside this state and under the glorious protection of the Hohenzollerns." On another occasion he described Austria as an unfortunate geographical expression and continued: "Galicia, Bukovina and Dalmatia are alien to her, while Tyrol and Vorarlberg ought ultimately to be annexed by a neighbouring German state. A division of the empire would involve no geographical difficulties. The 20th century is the century of national crystallisation. And you will agree with me when I say that this century will yet bring about the realisation of our Pangerman programme, and that the lands of German Austria which formerly belonged to the German Bund will form a great unity with the German Reich and that our chief demand, the establishment of German as the state language, will also thus be fulfilled. . . . The process of dissolution has attacked everything in this state and can be no longer retarded. The state is dying and as a humane person wishes a quick release to an incurable case, so do I and my colleagues wish a rapid and a painless end to this state. The sooner the better as far as we are concerned, as this state has no interest for us. If this house is crumbling, what does it matter? Only unity brings power, and for this unity we strive in that we want to be quit of Hungary in order to live in a happy and wholly German land." Stein summarised his many monotonous speeches by describing Austria as a "German irredenta."

Pangermanism had been a continental phenomenon since the beginning of the 19th century, but it was the founding of the *Alldeutscher Verband* in 1894, and its active propaganda through its weekly paper, the *Alldeutsche Blätter*, which attracted to it the attention of the whole of Europe. The disturbances in Austria were closely watched by the Union and at its general assembly in Mainz in June 1900 it was affirmed that the maintenance of Germanism in Austria was a question of life and death for the German people. Much earlier the *Gazette of Augsburg* had declared that Germany stood in imperative need of the acquisition of Austria as necessary for her development and for her position as a Great Power. Opposite to this public sentiment, however, German official policy under Bismarck was decidedly antagonistic. He affirmed clearly: "We could not make use of German Austria either in whole or in part, nor would the acquisition of provinces like Austrian Silesia and pieces of Bohemia tend to strengthen the Prussian state. An assimilation

of German Austria would not ensue, nor would Vienna be governed as a mere annexe from Berlin." At the time of the wild tumult over the Baden ordinances, Bismarck, fearing as always that unrestrained nationalist struggles would upset the political equilibrium of Europe and thus demolish the pattern of security which he had created for Germany, expressed his emphatic disapproval in the *Hamburger Nachrichten*. "In the year 1866 Austria gave up her German position and had to shift her centre of gravity into the totality of the races which compose her. With this historical fact, and with its political consequences, the Germans in Austria must reckon, and so must those good men but poor politicians à la Mommsen who are now indignant at the language decrees and who would be glad to see us abandoning our alliance and our good relations with Austria and compelling that state, if necessary by military force, to carry out the will of the obstructionists and the Pangerman league. In actual fact, if the Germans do not want to emigrate and cannot tear themselves away from Austria by force, they must come to terms with the other nationalities. They can do this in the consciousness that they are the superior race but they must not forget that, politically, they have been separated from us since 1866, that politically they are Austrians and nothing else, that they have to accommodate themselves to the circumstances and changing needs of the country to which they belong, without laying claim to special political privileges. There will always be struggles of nationalities in Austria, but to carry these on in such a way that the good of the state and its relations with other countries do not suffer, that is the special duty of the race which desires to claim that it is superior. Let them deal with their Slavonic rivals, even in their most violent anger and in the most difficult situations, always with the inward but not the outspoken feeling that they are still really the preponderant element and will remain permanently so." With the direction of policy in other hands, the Pangerman view was not officially and governmentally adopted in Germany, although the Kaiser did confuse the situation by adding a personal ingredient to which no more appropriate label can be given than "PanHohenzollernism." The continuity of the official view was illustrated by the *Koelnische Zeitung* in its leading article of 20th September 1905, entitled "The future of Austria and the German Empire." The incorporation of Austrian lands in the German state would endanger the latter's unity and could ultimately threaten its existence. The "good fortune" which would be achieved might prove itself to be highly questionable.

While the balancing of the claims of diverse national groups could have remained primarily an internal problem, any prospect that practicable adjustments were becoming impossible and that the break-up of the empire was not far distant turned the Austrian Question automatically into a European Question. The conduct and the programme of the Pangermans who envisaged the ultimate incorporation of at least one Austrian province in the German Reich was sufficient to indicate a possibility which no government in Europe could ignore and which indeed must have moved some to a preliminary assessment of their position in relation to such an extension of German territory. Most concerned of all, very naturally, would have been France, ever mindful of her defeat in 1870, still uncertain, in spite of her new alliance with Russia, of her strength opposite to her powerful neighbour. It is possible to maintain that "after 1870 France owed her position as a Great Power to the survival of the Habsburg Monarchy."⁸ It is quite certain that French fears of the consequences of the collapse of Austria-Hungary were real, vivid and sustained. Contemporary French publicists were very industrious in their innumerable articles on an Austrian Question which could eventually pose a European problem whose kernel concerned essentially the balance between France and Germany. In French eyes the elimination of the Austrian empire as a unit from the continental states-system would have been disastrous for Europe as it provided the most immediate barrier to German preponderance and hegemony. In fact, such a development would have constituted for France a second Sedan.⁹

Such publicists had, as leaders of opinion, a freedom of expression and of conjecture denied to official circles. The French government was, however, sufficiently concerned in the autumn of 1899 to broach the matter privately with the visiting Russian Foreign Minister. The French ministers evidently considered the eventuality as one which should be dealt with on the basis of their alliance with Russia and, if it were to materialise, expected Russian help in securing a *quid pro quo* and the necessary safeguards for the vital interests of their country. Dumba's report from Paris informed Vienna how neatly, and with what consideration for France, Muraviev was supposed to have parcelled out the empire.¹⁰ The Russian Minister, if one accepts this account, must have warmed to the French invitation to re-draw the map of central Europe and had

⁸ A. J. P. Taylor *The Habsburg Monarchy*, 1947, p. 259.

⁹ Statement by Gabriel Louis Jaray in a lecture in Paris, 15th March 1907.

¹⁰ Cf. the partition programme of the German radicals in Austria as drafted at Linz in 1882. See Taylor: *op. cit.*, p. 162

even added as a titbit a possible re-alignment of the continental countries. It does not seem, however, that the report caused more than a ripple at the Ballhausplatz, as otherwise a circular memorandum would probably have been dispatched to all ambassadors. In particular, the ambassador at St. Petersburg was unaware of the Paris tête-à-tête until it was disclosed in the spring of the following year quite casually to him by a spokesman of the Russian Foreign Ministry. Aehrenthal, exceedingly perturbed, hastened to inform his chief and to root out the details. His account is interesting because besides noting the obvious French fear of German expansion, he mentions the French anxiety that a Russo-German agreement could possibly arise to cover the question of the partition of Austria-Hungary. The logical and realist French would, as a matter of course, have wished to learn the Russian view about the disposal of Austrian lands should dismemberment take place. However, above all, they wanted to ascertain whether on this one matter Russia would incline to deal with Berlin directly. This query was certainly important, as a Russo-German agreement on such a topic would have constituted for the French a grave diplomatic defeat. And so, to forestall a possible evil, the French government demanded assurances that Russia, if ever the eventuality arose, would act only within the framework and the spirit of the alliance.¹¹ Aehrenthal quoted with emphasis his Russian informant's admission: "La France a réussi en effet, nous nous sommes liés." Whether the French government actually obtained from Russia such a binding assurance, and if so the form in which it was given, cannot be finally ascertained until access is possible to any memoranda on the subject which the French archives may contain.

The Austrian ambassador's conclusion that the preservation of the Habsburg Monarchy corresponded to the interests of the major continental powers was not a mere acceptance of a conditional existence for his country but was a statement of his belief that neither Germany nor Russia would give to the German and the Slav national groups within the empire such encouragement as would enable them to pass successfully from obstruction to revolu-

¹¹ The "*solution préservatrice*" according to Chéradame was to be found in a vigilant support of Austria by Russia and France and by a system of federation within the Monarchy. For the background of the French view, note Hervé's assertion that "Une Autriche unie et forte est nécessaire pour arrêter l'ambition prussienne, l'unité allemande . . . La France elle aussi venait d'être vaincue (à Sadowa) sur ce champ de bataille d'où elle était absente"—quoted with approval by M. Deschanel in an address to the French Academy on 1st February 1900.

For contemporary Austrian viewpoints regarding future developments, see studies by Richard Charmtz, Rudolph Springer (Karl Renner) and many others.

tion. He was confident that the Monarchy could deal effectively with any internal elements which aimed to disintegrate the empire, provided that they had only their own resources to rely upon. It was exasperating to see the Slav group in Bohemia being encouraged by the very country whose alliance had taken Russia outside an imperial league. He held that a Dreikaiserbund was the best instrument to safeguard Austria's position, and in such an association hoped at least to influence the conduct and the policy of his partners to achieve due respect for the welfare of his country. He played with the idea in 1907 and envisaged the inclusion even of France in a grouping of powers pledged to the maintenance of conservative principles, but, owing to bad timing and careless handling, it proved to be stillborn and when it became known in London drew a scathing rebuke from the British Foreign Minister.¹²

Aehrenthal would have strenuously refuted any insinuation that the Monarchy suffered from a congenital anæmia which made its break-up certain at the end of the long reign of Francis Joseph. He could not, however, ignore the damage which the latest disturbances had caused to the prestige of the empire and it was vital to repair it. He held that the key to the solution of the Austrian problem lay not internally but in the international field. In the words of Eisenmann "les Allemands d'Autriche louchent vers Berlin comme les Slaves vers Pétersbourg pour taquiner le gouvernement autrichien," but an understanding between the imperial powers, which would necessarily be based on a mutual respect for each other's vital interests, would put a lid on this nationalist cauldron. The lid could be held in position sufficiently long for Austria to prove to the national groups that the empire could grant them an equitable and a profitable existence. However, by a policy of expediency and of adventure Aehrenthal personally did more than anyone else to prepare the way for the break-up of the empire. His theory was sound but his practice inept. In particular, he ignored the fact that general and mutual assurance was a basic principle of diplomacy. Not only his own personal *bona fides* but also those of Austria became suspect, and from a necessity she deteriorated into a liability for a Europe which she ultimately made bankrupt. The end of the war which followed saw the Monarchy not at the end of a decline but under a shattering military defeat, faced by victors whose peace settle-

¹² See Gooch and Temperley *British Documents*, vol. V, No. 158. Mention is also made in Hardinge *Old Diplomacy*, p. 141. Austrian material on this point is in the Staatsarchiv Türkei XXXV/10—fasc. XII/296—"Gescheiterter Versuch Frankreich zum'noyau des Puissances conservatrices' heranzuziehen April-Juli 1907." It is hoped to deal with it in full in a later article.

ment included, as a cardinal point, the recognition of independence for national groups. With German power crushed, the *raison d'être* of the Danubian Monarchy no longer obtained, and no voice was raised to hinder the dismemberment of the empire on a purely local basis with hardly a thought to the general pattern of the future Europe. Turkey was the "Sick Man" of Europe for sixty years, Austria for less than twenty. Whatever may be said of the former, it can be claimed in the latter's case that it was more the failure of her diplomacy than a high degree of political senility that ultimately caused her dismemberment.

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ETWAIGE FRANZOESISCH-RUSSISCHE ABMACHUNGEN UEBER DIE AUFTEI- LUNG OESTERREICH-UNGARNS

(Wiener Staatsarchiv—Geheim XXXIII/20.)

I

KONSTANTIN DUMBA, Sekretaer an der oesterreich-ungarischen Botschaft in Paris an Kajetan Mérey, Ministerium des Aeussern, Wien.

Paris, 11. November 1899.

Lieber Freund !

Ohne irgend eine actuelle Bedeutung einer Information beizumessen, die ich aus bester, absolut sicherer Quelle erhalte, glaube ich Dir doch dieselbe mit Ruecksicht auf ihre symptomatische Bedeutung mitteilen zu sollen.

Mouravieff dinrte unter anderen beim Ackerbauminister Adrien Dupuy, mit Waldeck-Rousseau, Delcassé u.s.w. Es wird mir nun versichert, dass entre poires et frommage die Frage der Aufteilung des seiner Aufloesung nahen Oesterreich-Ungarns ganz ungeniert diskutiert wurde. Es sei dies doch nur eine Frage von wenigen Jahren bis unser A.gn. Herr die Augen zumacht. Die Beute sei von Mouravieff folgendermassen vertheilt worden : Russland wuerde Galizien nehmen, Deutschland die deutschen Provinzen mit 8 Millionen—was geschieht mit den Czechen ? —und Ungarn bliebe der Dynastie Habsburg. Frankreich wuerde aber, angesichts der so grossen Gebiets und Machterweiterung Deutschland's als Compensation Lothringen zurueck erhalten und in Metz wuerde die Festung geschleift.

Ich wuerde Dir diese Raeubergeschichte nicht erzaehlen, wenn ich sie nicht aus 2ter Hand von Dupuy selbst haette. Mouravieff soll auf Grund dieser Auseinandersetzung eine continentale Entente der drei interessierten Maechte gegen England ins Auge gefasst haben!—Viel- leicht wollte er nur blenden und den franz. Ministern Sand in die Augen streuen.

Jedenfalls ist jetzt hier die Enttaeuschung gross ueber den voll- staendigen Frontwechsel des deutschen Kaisers. Ueberall hoert man die Meinung, Duetschland haette seinen Separathandel gemacht, nur Frankreich gehe wieder leer aus. Von einer Entente der Continental- maechte ist natuerlich nicht mehr die Rede. Man glaubte huer in gewissen Kreisen, dass man sich wenigstens ueber die Legung eines deutsch- franzoesischen Cabels nach Suedafrika, Madagascar, Mozambique, einigen wuerde. Aber nach den neuesten Nachrichten hat auch da Deutschland sich mit England verstaendigt.

Ich hoere durch Boros, der mir aber in letzter Zeit insoferne wenig Vertrauen einfliesst, als er sich mit seinen ausgezeichneten Beziehungen zu hiesigen Journalisten bruestet, aber dann nie etwas erfahrt, dass zwei oder drei Jungczechen angekommen waeren—vor etwa einer Woche oder zehn Tagen—die in den grossen Blaettern Temps, Débats, Gaulois und Figaro eine Presspolemik gegen den Grafen Goluchowski wegen seiner antislavischen, deutschfreundlichen, dreibundtreuen Politik in- auguriren wollten? Hievon ist in diesen Blaettern noch keine Spur zu finden, im Journal des Débats allein war eine angebliche czechische Correspondenz aus Wien oder Prag erschienen, die in gemaessigter Weise im Gegensatz zu centralistisch gesinnten, staendigen Correspondenten, die federalistische Auffassung unserer politischen Kreise wiedergibt. Mais il n'y a pas de mal. Uebrigens liest diese Correspondenzen niemand. Ich habe aber schon Schritte eingeleitet um den Namen der Emussaere und womoeglich die Natur der Mission derselben genau festzustellen.

Mit herzlichen Gruessen

Dein aufrichtiger

C. DUMBA.

P.S. Der Botschafter sieht brilliant aus und ist ganz frisch.

2

Der Botschafter in St. Petersburg Freiherr Lexa von Aehrenthal an den oesterreich-ungarischen Minister des Aeussern Graf A. Goluchowski, Wien.

am 2. Mai 1900.

19. April

No. 1 *Geheim*

Hochgeborener Graf!

Vor 3 Tagen fruehstueckte bei mir ein Beamter des hiesigen Minis- teriums des Aeussern, mit dem ich einen gewissen Contact unterhalte

und der sich von der weitgehenden Zugewandtheit seiner Vorgesetzten frei zu halten gewusst hat. Er spricht gerne und gut und da geschieht es mitunter, dass er Indiskretionen begeht. Letztere negative Eigenschaft ist zweifellos im Ministerium bekannt, als ganz ausgeschlossen moechte ich es daher nicht betrachten, dass er zuweilen zu gewollten Indiskretionen benuetzt wird. Andererseits ist der betreffende Funktionaer intelligent und von einer seltenen Arbeitstuechtigkeit, was ihn in die Lage versetzt, Bescheid zu wissen was momentan in der diplomatischen Kueche Kuhrhaus gebraut wird.

Nach dem Fruehstueck wandte sich das Gespraeche der innern Politik Oesterreichs zu und ich gedachte, nicht ohne Befriedigung des im Journal de St. Petersburg vom 27/14 v.M. erschienenen Artikels, welcher, im Anschlusse an eine, wie mir scheint richtige und auf sympathische Eroerterung der Aufgaben des Cabinets Koerber, die Obstruktionsdrohungen der Čechen nachdruecklichst verurtheilte und an deren Adresse einige suggestive Ermahnungen im Sinne der Versoehnlichkeit richtete, namentlich dahingehend, die Erhaltung der noch bestehenden Majoritaet im Wiener Reichsrath nicht zu gefaehrden.

Ganz in derselben Richtung bewegten sich die Ausfuehrungen meines Mitredners, der von der Aussichtslosigkeit der Čechischen Obstruktion und dem schliesslichen Erfolg der gouvernementalen Idee bei uns ueberzeugt schien. Er bemerkte sodann, dass, weil er an eine Entwirrung der oesterreichischen Zustaeude glaube, die zwischen Russland und Frankreich in Betreff der Zukunft der Monarchie zu Hande gekommene Abmachung wohl, ueberfluessig war. Die Bemerkung wurde in einem Ton gemacht, als ob es sich um eine auch mir nicht unbekannt gebliebene Sache handle. Da zwei Herrn der Botschaft anwesend waren, konnte ich nur in indirekter Weise den Versuch nach einer Praecisierung der Confidence oder der auch von hoeherer Stelle beabsichtigten Indiskretion unternehmen. Ich warf ein: "Vous parlez de l'arrangement avec la France qui forme depuis 10 ans la base de votre politique étrangère?" "Non," lautete die Antwort, "c'est un arrangement récent, conclu il y a quelques mois seulement et partant de l'hypothèse d'un bouleversement menaçant de renverser l'Autriche. Mais comme c'est une pure hypothèse et très invraisemblable du reste, les préoccupations françaises ne méritaient pas l'attention que notre Gouvernement leur a bien voulu donner." Wenn nicht textuell, so doch moeglichst sinngetreu ist im Obigen die mir gewordene frappante Auskunft wiedergegeben.

Spaeter und in einem nur losen Zusammenhang mit den eben skizzirten Mitteilungen gab mein Mitredner der Befuerchtung Ausdruck dahin, dass der Besuch unseres Allergnaedigsten Herrn in Berlin deutscherseits zu einer Einmischung in die inneren Angelegenheiten Oesterreichs Anlass geben koennte. Dass ich dieser Annahme mit aller Entschiedenheit entgegen getreten bin, brauche ich nicht besonders zu betonen.

Nur schwer entschliesse ich mich diese wunderlich klingende Information schon jetzt—ohne weitere Controle—Euer Excellenz zu melden.

Ich thue dies aber mit der *allergroessen Reserve*, mir vorbehaltend auf den Gegenstand zurueckzukommen, sobald mir halbwegs sichere Anhaltspunkte pro oder contra zur Veruegung stehen werden.

Heute will ich mich auf nachstehenden Commentar beschaenken.

Die Mittheilungen meines Gewaehrsmanne kann ich nur in dem Sinne auffassen, dass in specie eine Anregung Frankreichs vorlag, welches, offenbar durch die Berufung der dem deutschen Elemente freundlich gesinnten Cabinet Clary und Koerber und durch die Fortdauer der krisenartigen Symptome innerhalb der Monarchie beunruhigt, an die Moeglichkeit einer katastrophalen Entwicklung glaubt und in dieser Voraussetzung mit dem verbuendeten Russland einen Gedankenaustausch pflegen wollte. Mit letzterem kann die franzoesische Diplomatie nur den Zweck verfolgen, sich darueber Gewissheit zu verschaffen, welche Haltung das Czarenreich bei Eintritt der gedachten Eventualitaet einzunehmen beabsichtigt, beziehungsweise das Terrain zu sondiren, ob an der Neva die Geneigtheit zu einer Theilungsaktion im Bunde mit Deutschland vorhanden waere. Dieser letztere fuer Frankreich hoechst bedenkliche Gedanke sollte womoeglich von vornherein durchkreuzt werden. Ist die mir gewordene Information richtig, dann haette die franzoesische Diplomatie die Gewissheit erlangt, dass Russland, im Interesse der Erhaltung des Gleichgewichtes in Europa, die Vergroesserung Deutschlands auf Kosten Oesterreichs nicht zugeben werde.

Ich haette mit der Absendung dieser Zeilen noch laenger zugewartet, wenn ich nicht andererseits durch die Vorgaenge in der boehmischen Landstube auf einen moeglichen Connexus derselben mit der angeblichen franco-russischen Abmachung bezueglich der Zukunft Oesterreichs aufmerksam gemacht worden waere. Die Antraege Schamaseck und Pacak tragen deutlich den Stempel der Provokation an der Stirne. Ferner ist der Druck der radikalen Elemente keine genuegende Erklaerung fuer die obstruktionistischen Gelueste der czechischen Politiker, die auf ein reines *va banque*-Spiel hintreiben. Ist es nicht, angesichts solcher Symptome, gestattet die Frage aufzuwerfen, ob nicht vielleicht aus Paris der Wink erteilt worden ist: das czechische Volk moege den Kampf um die Selbststaendigkeit getrost weiterfuehren, denn im Falle der Unmoeglichkeit eines friedlichen Sieges wuerde der maechtige Zweibund den slavischen Keil im deutschen Fleisch zu schuetzen wissen!? Schon hat ein czechischer Abgeordneter, allerdings durch eine taktlose Bemerkung eines deutschen provocirt, das drohende Wort fallen lassen: "dass Prag zwischen Paris und Petersburg liege"! Eines steht sicher fest, dass zahlreiche Cechen, wie Podlipny und andere mit Paris in enger Fuehlung stehen und von dort ihr *mot d'ordre* erhalten. Auch heute noch kann gesagt werden, dass an der Seine fuer das heissbluetige, demokratische Cechentum mehr Verstaendnis und Entgegenkommen anzutreffen ist, wie an der Neva, wo immer eine groessere Zurueckhaltung bewahrt wurde, und wo fuer die katholischen, in demagogischem Fahrwasser schwimmenden slavischen Brueder keine rechte Liebe aufkommen will.

Indem ich die frueher ausgesprochene Reserve, anlangend die zu meinem Ohr gelangte schier unwahrscheinlich klingende Nachricht nochmals wiederhole und mir vorbehalte diese einer vorsichtigen aber thunlichst gruendlichen Ueberpruefung zu unterziehen, benutze ich diesen Anlass um Euer Excellenz den Ausdruck meiner Ehrfucht zu erneuern.

L. AEHRENTHAL.

3

Der Botschafter in St. Petersburg Freiherr Lexa von Aehrenthal an den oesterreich-ungarischen Minister des Aeussern Graf A. Goluchowski, Wien.

den 3. Mai 1900.

20. April

No. 2 *Geheim*

Hochgeborner Graf!

Der Gegenstand meines Schreibens N. 1 schien mir zu wichtig, um nicht einen Versuch nach groesserer Praecisirung der mir gemachten Confidencen noch vor Abgang des Couriers zu machen.

Der in Rede stehende Funktionaer des Ministeriums des Aeussern hat heute Graf Kinsky aufgesucht; dieser war von mir instruiert und hat durch Zurueckfuehren des Gespraches auf das Thema nachstehende Punkte feststellen koennen.

Der in Betracht kommende Gedankenaustausch hat vorigen Herbst in Paris zwischen Graf Murawiew und Herrn Delcassé stattgefunden. Die Initiative hinzu ging von Letzterem aus, welcher von der Besorgnis geleitet war, die latente Krise in Oesterreich-Ungarn koennte in absehbarer Zeit zu einem Zusammenbruche fuehren, der wiederum nur die Machtstellung des Deutschen Reiches zu steigern geeignet waere. Deiser Gesichtspunkt, sowie der Wunsch nach Verhinderung einer eventuellen deutsch-russischen Verstaendigung auf Kosten unserer Monarchie waere fuer den franzoesischen Staatsmann massgebend gewesen.—

Wiewohl Graf Murawiew den Pessimismus Delcassé's in betreff der Zukunft Oesterreich-Ungarn's nicht in allen Stuecken zu teilen scheint, haette er sich doch auf eine Diskussion eingelassen. Was die Form der Diskussion und der nachstehenden Formulierung anbetrifft, so deutete mein Gewaehrsmann an, dass es dem Charakter der "franco-russischen Alliance" entspreche, ueber, jede Frage von Wichtigkeit sich zu beraten und ueber die Stellungnahme der beiden Verbuendeten zu derselben schliessig zu werden. Die "Alliance" sei eben nicht ein auf eine oder mehrere Eventualitaeten abzielendes Abkommen, vielmehr muesse dieselbe als der Ausdruck der franco-russischen Interessen-Solidaritaet fuer den Gang der Welt-Ereignisse ueberhaupt aufgefasst werden. Die "Alliance" bestehe daher nicht aus einem Dokumente, sondern bilde gewissermassen eine Serie fortlaufender, die Interessen-Gemeinschaft besiegelnder Accords.—

Franzoesischer Seits sei nun der Wunsch gestellt worden, auch in betreff der Zukunft Oesterreich-Ungarns einen Accord mit Russland einzugehen. Dass es sich nicht bloss um eine mehr oder weniger entscheidende Conversation handelte, sondern dass vielmehr eine "gegenseitige Bindung" stattgefunden hat, geht aus den Worten des Gewaehrsmannes hervor, der auf eine suggestive Frage Kinsky's folgendermassen antwortete: "La France nous voulait lier les mains pour empêcher un arrangement russo-allemand en cas d'une crise sérieuse en Autriche. A Paris out craignait cet arrangement qui se serait fait en dehors de la France et qui aurait menacé l'équilibre européen. La France a réussi en effet, nous nous sommes liés"—

Hinzufuegen moechte ich diesen kurz vor Courier sschluss fluechtig hingeworfenen Zeilen, dass die russische Poltikt, trotz des Eingehens auf den franzoesischen Gedanken, den diesem zu Grunde liegenden Pessimismus nicht zu theilen scheint. Man glaubt und hofft, dass es der Autoritaet Unseres Allergnaedigsten Herrn gelingen werde, der zahlreichen Schwierigkeiten Herr zu werden. Es bestuende hier der Wunsch, diese Schwierigkeiten wenigstens zu vermindern. Von diesem Gedanken sei die Orientirung der Politik Russlands in den Balkanlaendern, speciell in Serbien, geleitet; ebenso trachte man durch entsprechende Direktiven an die russische Presse und durch dieselbe indirekter Weise auf eine Beruhigung der aufgeregten Gemuether, in erster Linie der Cechen hinzuwirken. Wichtig und die hiesige Auffassung noch deutlicher charakterisirend ist die auch mir vorgetragene Erwaegung, dass es selbst nicht im Interesse Deutschlands liege, aus den oesterreichischen Verwicklungen territorialen Gewinn zu ziehen. Die Erhaltung der Monarchie der Habsburger entspreche somit den wohlverstandenen Interessen aller 3 Maechte d.i. Russlands, Frankreichs und Deutschlands.

Genehmigen Euer Excellenz den Ausdruck meiner Ehrfurcht.

L. AEHRENTHAL.

THE CODE OF STEPHAN DUŠAN

TSAR AND AUTOCRAT OF THE SERBS AND GREEKS

*Translated from the Old Serbian
with Notes by MALCOLM BURR, D.Sc.*

THE LAW OF THE TRUE-BELIEVING TSAR STEPHAN

IN the year 6857,¹ the second of the Indiction, at the feast of the Ascension of our Lord, on the twenty-first day of the month of May.

This code is established by our Orthodox Council,² by the Most Holy Patriarch Kir³ Joanik and by all the archpriests and clergy,⁴ both small and great, and by me, true-believing Tsar Stephan, and all the lords⁵ of my Empire, both small and great. These are the enactments of these laws.

¹ i.e. 1349 A.D. ² The word used is "sabor." ³ i.e. "lord," Gk. *κύριος*. ⁴ *crkoveniki*, lit. "churchmen." ⁵ *Vlastehn*, the usual word in the Code for a landowner or noble.

Article 1. Of Christianity

First concerning Christianity. In this manner shall Christianity be purged.

Article 2. Of Marriage

Lords and other people may not marry without the blessing of their own archpriest or of such cleric¹ as the archpriest shall appoint

¹ *Duchovník*, lit. "spiritual person."

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

This translation is made from the text edited by Stojan Novaković in *Zakonik Stephana Dušana*, Belgrade, 1898. This is a scholarly and full work. It contains the text in the original Old Serbian cyrillic with all the MSS variants. It has also a long introduction which deals with the circumstances of the enactment and publication of the Code, and it has also an appendix in which the code is transliterated into modern Serbian cyrillic, and in which many of the articles are translated into modern Serbian. The editor adds many valuable historical notes, which are the basis of those given to this translation.

The Old Serbian text of the code was also published, with a parallel translation into Russian, by O Zigelja in his *Zakonik Stephana Dušana*, St Petersburg, 1872.

A monograph on the legislation of Stephan Dušan was published by Alexander V. Soloviev, *Zakonodarstvo Stephana Dušana*, Skoplje, 1928.

A valuable aid to the study of the Code is provided by Milan Wlancz, *Die agrarrechtlichen Verhältnisse des mittelalterlichen Serbiens*, Jena, 1903 (R. R. B.)

ED. NOTE The thanks of all concerned are due to Professor Betts for going through and revising the Translator's Notes on the clauses of the Code, and for furnishing the above Bibl. Note. The Translator writes that he has been engaged on his task off and on since 1925, and had hopes in 1939 of seeing it published, but was prevented by the war. Fortunately, when other things were destroyed, the MSS escaped and the *Review* is now glad to publish it. Offprints of the whole will be available to interested parties at cost price.

Article 3 Of Weddings

No Wedding may take place without the crowning, and if it be done without the blessing and permission of the Church, then let it be dissolved.

The object of this clause is to prevent irregular unions, such as were customary among slaves and serfs in Byzantium, who simply paired by order of their lord and master. The "crowning" is an incident in the Orthodox ceremony.

Article 4. Of the Spiritual Law

And as his spiritual duty, every man must shew obedience and submission to his archpriest. And if any man sin before the Church or transgress any of these laws willingly or unwillingly, let him submit himself and give satisfaction to the Church: and if he listens not and disobeys and submits not to the orders of the Church, then let him be separated from the Church.

Article 5. Of Cursing

Bishops¹ shall not curse Christians for spiritual sins, but shall send twice and thrice to reproach him who has sinned. But if he will not then obey and show himself willing to carry out the order of the Church, then let him be separated

¹ Lit. "consecrators," *svetitelic*.

Article 6. Of the Latin Heresy

And concerning the Latin heresy, any Christians who have turned to unleavened bread, let them return to Christianity. And if anyone fails to obey and does not return, let him be punished as is written in the laws of the holy fathers.

Unleavened bread (*azimstvo*, Gk. ἄζυμος, "unleavened") in the Sacrament is used as the differentia of the Roman Catholic Church. The word "Christian" in the sense of a member of the Orthodox Church survives to the present day in the Balkans, Roman Catholics being referred to as "Latins"

Article 7. Of the Latin Heresy

And the Great Church¹ shall appoint protopops² in all cities and market towns to bring back Christians from the Latin heresy, who have turned to the Latin faith, to give them spiritual instruction, and that every man return to Christianity.

¹ The expression "Great Church" refers to the patriarchate of Constantinople. The article shows that the power of Rome in the Balkans was still redoubtable, that the Tsar should allocate the duty of reconversion to the Patriarch himself, without regard to the metropolitans and bishops.

² i.e. "chief priests"; *pop* is the ordinary word for a parish priest.

Article 8. Of Latin Priests

And if a Latin priest convert a Christian to the Latin faith, let him be punished according to the laws of the holy fathers

Article 9. Of Half-believers

And if anywhere a half-believer take a Christian woman to wife, let him be baptised into Christianity : and if he will not be baptised, let his wife and children be taken from him and let a part of the house be allotted to them, but he shall be driven forth.

The "half-believer" is a "Latin," one who is not completely Christian nor yet pagan.

Article 10. Of Heretics

And if any heretic be found living among Christians, let him be branded on the face and driven forth : and whoso shall harbour him, he too shall be branded.

This clause must have applied principally to the Bogomiles, the most numerous heretical sect in the Balkans. They were Manichaeans of Paulician descent, and were particularly numerous in Bosnia, where they were an organised community.

Article 11. Of Bishops

And bishops shall appoint priests in all parishes, in towns and in the villages : and those priests shall be those who have been blessed by the bishops spiritually to bind and to set free, and let every man hearken to them, according to the law of the Church. And those priests whom bishops have not appointed, let them be driven out and let the Church punish them according to the law.

The text of this clause is obscure. The Struga MS. is mutilated and the Prizren, generally so reliable, has an obvious error of the copyist, in repeating the word *duhovnici*, "priests," instead of *svetitelje*, "bishops," in the last phrase. The Ravanica MS. appears with *archierei*, a late emendation which does not make sense, for the beginning of the clause expressly states that the *svetitelje*, that is bishop, shall appoint the *duhovnici*, or priests. Novaković, after discussing the manuscripts comparatively, gives a restored and probably correct version, but on p. 155 he includes the emendation of *archierei*, which is obviously wrong and does not make sense. The translation of the text is as proposed by Novaković, *Zakonik Stephana Dušana*, p. 16

Article 12. Of Spiritual Affairs

And laymen¹ shall not judge clerical matters. And should any layman judge an ecclesiastical matter, let him pay 300 perpers. Only the Church shall judge [sp. "ecclesiastical matters"].

The influence of the ecclesiastics in the Council is here seen, protecting their privilege of exemption from the civil courts.

While the richly endowed monasteries had the power of jurisdiction over their own serfs and slaves, as had the nobles also, the Tsar protected them against the caprice of the monks by giving them the right of appeal

to the nearest *kefaliya*, or prefect of a city, an imperial official This is mentioned in one of Dušan's charters to Hilendar.

The "perper" was the Serbian money of account, like the contemporary English mark. The word is a corruption of the Greek *πτεργρος*; meaning gold "tried in the fire." It is usually regarded as the equivalent of half a ducat According to Cibrario, in the middle of the 14th century the *perper* was then worth about six gold francs

¹ The word is *kosmici*, Gk. *κοσμικοί*, worldly as opposed to spiritual men.

Article 13. Of the Court of the Metropolitan

Metropolitans, bishops and igumens may not be appointed by bribery : and from now whoso shall be appointed Metropolitan, bishop or igumen by bribery, let him be accursed, as also he who appointed him.

The numerous variants in the text of this clause indicate, as Novaković points out, how closely it touched the life of the Serbian Church and people, where simony had doubtless developed as in the west

Article 14. Of the Appointment of Igumens

Igumens ¹ may not be appointed without the consent of the Church : as igumens in monasteries good men shall be appointed, who will enrich the Church, the House of God.

With this clause compare a passage in the chrysobul of the Monastery of the Archangel Michael, a foundation of Dušan, which provides for the appointment of the Igumen by the Patriarch and Tsar in consultation with the brethren of the monastery.

¹ i.e. heads of monasteries in the Greek Church, from Gk. *ἡγούμενος*, leader.

Article 15. Of Life in Monasteries ¹

Igumens shall live in the monasteries ¹ according to the law and the elders shall confer.

¹ The word used is *cinobija*, Gk. *κοινόβιον*, place of common life.

Article 16 On the Monks' Life

And for one thousand houses let there be fed in the monastery fifty monks.

This is a provision against the abuse of endowment, regulating the proportion of monks on the establishment to the number of households on the estates granted to the monasteries.

Article 17. Of the Monks' Tonsure

And monks and nuns who are shorn and live in their own homes shall be driven out to live in the monasteries.

Article 18. Of the Monastic Tonsure

And monks who have taken the tonsure near their native district may not live in that church, but shall go to another monastery : and food shall be given them.

The point of this clause is explained by a note in the Hodoš MS., which agrees mainly with the Prizren and Struga texts, but with an addendum

which is clearly an explanatory note by a copyist. It appears that there had been considerable abuse of the hospitality of the monasteries, especially on the part of local men joining the foundation, who wished to help their kinsmen and friends, whom they invited to the monastery as guests, often for a long visit.

Article 19. Of Abandoning the Habit

And a monk who abandons the habit, let him be kept in a dungeon ¹ until he return again to obedience and let him be punished ²

¹ *Temnica*, i.e. dark place. ² Or "do penance"—the word is *pedepsati*.

Article 20. Of Graves

And if any person be taken out of his grave for magic and be burnt, any village that does this shall pay a fine: and if any priest shall come to it, let his priesthood be taken from him.

Article 21. Of the Sale of Christians

And whoso shall sell a Christian into another—and false—faith, let his hands be cut off and his tongue cut out.

The ferocity of this clause is characteristic rather of the period than of the people. Bury has pointed out that the substitution of mutilation for execution is a chief item in the Christian humanisation of the imperial code of Byzantium, in which, in the *Ecloga* and *Procherrion*, it occurs in other clauses for several offences. Compare the penalties of mutilation prescribed in the Anglo-Saxon code. Mutilation seemed less repugnant to Christianity than execution, and it was cheaper and easier than incarceration.

Article 22. Of the People of the Church

And serfs ¹ who live in the villages and hamlets of the Church, let them each go to his own lord.

In mediæval Serbia the land was held by the Tsar, the nobles or the Church. The majority of the inhabitants were under the obligation of devoting a portion of their time and labour to their lord, that is, the Tsar, the nobles or the Church, as the case may be, as provided in various clauses of the Code.

The Tsar and nobles generally exacted more service than the Church and consequently there was a general desire to migrate to ecclesiastical estates. This clause insists on the return of such migrants to their proper lord.

The words translated "villages and hamlets" are *selo* and *katun*. The former was the smaller administrative unit within the *župa* or district. The *katuns* were the summer huts of the Vlach and Albanian shepherds in the mountains.

¹ *L'udiye vlastelschi*, lit. "lords' people."

Article 23. Of Transport by the Church

Let there be no transport ¹ by the monasteries, save when the Tsar himself is travelling, then shall the monasteries provide.

¹ *Ponos*. This is a reference to the custom by which the State had the right to demand means of transport for official purposes, such as the

movement of troops, journeying of officials, for the purpose of fortifications or for the royal needs. The nobles exercised the same rights to a certain extent and probably abused it. The duties consisted in the provision of beasts of burden, horses or oxen, and carts and fodder. This was a heavy burden and the Tsar and the kings in their chrysobuls expressly exempted their own foundations, reserving the right for the sovereign only. The same service of "carragenen" appears in feudal England.

Article 24 [No title]

And if any church official ¹ take bribes, let him be "scattered."

The Rakovac text has a variant which is a late emendation, "if any monk take a bribe, let him be flogged and branded." This was probably inserted by a late copyist who could not understand the punishment of "scattering," especially as applied to individuals. When applied to a village, scattering (*vasuti*) meant the dispersal of the people, the burning of their houses and forfeiture of their property; when applied to individuals, only to the latter

¹ *vladalač*.

Article 25 Of the Government of the Churches

And the Lord Tsar and the Patriarch and the Logofet ¹ shall govern the churches and none other

¹ The Logofet, from the Greek *λογοθέτης*, corresponds to the royal Chancellor in Western States

Article 26. Of the Exemption of the Church

Churches situated on the lands of my Empire, my majesty releases from all services ¹ both great and small.

¹ *rabota*, the general Slavonic word for customary labour service; = Gk. *ἀργαία*, which is a word of Persian origin which originally meant impressment as a courier.

Article 27. [No title]

And the Tsar's churches shall not be subject to the Great Church.

The Great Church, *Velika Crkva*, is here the chief State Church, the Patriarchate, the Archbishop's or Metropolitan Church. In Dušan's time there were two, one at Ochrida, the other at Peć.

These "tsar's churches" were, like the Greek *λάνται*, monasteries of royal foundations, privileged by charter, with complete autonomy, especially in administrative and economic matters. The Igumens of such churches had seats in the Sabor.

Article 28. Of Feeding the Poor

And in all churches the poor shall be fed as is written by their founders: and should any one fail to feed them, be he Metropolitan, bishop or igumen, he shall be deprived of his office.

Article 29. Of Monastic Life

And monks shall not live outside the monastery.

Article 30. Of Molesting Clerics

Henceforward no authority may molest a monk or a serf of the Church.¹ And whoso shall do this in the lifetime or after the death of my majesty, he shall not be blessed. And if anyone be guilty towards another let him sue him through the court and by suit according to law. And whoso shall molest or damage anyone without judgment, let him pay sevenfold.

¹ Lit "man of the church," *crkovni člověk*.

Article 31. Of the Patrimony of Priests

And priests who own land shall have their patrimonial land¹ and be also free; and those priests who have no patrimonial land, to them shall be given three fields according to the law: and the priest's cap is free: and if he take more, he shall do work for the churches upon that land according to the law.

From this Article it is clear that the priests were allowed to own land and did not forfeit their inheritance on entering the Church. And that in the event of a priest having no land, a ration of three fields, presumably the amount considered necessary to enable a man to keep himself, was allowed to him for maintenance out of the Church lands. The priest's cap was an outward token of such exemption.

¹ *Baština*, an hereditary landed property.

Article 32. Of Ecclesiastical Persons

Ecclesiastical persons¹ who administer Church villages and Church lands and drive the Church labourers² and shepherds away, those who have driven the men away, let them be bound and their land and people taken from them; and let the Church keep them until they have restored the men whom they drove away.

¹ Simply *ludie*, homines.

² The *meropche* or *meropci* constituted the largest class of agricultural labourers, corresponding to the AS *ceorls* or the villeins of Norman England. The word is connected with the Gk. *μερὸς*, a share or heritage.

Article 33. Of the Trial of people of the Church

People on the Church estates are judged before their own Metropolitan, or bishop or igumen for every plea. If the disputants are on the property of one church, they shall be judged before their own church: but if they are of two churches, both churches shall judge them.

Article 34. Of Estate Labourers¹

And into my imperial estates, in Zagorje and elsewhere, the people of the Church² shall not go, neither for mowing hay nor for ploughing, nor for the vineyards, nor for any compulsory labour,³ small or great. From all compulsory labour³ my majesty exempts them, let them work only for the Church. And whoso shall be found to have driven men of the Church⁴ into an imperial estate and disobeyed the law of my majesty, the goods of that owner shall be confiscated and he shall be punished.

The object of this clause is to protect the Church against the enticing away of its labour by other landowners. The Article also conferred privileges of exemption of the Church tenants from the obligations of compulsory labour.

The expression Zagorje, i.e. the district "beyond the hills," is a common place-name in Yugoslavia to-day. As here used it refers to the valley of the Lim, or perhaps of the Morava.

¹ *o selž mirop'škom* ² i.e. tenants of church lands ³ *rabota*. ⁴ *metochija*, a word of Greek origin (*μέτοικος*, a settlement, or *μετέχειν*, to share), which meant, in the district between Prizren and Peć, a monastic estate.

Article 35. Of the Power of the Churches

And my majesty has granted to the igumens their churches, that they be rulers of their goods, both mares and horses and sheep and everything else and that they may do with them whatsoever is deemed suitable and appropriate and lawful.

The Athos text adds: "and as is written in the chrysobuls of the holy founders"

Article 36. Of the Rule of the Church

And let there be established communal rule¹ for the monks in the monasteries, according to the capacity of the monastery.

¹ Lit. "cenœbetic law," *zakon knovijsku*.

Article 37. Of the Business of Metropolitans

Laymen may not be officials¹ and Metropolitans shall not send them to priests, nor may they conduct horses of the Metropolitan from priest to priest, but the Metropolitan shall send one monk with another from priest to priest, to conduct the business of the Church, that the priests may send the revenue which they have taken from their land.²

¹ The word used is *ek'sar'ca*, lit. "exarchs" ² Again the word is *baština*.

Article 38. Of feeding Horses

And from henceforward the horses and colts of my majesty shall not be sent to the churches nor to the Church villages to pasture.

A striking instance of the influence of the Church in Dušan's day, successfully claiming exemption from every form of public service, down to such details as the grazing of state horses.

Article 39. Of the Lords and Gentry

And to the lords and gentry, who live within my state, both Serbs and Greeks, to whom was given land as a patrimony and in chrysobuls before my reign and who held it up to the day of this council, those patrimonies are confirmed.

This clause opens the second part of the Code, beginning with a general confirmation of the title of the nobility to their estates.

The Serbian text has two words for nobles, *vlastelin* and *vlastehčić*,

the second being a diminutive form, but what the distinction was is not known. Art. 75 recognises the right of a lesser lord to hold an entire village. Probably they were two degrees of nobility.

They were the *ἀρχοντες* and *ἀρχοντόπουλοι* of Byzantium.

A similar division of the landowners into two classes appears throughout feudal society, equally in Hungary and Poland, as in the western states.

The word translated "patrimony" is *baština*.

Article 40. Of Charters

And those charters and decrees ¹ which my majesty hath granted and shall grant, and those inheritances, ² are confirmed, as also those of the first Orthodox Tsars and they may be disposed of freely, submitted to the Church, given for the soul or sold to another.

¹ For charters and decrees the text uses two Greek words, *χρυσόβουλλα* and *προτάγματα* in the Serbian forms *chrisovollic* and *prostag'me*.

² *baštine*.

Article 41. Of Lords' Hereditary Estates ¹

If any lord have no child, or if he have and it die, then upon his death the inheritance remains empty until there be found someone of his kin up to the third cousin, and to him shall the inheritance fall.

¹ i.e. the *baština* of the *vlastělin*.

Article 42. Of Free Hereditary Estates

And all hereditary estates are free of all works and tribute to my majesty, save that they shall pay the corn-due ¹ and provide soldiers to fight, according to the law.

GENERAL NOTE

It appears that in Serbia there was no form of Salic Law nor limitation of inheritance in the male line. The word *bratočed*, lit., "brother's child," includes nieces as well as nephews. Art. 48 permits a daughter to sell her jewels and raiment inherited from her father.

Novaković suggests that there were two kinds of *baštine* or hereditary estate, one entirely free of any burden, the other carrying certain feudal duties. The former could be inherited in the female line, but the latter passed in the male line only as females could not exercise military duties. Compare Art. 174, which grants the right of free enjoyment of a *baština* provided the supply of labour be maintained. A similar distinction between the patrimonial *baština* and the feudal *pomesec*, the military fief, is to be found in 17th-century Russia, and between the *alod* and *feudum* of Germanic law.

¹ *Soć*; the word is the same as the Russian *socha*, which means both a two-shared plough and a ploughland. Cf. the *caruca* and the carucate of Domesday Book.

Article 43. Of Estate by Force

Neither the Lord Tsar, nor the King, nor the Lady Tsaritsa is free to take estates by force, nor to buy nor exchange, unless the owner freely consent.

The "King" here is the Crown Prince, on the analogy of the Byzantine "Caesar."

Article 44. Of Lords' Slaves

And such slaves as a lord has, they shall be part of his estate and to his heirs for ever. Only a slave may not be given as a marriage portion.¹

The *otroci* occupied the lowest rung on the social ladder; they were the chattels of their owners, probably being conquered autochthonous people, or prisoners of war or bought persons, but Art. 103 gives them certain personal rights. The word *otrok* primarily means a child, it is obsolete in Serbian, but survives in Czech as the normal word for a slave.

¹ *prikuja*, from Gk. *πρωτόν*, earlier *πρόιξ*.

Article 45 Of Free Estates

And when lords and other people have hereditary churches¹ upon their estates, neither the Lord Tsar, nor the Patriarch, nor any bishop may subject those churches to the Great Church, but the hereditary owner² is free to appoint his own monk and to take him for ordination to the bishop in whose diocese it is, and in that church the bishop shall control only ecclesiastical affairs.

This clause shows that landowners enjoyed the privilege, at least on some properties, of advowson, subject to ordination by the bishop, whose control was strictly limited to purely ecclesiastical affairs.

¹ *crkvi baštinae*. ² *baštinik*.

Article 46. Of Slaves

And whoso hath slaves,¹ let him have them as an inheritance. And only the lord himself, or his wife, or his son, may free them and none other.

¹ i.e. *otroci*.

Article 47. Of the Church

And any lord who shall have submitted his own church to another church, hath no more control over it.

Article 48 Of Lords and Horses

And when a lord dies, his good horse and arms shall be given to the Tsar, and his great robes of pearls and golden girdle, let his son have them and let them not be taken by the Tsar: and if he have no son, but have a daughter, then his daughter is free to sell or give it freely.

The surrender of the horse and arms of a tenant-in-chief on his death to the prince is what in Teutonic and English law was termed "heriot." The origin of the custom is described by Tacitus in the *Germania* in his account of the relation of the "comes" to the "princeps" or "dux." On the same analogy "good horse" would be "best horse," corresponding to the "best chattel" of the English law of heriot. The horse and weapons would be conferred afresh upon his successor, if male and of age.

Article 49. Of the Lords of the Marches

If any foreign army come and ravish the land of the Tsar, and again return through their land, those frontier lords shall pay all, through whose territory they came.

The entrustment of frontier areas to marcher lords (markgrafen, marchiones, margraves, here *vlastěle kraštnici*) with especial rights and responsibilities, is a feature common throughout mediæval Europe. Cf. the "palatines" established by William I in Durham, Chester and Kent.

Article 50. Of Insults to Gentlemen

If a lord insult and shame a lesser lord ¹ let him pay one hundred perpers. And if a lesser lord insult a greater, let him pay one hundred perpers and be beaten with sticks

For the value of the perper, see Art. 12

¹ The contrast is here, as in Art. 39, between the magnate, *vlastělin*, and the mere gentleman, the *vlastělničić*.

Article 51. Of Presenting a Son at Court

And when a man shall present a son or brother at Court, the Tsar shall ask him: "Shall I trust him?" And he shall say: "Trust him as myself." And if he do any evil, let him pay who hath presented him. And if he should serve as others serve in the Tsar's Palace, he shall himself pay if he do wrong.

The wording of this Article is somewhat obscure, although the meaning seems clear enough. First, we have the system of guarantee and then two classes of misdemeanour. Novaković suggests that in the first case, if it were a serious or disgraceful crime, the guarantor shall be liable, but if the son or brother commit some venial offence or breach of discipline when serving at Court, he shall himself pay the penalty.

Or it may be that he who serves the Tsar directly was not deemed to need a guarantor as much as one who was not under the Tsar's eye

Article 52. Of Treason

For treason for any case brother shall not pay for brother, father for son, kinsman for kinsman, if they dwell separately in their own houses: he who hath not sinned shall not pay anything. Only shall he pay who hath sinned, he and his household.

With this clause compare No. 71, which is really a continuation of it.

The household was the smallest administrative unit in the village, collectively responsible for the fines, taxes and misdeeds of any of its members, as also for the *rabota*.

Article 53. Of Forcing Noblewomen

And if any lord take a noblewoman by force, let both his hands be cut off and his nose be slit. But if a commoner ¹ take a noblewoman by force, let him be hanged. And if he take his own equal by force, let both his hands be cut off and his nose slit.

¹ *sebir*, the general mediæval Serbian word for anyone not of noble or gentle birth.

Article 54. Of the Fornication of Noblewomen

And if a noblewoman commit fornication with her man ¹ let the hands of both be cut off and their noses slit.

¹ *žlověh*, i.e. slave, serf or other dependent.

Article 55. Of Insulting Lords

And if a commoner insult a lord, let him pay one hundred perpers and be singed. And if a lord or gentleman insult a commoner, let him pay one hundred perpers.

Article 56. Of Summoning Lords

A lord shall not be summoned in the evening, but before dinner, and he shall be warned beforehand. And whoso shall be summoned by the officer ¹ before dinner and shall not come by dinner time, he is at fault, and from that lord shall six oxen be taken.

¹ *pristav*, etymologically analogous to "assistant". The word occurs often in the Code. He was the executive official of the Court; he also executed imperial deeds of gift, for which service he received a special tax. In Art 91, we find him placing his knowledge of law and procedure at the disposal of litigants and formally acting as advocate.

Article 57. Of Maintenance

And if any lord be on maintenance and do wrong to any man by rancour, waste his land, burn his house, or do any other mischief, his holding shall be taken from him and another shall not be given to him.

It was customary for the Tsar to send his nobles on official duty to regions remote from their estates and to issue authority to them to demand board, lodging and transport from the inhabitants. Cf. the similar provision against abuses committed by guardians of the estates of minors in Magna Carta.

Article 58. Of the Death of a Lord

If any lord who owns one village in a district ¹ or among districts should die and any damage be done to that village by fire or other cause, then shall the whole district pay for that damage.

¹ *župa*—the general word for a governmental district or "county," in Hungary as well as in the Balkans. The word may be of Avar origin. Estates were often scattered, and an owner may often have held villages in various and remote districts, isolated from his main property, surrounded by other owners. Such a village on the death of the owner would be exposed to the danger of looting by neighbours. The application of the general principle of collective responsibility was the surest means of protecting, in those times, the quiet succession of the next owner and the inhabitants of the village.

Article 59. Of Fiefs

No man is free to sell or buy a fief, who has not an hereditary estate. And no man may subject fief-lands to the Church: and if they do so, it is not valid.

A *pronija* (πρόνοια, i.e. "provision"), which we have translated "fief," was land held by military tenure, or for some other special service, and the tenant had no right of ownership, could not sell it, nor convert it into a *baština*.

The *pronija* was, in fact, the usufruct of an estate given in lieu of salary.

This clause also forbids the alienation of a fief in mortmain, for it remained in the Tsar's *dominium* even though the feudatory had *possessio et usus*.

Article 60. Of the Tsar's Maintenance

Everyone shall provide for the Tsar wherever he goes. From every town to the district, from district to district. And again from district to town.

When the Tsar travelled, he was accompanied by a numerous retinue, the transport and provision of which was charged as a burden upon the region through which he was passing, as was the general custom in mediæval Europe. The units charged were the *grad* or town, the *župa* or district. The burden was always a heavy one and from Art. 23 it is seen that even the Church was not exempt

Article 61. Of Returning from the Army

When a lord returns home from the Army, or any other soldier, if he be summoned to the court of justice, let him remain at home for three weeks and then let him go to court.

Article 62. Of Summoning Lords

A greater lord shall not be summoned without the writ ¹ of the court, but others with the seal.

Cf. the early English parliaments to which only the greater lords were summoned by individual writ.

¹ *kniga* : book, writing.

Article 63. Of Incomes

Governors who are in the cities shall take their income according to law, and let corn and wine and meat be sold to them at one dinar which is sold to others for two ; and citizens alone may sell to him and none other.

The governor of a city was a military official appointed directly by the Tsar and responsible to him. The title is not a native word, but a Greek one, borrowed from Byzantium, *kefalja*, lit. " headman " The right of pre-emption by royal officials is common in mediæval Europe

The dinar was the twelfth part of a perper ; the word comes from the Latin *denarius*.

Article 64. Of the Poor

A poor weaving woman is free, like a priest.

Novaković suggests that the meaning of this article is that a poor woman who supports herself by weaving is exempt from all kind of *rabota* as a *pop* is, according to Art. 31.

The word translated weaving woman, *kuđelnica*, is from *kuđelj*, hemp.

Article 65. Of Priests

If a priest has no land,¹ let three lawful fields be given him. And no priest whosoever shall depart from his lord. And if his lord do not feed

him according to the law, let him come to his archpriest and the archpriest shall tell the lord to feed the priest according to the law : and if the lord hearken not to him, then is the priest free to go where he will. If the priest own hereditary land, the lord has no power to drive him out, but he is free.

¹ *stas*, Gk. *στάσις*, lit. "standing"

Article 66 Of Brothers

When brothers are together in one house and someone summons them before the court, he shall dispute the case whom the court shall indicate. But if it so be that one of them be at the Tsar's court or at the court of justice and he come and say : " I will submit my elder brother to the court," then let him do so and let him not be driven by force to the court.

Article 67. Of Slaves and Villagers

Slaves and villagers who dwell together in one village shall all pay together any payment which comes due : such payment men make and work that they do, so much land let them have.

Otroci and *meropci*. It is to be noted that, although there was a distinct difference between the *otroci* and *meropci* (cf *ante*, Art. 44), when the two classes lived together in one village, attention was not paid to the difference in personal rights between them. Novaković considers that this identity of procedure could occur only where the villager had no *baština*, and for that reason the difference in rights became merely nominal, since a *meropach* without a free holding was in no better position than an *otrok*, to all intents and purposes.

Article 68. Of Villagers

The law for the villager on all land. He shall work for two days in the week for the fief-holder and let him pay him one imperial perper in the year and let him cut his (lord's) hay with all his household one day and his vineyard one day ; and if there be no vineyard, let him do other work for one day. And what a villager do, let him store it all and according to the law nothing else shall be taken from him.

This important clause defines the amount of compulsory labour due from the *meropach*, and by defining limits it against abuse.

Article 69. Of Commoners

Commoners have no council. If any meet in council let his ears be cut off and let him be singed upon the face.

Article 70. Of those in one House

If there dwell in one house either brothers or father or sons, or any other, independent by bread or property but yet dwelling in one hearth, let him do service like other small people.

The expression " small people " means commoners or villagers.

Article 71. Of the Crimes of Brothers

Whoso commit a crime, a brother or son or kinsman, who dwell in one house, all shall pay to the lord ¹ of the house, or hand over him who did the crime

The principle of the collective responsibility of the kindred can be paralleled from the Anglo-Saxon codes, and is indeed a common feature of every society where the transition from the pastoral-patriarchal order to the agricultural-feudal is not complete.

¹ *gospodar*.

Article 72. Of Unfree Persons

And if any unfree person ¹ come to the Tsar's Court, let justice be done, to each, save only to the slave of a lord.

¹ *nevolan*. The implication of this clause is that every *meropach* had a *locus standi* in the state courts, at least in criminal matters.

Article 73. Of the Poor

A poor person who cannot bring an action nor defend one, let him have an advocate to act for him.

Article 74. Of Village Grazing

Let village pasture with village, where one village, there also the other. Only legal enclosures and meadows may not be grazed.

Article 75. Of County Grazing

No district may graze its stock within another district. And if in the district there be a separate village which belongs to any lord, or to my majesty, or is a Church village, or belongs to a gentleman, that village shall graze with the rest of the county district and no man shall forbid it to so graze.

The "village" is *selo* and the "district" is *župa*

The "legal enclosures and meadows" were presumably Crown lands and excluded, but the rest of the pasture land in the county was common land for the grazing of all the villages in the county, regardless of ownership, and the pasture lands, which were alpine or sub-alpine in character as a rule, were allotted to various counties.

Article 76. Of Straying

As to straying. If any man's cattle trespass on corn or a vineyard or a meadow in error, then let him pay for the damage done what the valuers assess. But if he trespass knowingly, let him pay for the trespass six oxen.

The word translated "valuers" is *duševnici*, meaning persons who estimated value by conviction, on their *duša* or soul.

Article 77. Of Fights

A brawl between villages, fifty perpers; but between Vlachs and

Albanians, one hundred perpers. Of the fine, one half to the Tsar and one half to the owner of the village.

The Vlachs and Albanians were the autochthonous inhabitants, reduced by the Serbs to the position of herdsmen in the mountains

Article 78. Of the Land and People of the Church

If the Church have an action with any man touching land or Church people, or one show a deed of gift ¹ and say: "I will produce the almoner," ² then let no heed be paid either to the deed or to the almoner, but the case shall be tried by the law of my majesty and let the appeal be to my majesty.

¹ *milost*, lit. "grace." ² *milostnik*, the man by whose agency the deed was granted

Article 79. Of Boundaries and Land

But if villages dispute between themselves touching land or boundaries, let them sue by the law of the sainted king ¹ from the time of his death. If anyone produce an imperial deed of gift and say: "The Lord Tsar gave me this, as my equal ² held before me," if he produce the imperial deed, let it be accordingly, and let him hold it, save if it be Church land.

¹ The Sainted King, in the Code, always means Milutin, Dušan's grandfather.

² The word used is *drug*, of which the primary meaning is "another," "second," and which came to mean "fellow," "friend." Here it has the mediæval sense of the word "peer."

Article 80. Of Village Boundaries

Touching village boundaries, let both claimants bring witnesses, one a half and the other a half, according to the law And whom the witnesses shall name, his shall it be.

Such an appeal to the knowledge of "good men of the vicinage" is common throughout early mediæval Europe; it contains in itself the germs of the universal "jury" system. A juror is merely a sworn witness.

Article 81. Of Mountains

The mountains which are in my territories, those which are of the Tsar shall be of the Tsar, and those which are of the Church shall be of the Church, and those of the lords shall belong to those lords in whose holding they are.

A confirmation of existing rights and arrangements, but interesting as showing once more the tripartite division of the mountain land (*planina*) which applied equally to the valleys, villages and *katuns* From the point of view of inherited property, all land, whether populated or not, fell into one of these three categories. See Art. 93 and note.

Article 82. Of the Vlachs

When a Vlach or Albanian stays in a village, other herdsmen who come after them may not stay in the same village. And if any one stay by force, let him pay a fine and for the grass he has consumed.

The spring and autumn migrations to and from the mountain pastures were the occasion of much movement of Vlach and Albanian shepherds, with their families and flocks. The Serbian lords and peasants were concerned that they and their pastures should not suffer from these activities.

Article 83. Of Disputes about Land

Where in one dispute¹ about land two imperial deeds of gift² are produced, the property shall be his who holds the land now, up to the time of this council, and his deed shall be upheld.

¹ The word is *ipotes* Gr *ὑπόθεσις*

² *kmgā*, "book", the O.E. "bók" had exactly this sense. The clause provides an interesting analogy to Henry II's legislation protecting occupants by the "possessory assizes," nearly two hundred years earlier.

Article 84. Of the Ordeal

After ordeal¹ there shall be no further trial. Whoso proves his innocence shall give no further proof to the courts, nor shall he pay costs.² There shall be neither surety³ in court nor false accusation⁴ nor imprisonment for debt,⁵ but let every man be tried according to law.

¹ In addition to the trial by boiling water, which is provided here by the use of the word *kotal*, cauldron, we shall find in Art. 150 a reference to ordeal by hot iron, especially invoked in accusations of theft and brigandage, which were subject to very heavy penalties. The abolition of the ordeal by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 had of course no validity in Orthodox countries.

² This is the interpretation by Daničić of the word *oprava*, which is the key-word of the first sentence, and both he and Novaković interpret the clause in this way.

³ *Ruka*, an arm or hand, probably contains an allusion to some old legal formality in connection with an oath, and Novaković suggests that it means a guarantor when the first trial fails to reach a decision, in which case recourse was had to compurgators on oath.

⁴ *Opadania*; it appears to mean the bringing by the accused of a false accusation against another party in order to divert the attention of the Court.

⁵ *Udava*, the right of a creditor to imprison his debtor, either by action of the Court, or arbitrarily to bind and hand him over to the Court.

Article 85. Of Heretical Utterance

Whoso utters heretical words,¹ if he be noble let him pay one hundred perpers: and if he be not noble, let him pay twelve perpers and be flogged with sticks.

¹ *babunska reč*, which for many years was a puzzle. It is now known that *Babuni* is another name for Bogomiles; it occurs in the so-called *Krmčija* of the time of St. Sava, where we find the heading, "On Masaljan, who are now called Bogomili—Babuni." In an old manuscript of Sveta Trojica near Plevlje, dating from between 1285 and 1291, there is an anathema against *zli eretici prokleti babuni*, "evil heretics accursed Babuni."

Micklosich suggests that the name of the Babuna Pass came from some settlement of Bogomiles in that wild district.

Article 86. Of Homicide

When there is a homicide, he is held guilty who provoked it, even if he be killed himself.

As killing involved a wergild, perhaps this clause implies that the kindred of the guilty party should pay the fine, while the family of the man provoked should be free of liability.

Article 87. Of Deliberate Murder

Where there occurs homicide without intention and violence, the fine shall be three hundred perpers. But if a man kill intentionally, both his hands shall be cut off.

Article 88. Of Lords' Suits

When lords are at law the loser shall give surety.¹

¹ *jenice*, bail or security, presumably for fulfilling the judgment of the court in a civil action.

Article 89. Of Summoning Offenders

If a man summon an offender before the judges and then do not come to court himself, but sit at home, the party summoned, if he come at the appointed time before the judges and remain according to the law, is discharged from that debt for which he was summoned, inasmuch as he that summoned him sitteth at home.

Article 90. Of Pledges

Pledges, wherever they be, shall be redeemed.

Article 91. Of Advocates

When two are at law, if one say : " I have an advocate ¹ here in the Tsar's court, or in the Judge's court," let him produce him. But if he seek him and find him not in the court, let him return forthwith to the court and declare : " I have not found the advocate." And if he be at dinner, let him be given time till supper : and if he be at supper, then until the next dinner hour : and if the Tsar or the court have sent that advocate upon some service, then he who hath called him is not at fault, and time shall be given him till the advocate come, to bring him to the court.

¹ The word is *pristav*, lit. " assistant," often it variously means " officer " or " official " (cf. Art. 56).

Article 92. Of Horse-stealing

If any man recognise his own horse under another man and it be in the mountains or in the wilderness, let him take him to the nearest village and hand him to the village and call upon it to deliver him to the tribunal : and if the village do not deliver him to the tribunal, let that village pay so much as the tribunal shall direct.

Horse-stealing and cattle-rustling are the characteristic crimes in a society that is still largely pastoral. Clauses like this are frequent in the Anglo-Saxon codes.

Article 93. Of Enticing Men

Whoso enticeth a neighbour's man into another estate, let him repay sevenfold.

Cf. The English Statute of Labourers, exactly contemporary with this Code, for a similar attempt to prevent the migration of peasants in a time of labour shortage, which in England, at least, was due to the Black Death.

Article 94. Of Lords and Commoners

If a lord kill a commoner, whether in a city, county or in a mountain district,¹ he shall pay one thousand perpers. But if a commoner kill a baron, he shall pay three hundred perpers and both his hands shall be cut off.

For the tripartite division into cities, counties and mountains, see Art. 81.

Here we have the tripartite division of the country into *gradovi*, walled cities under an imperial official the *kefalija*, responsible directly to the Tsar and appointed by him, the *župe* or counties, with their *trgovni* or market towns and *sela*, villages, parcelled out into great estates, and the *katuni* or herdsmen's huts in the *planine* or mountains, all words with precise meaning.

¹ *katuni*.

Article 95. Of Insulting and Killing Clerics

Whoso insulteth a bishop, monk, or priest, he shall pay one hundred perpers. But if a man kill a bishop, monk or priest, let him be killed and hanged

Apart from the killing of clerics here referred to the death sentence is provided for in the Code only in cases of a commoner who rapes the wife of a nobleman, for parricide and certain other offences.

The Serbian text has the expression "be killed and hanged," which does not specify the method of killing. The hanging probably means that the body was gibbeted after death.

Article 96. Of Parricide

Whoso killeth his father, mother, brother or own child, let that murderer be burnt in the fire.

This is the only reference in the Code to the penalty of burning to death.

Article 97. Of the Lord's Beard

Whoso shall pluck the beard of a lord or good man, both his hands shall be cut off.

Reverence for the beard, as the sign of dignity and honour, was so great that to pull it was a dire insult equivalent to murder, involving the same penalty of amputation of both hands (*v* Art. 87) Note too that singeing the beard is a prescribed penalty.

What is meant by "good man," *dobar človek*, is uncertain; it seems to mean every respectable and honourable man from the ranks of the commoners. It may be analogous to the *legalis homo* of Anglo-Norman law.

Article 98. Of Commoner's Plucking

If two commoners pluck, the fine is six perpers.

Article 99. Of Arson

If anyone be found who has burnt a house, or a threshing floor, or straw or hay, let the village give up the burner : and if it do not give him up, then let that village pay what the burner would have suffered and paid.

Article 100. Of Arson

And if anyone outside a village burn a threshing-floor or hay, let the neighbourhood pay or hand over the burner.

These two clauses go together, but the texts of No. 99 are confused and even contradictory, with such obvious errors as, "if he be not found, let the village give him up" In any case, the general meaning is clear, for the clauses insist once more on the principle of collective responsibility, the village in the first instance, the neighbourhood in the second. *Opolina*, neighbourhood, does not appear to have any precise significance, as do the words *selo*, village, and *župa*, district or county.

Nothing is said about the punishment in the more authentic texts, but those of the Athos group specify that he shall be burned alive if found, and that if he be not found, the village pay what he would have suffered and paid. The two Serbian words meaning suffered and paid, *patil* i *plati* are sufficiently alike to render confusion easy ; the first is omitted from the Struga text, which is the more authentic.

(To be concluded)

UNPRINTED DOCUMENTS: RUSSO-BRITISH RELATIONS, 1875-1878

2ND SERIES. XI. FROM LORD DERBY'S RESIGNATION TO THE APPOINTMENT OF LORD SALISBURY AS FOREIGN SECRETARY

[Owing to the illness of the editor of these documents at the moment of going finally to press, the following passage from a letter of 11/23 March, from Shuvalov to Gorchakov, became separated from the remainder (Slav. Rev., Vol. XXVI, No. 67, pp. 543 sqq.). It is now printed as the first item of a new series to which the intermediate number of "413a" is attached.]

413a. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 11/23 MARCH

. . . Autant il serait inutile de faire des concessions à l'Angleterre, qui ne sait pas elle-même ce qu'elle veut, autant elles sembleraient justifiées vis-à-vis de l'Autriche afin de prévenir des maux plus grands et de n'avoir pas à reconquérir par les armes et pour une deuxième fois le même objet. L'Autriche peut se méprendre sur le caractère et la valeur des intérêts de la Monarchie, mais elle ferait une guerre de conviction et nous combattrait dans l'idée sincère qu'elle défend l'avenir de son existence. Rien de pareil en Angleterre, où l'on ne saurait pas préciser après le premier coup de canon, contre lesquelles des stipulations du Traité on l'a tiré. La guerre de la part de l'Angleterre n'aurait d'autres motifs que des rancunes, des caprices et des questions de prestige. Les moyens de prévenir de pareils mobiles n'existent pas : mais la première effervescence passée, la guerre serait plus populaire et le sens pratique des Anglais en aurait bientôt raison et la ferait cesser.

414. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 12/24 MARCH

(ch) Dimanche. Reçu télégramme du 11 et lettre du 7/19 Mars. N'avons rien à ajouter aux déclarations qu'avez déjà été chargé de faire. Si Derby les trouve insuffisantes, son refus du Congrès tombera à la charge de l'Angleterre. Ne serons pas seuls de cet avis. Ne voyons aucune nécessité de tirer à nos dépens le Cabinet anglais de l'embarras où il s'est placé lui-même.

415. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 13/25 MARCH

(ch) Lundi. Très secret. Loftus télégraphie que Vous avez déclaré à agent roumain ne pas admettre que retrocession de Bessarabie soit discutée au Congrès.

416. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 13/25 MARCH

(ch) Derby m'ayant demandé réponse, lui ai dit que nous étions

fermement décidés à nous en tenir à déclaration de ma lettre du 7 Mars. A sa question quel était le sens que nous attachions à "liberté d'appréciation et d'action," j'ai répondu que laissons aux autres liberté de soulever au Congrès questions qu'ils jugeraient à propos, nous réservant celle d'accepter ou non la discussion. Derby insiste sur réponse écrite, à laquelle il prétend avoir droit après sa lettre. J'ai répondu qu'en référerais, ne pouvant sans autorisation livrer des pièces écrites destinées à publicité. Si Vous ne répondiez pas à ma lettre, dit Derby, je Vous prie constater par écrit que refusez de le faire.

Derby cherche toujours issue pacifique, mais situation continue à être très tendue. M'autorisez-Vous à consigner dans deuxième lettre paroles sus-mentionnées, que j'ai dites à Derby, autrement on exploiterait l'incident comme procédé blessant pour l'Angleterre.

417. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 14, 26 MARCH

Received two telegrams of yesterday. (ch) Pouvez répondre à Derby dans le sens de Votre réponse verbale, conforme à ce que de mon côté ici j'avais écrit à Loftus. Ni plus ni moins. Je n'ai rien dit à l'agent roumain de semblable à ce que mande Loftus et n'ai reçu depuis longtemps la visite de Ghika, pas plus que celle de Loftus.

(undated) (cl) Samedi. Reçu télégramme d'hier. (ch) Consentement d'examiner au Congrès questions d'un intérêt européen déjà donné par nous. Nous ne saurions aller au delà.

418. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, LONDON, 14/26 MARCH (LETTER)

Les Ministres Anglais ont un peu baissé le ton dans le courant des derniers jours, et effrayés comme ils semblent l'être eux mêmes de l'imminence d'une guerre avec la Russie.

A mes yeux ce léger revirement n'a pas de portée sérieuse ; il vient trop tard, le Gouvernement de la Reine obéira à l'impulsion des événements qu'il a amenés et de passions qu'il a soulevées lui même. La Reine et le Prince des Galles [sic] aidant à envenimer les choses, la situation me paraît si sombre qu'il faut une grande dose d'optimisme pour Vous exposer les idées qui suivent.

S'il n'y a pas de Congrès, V. A. indique comme dernière ressource une correspondance directe entre les Cabinets ; mais Vous ajoutez qu'elle entraînerait des difficultés et des lenteurs qui prolongeraient indéfiniment une situation trop tendue pour pouvoir durer. Je ne pense pas que des correspondances directes entre les Cabinets de St. Pétersbourg et de Londres puissent amener quelque résultat : s'il reste encore un moyen de réussir, et cela est bien douteux, ce serait non des correspondances mais des négociations verbales conduites à Londres. J'ai dit Londres, car je suis sûr que le Gouvernement Anglais ne voudrait pas envoyer des négociateurs avec pleins pouvoirs à St. Pétersbourg et que, d'autre part, il ne confierait pas cette mission à Lord A. Loftus. Il faudra donc débattre les traités à Londres et, si telle est la volonté de S. M. l'Empereur,

donner à ce débat le caractère de négociations, et m'adjointre quelqu'un qui ait été sur les lieux et au fait de toutes les considérations qui ont milité en faveur de la délimitation des nouvelles frontières et des autres stipulations

Je me permets de réitérer une idée que j'ai déjà émise antérieurement, je veux parler de la nécessité pressante de faire la proposition de ses négociations, sinon de les commencer dans le plus bref délai possible. Chaque jour qui s'écoulerait entre le refus anglais de participer au Congrès et l'acceptation des négociations directes serait un jour de danger ; à chaque heure nous serons exposé, — sur la foi d'un faux bruit ou sous un prétexte futile, — à nous trouver subitement en guerre avec l'Angleterre.

419. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 15/27 MARCH

(ch) Très secret. Derby m'a confié en ami que dépose portefeuille. Motive sa retraite par deux considérations : se croit responsable de condition anglaise qu'il n'a pas cru blessante pour Russie, mais voit son erreur, n'approuve pas les mesures ultérieures que le Gouvernement veut prendre. Il m'a été impossible de savoir lesquelles, mais ne augure rien de bon.

420. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 16/28 MARCH (LETTER)

J'ai été heureux de recevoir le télégramme que Vous m'avez adressé en date d'aujourd'hui pour me dire en d'autres mots " que le Congrès était contraire à nos intérêts."

Conformément à mes instructions je me suis appliqué jusqu'à ce moment à vouloir faire réussir le Congrès et je dois l'avouer jamais tâche à accomplir ne m'a été plus à contre coeur ; lorsque je me faisais un devoir de Vous indiquer les compromis qui avaient chance d'être acceptés à Londres, c'était toutes les fois avec un secret espoir que Vous les rejetteriez.

Il était clair pour moi que se réunir en Congrès, c'était mettre à la disposition du Cabinet Anglais un local, une table, de l'encre et du papier pour lui faciliter d'établir ce que la maladresse de ses correspondances diplomatiques avec Vienne n'avait pas réussi à obtenir, à savoir : une entente anglo-autrichienne. Il est si inhérent à la nature humaine de faire cause commune *en action* après avoir défendu les principes en paroles !

S'il pouvait subsister un doute à cet égard, il suffirait de parcourir les télégrammes échangés dans cette dernière semaine entre les Cabinets de Vienne et de Londres. Que chantaient-ils tous si ce n'est le même refrain ? Pourquoi mettre des batons dans les roues du Congrès ? " Arrivez y sans conditions. Comme Vous Anglais, nous voulons aussi pouvoir discuter tous les articles du traité ; nous Vous promettons de Vous soutenir, venez seulement à Berlin car le Congrès est le vrai terrain sur lequel nous pourrions nous entendre."

Au reste, mon Prince, le danger semble conjuré et si le Comte Andrassy ne parvient pas à ressusciter le Congrès au moyen de quelque combinaison nouvelle, il est bien mort après ma dernière lettre à Lord Derby qui a

produit ici une si grande irritation, que j'entends dire, sans le croire encore, que mes passeports sont préparés au Foreign Office.

421. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 16/28 MARCH (LETTER)

C'est dans le courant de la soirée d'aujourd'hui que j'ai envoyé à Lord Derby la lettre que Vous m'avez autorisé à lui adresser en réponse à la sienne. Un Conseil de Cabinet fut convoqué pour le lendemain ; il était considéré dans les cercles officiels comme destiné à résoudre définitivement la question de la participation de l'Angleterre au Congrès.

A peine la séance du Conseil terminée, je me rendis chez le Comte. Je lui trouvai l'air préoccupé et impénétrable quant aux décisions prises par le Gouvernement Anglais. Voyant que la conversation ne s'engageait pas, j'allais me retirer, lorsqu'il me retint et me fit confidentiellement — "à titre d'ami," — disait-il, — la communication suivante :

"Il sortait du Conseil et allait de ce pas résigner et envoyer sa démission."

A la surprise que je manifestai, — il ajouta :

"Je me considère en ma qualité de Foreign Secretary responsable de la condition que nous avons posé pour accepter le Congrès, je ne crois pas que nous ayons été dans notre tort pour avoir demandé que tout le Traité de St. Stefano puisse être discuté à Berlin ; en formulant cette demande, je n'avais nullement l'intention de blesser la Russie, ni d'entraver la liberté de ses opinions ; j'ai cru au contraire qu'elle servirait à aplanir toute difficulté en nous évitant de poser pour la réunion du Congrès d'autres bases sur lesquelles il eut été plus difficile de s'entendre. Je vois cependant que je me suis trompé, et que Vous avez considéré notre condition comme blessante. Je me suis trompé une seconde fois, en pensant que l'Europe serait de notre avis, — elle se prononce dans cette question pour Vous. Je regrette de ne pas m'être opposé à ceux de mes collègues qui voulaient que nous formulions cette condition avant d'aller en Congrès. Tous les hommes commettent des erreurs et si c'était à recommencer, nous aurions accepté le Congrès sans cette réserve ; mais, je le réitère, je n'avais aucune intention blessante pour la Russie."

"C'est là un des motifs de ma retraite. Le second, c'est que je n'ai pu donner mon approbation aux mesures que le Gouvernement s'est décidé à prendre ultérieurement et sur lesquelles je dois garder provisoirement le secret le plus absolu."

Le début de notre entretien donne lieu à un malentendu : Lord Derby étant entré en matière par les mots : "Je dois Vous confier que c'est aujourd'hui notre dernier entretien," — j'ai cru comprendre qu'il me préparait à recevoir mes Lettres de Créance et j'ai répondu : "Il y a longtemps que je m'y attends !" — Ce fut son tour d'être surpris de ces paroles.

J'exprimai à Lord Derby mes sincères regrets de la décision qu'il avait prise, elle serait acceptée en Europe, — et tout particulièrement en Russie,

traversée depuis. De l'homme qui m'insinuait jadis qu'une occupation de Constantinople m'amènerait pas de brouille avec l'Angleterre, à celui qui prend le portefeuille de Foreign Secretary sur la décision prise de mobiliser les réserves territoriales de l'Angleterre—il y a loin. De plus il faut le dire à l'égard du Ministre tombé, il a toujours résisté à toutes les intrigues qui tendaient pousser l'Angleterre dans une coalition contre nous. Sa méfiance à l'égard d'Andrássy était complète et n'égalait que celle qu'il professait à l'endroit du Prince de Bismarck. J'ai bien peur que le contraire ne soit la future politique de Marquis de Salisbury.

En conséquence je compte m'abstenir de toute démonstration jusqu'à ce que le nouveau Ministre m'ait convié à un premier échange d'idées politiques. S'il veut la conciliation, eh bien, qu'il fasse le premier pas.

427 SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 16/28 MARCH (LETTER)

Lord Derby est tombé—Sa résolution a été prise trop tard et n'empêchera pas son nom de rester mêlé à événements qu'il a désapprouvés, mais auxquels il n'a pas eu l'énergie de résister.

La retraite du Comte, si elle avait eu lieu quelques mois,—quelques semaines même plus tôt,—aurait peut-être compromis l'existence du Cabinet Tory et ses collègues auraient fait de grandes concessions pour la prévenir.

Aujourd'hui tout est changé : la majorité des Ministres ne se soucie plus de Lord Derby qui a perdu sa popularité par une attitude à laquelle la fermeté faisait défaut dans un sens comme dans l'autre. Les vrais amis doivent regretter pour lui que sa décision ait été aussi tardive.

Je n'ai pas besoin de dire à quel degré cette crise va paralyser mon action.—Un contact de chaque jour pendant deux ans avec cet homme loyal, ultrapacifique, mais au-dessous des événements qu'il était appelé à diriger, m'a donné la possibilité de prévenir bien des catastrophes. A présent qu'il est mort, je puis affirmer que c'est grâce aux efforts de Lord Derby *seul* que la paix a été maintenue jusqu'à ce moment et que *nous avons pu écraser la Turquie avant que l'Angleterre ne s'en mêlât*.

C'est ce dernier résultat qui est la vraie cause de la chute de Lord Derby.—Nous devons savoir lui en tenir compte.

428. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 17/29 MARCH 1878 (LETTER)

Voici une nouvelle qui va Vous surprendre autant qu'elle m'a étonné moi-même : si les Ministres Anglais se trouvent en aussi mauvais termes avec la Russie, cela tient . . . au "*monstrous proceedings*" de l'Ambassadeur de Russie à Londres.

C'est du moins l'explication trouvée et colportée par Lord Beaconsfield qui m'accuse d'avoir communiqué aux membres de l'opposition le texte de notre dernière réponse trois jours plus tôt qu'au Gouvernement de la Reine. Pareil procédé de ma part justifie complètement,—ajoute le Premier Ministre,—la froideur que les Ministres me témoignent.

Le Comte Beust en *bon* [*sic*] collègue m'a rapporté ces paroles du Premier Ministre afin,—disait-il,—de me rendre plus prudent.

Est-il nécessaire de l'écrire ? Le fait invoqué par Lord Beaconsfield est absolument faux. Je n'ai communiqué le texte d'aucune réponse à l'opposition : quand à la soumettre plus tôt au Gouvernement, je ne le pouvais pas, puisque j'attendais l'autorisation de V. A. d'adresser à Lord Derby la réponse à sa lettre d'interrogation, et il ne s'est pas écoulé une heure entre la réception de Votre télégramme et la remise de ma note au Principal Secrétaire d'Etat.

J'ai eu une explication avec Lord Derby au sujet de cet incident. Le Comte n'ajouta aucune créance aux inventions de son collègue et dédaigne ce genre de commérage politique avec lequel Beaconsfield cherche à compliquer encore davantage la situation.

J'ai eu soin de bien constater dans le cours de l'entretien que je ne me plaignais en aucune façon de la conduite des Ministres à mon égard, —à l'exception toute fois d'un seul qui confondait deux choses très distinctes—l'esprit belliqueux et la grossièreté.

429. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 17/29 MARCH, ST. PETERSBURG

Mr. Alequier partant demain matin pour Paris m'offre l'occasion de faire déposer à Berlin un pli à Votre adresse que Votre courrier emportera. Cette occasion devance malheureusement d'un jour l'arrivée de Votre expédition attendue après demain, et je ne puis par conséquent en profiter pour des réponses détaillées. Toute-fois les événements marchent si vite que je n'ai pas voulu retarder l'envoi du dossier de pièces diplomatiques destiné à Vous mettre au courant de la situation. Si Vos prochaines dépêches exigent des décisions, j'userai du télégraphe pour Vous faire parvenir les ordres de l'Empereur.

Voici pour le moment comment les choses se présentent.

La démission de Lord Derby nous avait paru signifier l'entrée possible de l'Angleterre au Congrès. On se serait aperçu à Londres qu'on s'était mis dans son tort vis-à-vis de l'Europe, en faisant échouer cette chance de pacification généralement désirée. On aurait craint qu'il n'en résulte non pas le déarroi produit sur le Continent par le rejet de l'accord de Berlin il y a deux ans, mais au contraire un raffermissement de l'Entente des trois Cours Impériales qui accentuerait l'isolement de l'Angleterre.

D'après Votre télégramme de ce matin ces conjectures ne semblent pas se vérifier.

Nous regrettons Lord Derby comme le seul élément pacifique du Cabinet et son départ doit faire mal augurer de la politique future arrêtée par Lord Beaconsfield et devant laquelle il se retire. D'autre part je dois constater que Lord Derby par son manque de caractère ou de pouvoir a été plus nuisible qu'utile en nous entraînant par le désir d'appuyer ses efforts de conciliation, à des concessions qui n'ont fait que renforcer la position des Anglais et augmenter leur arrogance.

J'ai particulièrement en vue Gallipoli. D'après les assurances qui

Vous avaient été données et que Vous nous aviez transmises, nous étions en droit d'entendre que notre promesse de ne point l'occuper aurait pour résultat le maintien de la neutralité anglaise. Vous savez ce qui en est advenu. La sécurité donnée au Cabinet de Londres sur ce sujet n'a été pour lui que le point de départ de l'entrée de son escadre dans la mer de Marmora et d'une attitude de plus en plus comminatoire.

Le rôle de Lord Derby rappelle celui de Lord Aberdeen en 1853

Malgré les meilleures intentions, il n'a rien empêché et après nous avoir fait descendre l'échelle des concessions gratuites, il a fini par être entraîné par le torrent

Nous devons nous dire que rien n'arrêtera l'hostilité britannique que les faits accomplis, les obstacles matériels et les risques à courir.

Sous ce rapport nous ne pouvons guère regretter l'échec du Congrès. Dans de pareilles conditions on ne pouvait pas s'attendre à une discussion conciliante et dès lors il vaut mieux pour nous que l'Angleterre assume la responsabilité d'un refus.

Vous trouverez dans le dossier copie d'une lettre à M. de Novikov emportée par le Comte Ignatyev. Elle Vous renseignera sur la nature et le but de sa mission. C'est une tentative suprême pour ranimer et resserrer l'entente des trois Cours Impériales qui est aujourd'hui l'unique chance de préserver la paix générale, et de contenir la prépotence anglaise. Les dispositions qu'il a rencontrées à Vienne ne semblent pas défavorables. On en veut à l'Angleterre, on s'aperçoit qu'elle pousse à la guerre, et l'on sait bien que ce ne serait pas elle mais l'Autriche qui aurait à en porter les conséquences. Il s'agit donc de trouver les bases pratiques d'une transaction qui permette au Cabinet de Vienne de sortir des équivoques où il s'est complu jusqu'à présent.

430. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 17/29 MARCH 1878

(cl) Received Vos trois télégrammes du 16 mars.

(ch) Exprimez à Derby tous les regrets de l'Empereur de sa retraite. Attendons avec une certaine impatience refus anglais de Congrès. Cela nous mettra dans la possibilité d'envoyer aussitôt après son prochain retour de Vienne Ignatiev comme Ambassadeur à Constantinople pour contrecarrer intrigues anglaises.

431. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 17/29 MARCH

(ch) La mesure si pompeusement déclarée hier se réduit à mobilisation de 38,000 hommes de réserve pour achever formation du deuxième et troisième Corps d'armée. Démission Derby acceptée du public comme symptôme de guerre.

432. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 17/29 MARCH

(cl) Received telegram of 29.

(ch) Sens des discours ministériels d'hier prouvent que Congrès est refusé. Ignore si on fera déclarations plus précises.

433. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 17/29 MARCH

(ch) Long franc et amical entretien avec Derby se résume ainsi : Conseillez Votre Gouvernement rester calme conciliant en présence des différentes mesures que nous prendrons et que je désapprouve. Je connais bien mes collègues, ils ne veulent pas guerre mais satisfaire leur parti par démonstrations. Proposez de suite négociations directes. Nous n'avons de vraie objection au traité que trop grande extension de Bulgarie à l'Ouest et Votre influence future à Constantinople qui remplace la notre. Trouvez une compensation pour nous, par Egypte, mais une station navale même en dehors de Marmora et Dardanelles, et entente sera bientôt établie. moi j'eusse été contre cette compensation parceque trouve malhonnête prendre bien d'autrui sans guerre préalable, mais dépêchez-Vous, car il ne faudrait pas prolonger situation présente.

(cl) Je Vous le télégraphie immédiatement un source et importance, sans partager cette opinion sincère basée peut-être sur appréciations du moment mais que chaque jour peut changer.

434. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 18/30 MARCH 1878

(cl) Received telegram of 29.

(ch) Je tâche d'amener Gouvernement à formuler plus clairement refus de Congrès. Ministres effrayés de panique causée par démission Derby, tiennent langage beaucoup plus pacifique. Derby peut avoir raison, si restons calmes, dédaignons démonstrations qui vont venir, si nous abstenons surtout d'avancer vers Buyukdere et Gallipoli, atteindrons notre but sans guerre. Désir d'une entente directe avec nous gagne du terrain.

435. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 18/30 MARCH

(cl) Le courrier chargé de dépêches pour le Vôte arrivé à Berlin venait de partir lorsque j'ai reçu l'explication dont ce dernier était chargé.

(ch) Elle n'exige pas de réponse vu la rapidité des événements qui se sont succédés depuis son envoi de Londres—sinon que l'Empereur veut que Vous ne paraissiez plus aux réceptions de la Cour.

436. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 19/31 MARCH

(cl) Received telegrams of 17 and 18.

(ch) N'avons aucune confiance dans entente directe avec l'Angleterre. Expérience d'un passé récent nous a donné de dures leçons. Le seul service que puisse nous rendre le Cabinet anglais est de refuser Congrès. S'il s'en doutait il ne le ferait pas.

437. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 19/31 MARCH

(cl) Received telegram of 18.

(ch) Il y a revirement. Le langage pacifique est à l'ordre. Si aucune nouvelle inquiétante ne vient de Turquie et que notre presse reste calme pendant quelques jours, opposition relevera tête, attaquera bill de

mobilisation et demandera politique pacifique. Ce résultat serait important.

438 SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 19 31 MARCH

(cl) Received telegram of 19. (ch) Si j'entretiens les Ministres dans perspective d'entente directe, c'est pour les maintenir dans refus Congrès, que Vienne cherche à ressusciter.

439. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 19/31 MARCH

Commérage—

An Austro-Hungarian attaché aurait trouvé moyen de capter la confiance du P M et en dehors de la diplomatie reconnue et officielle il aurait travaillé à un rapprochement entre l'Autriche-Hongrie et l'Angleterre

War Loan This attaché is Andrassy's confidant, qui vu les tendances connues du Comte de Beust aurait préféré avoir à Londres un homme à lui et dont il aurait fait le dépositaire de ses pensées intimes Comte Montgelas—very intimate with Montagu Corry¹ His tendances anti-russes and ultramontaines, a secret for no one

440 SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 19/31 MARCH

Derby's parting advice—If you keep calm and conciliatory and don't answer precipitately to the English demonstrations, we shall reach a pacific solution. A simple movement of troops towards Bosphorus or Gallipoli équivaldrait en ce moment à une déclaration de guerre.

441. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 19/31 MARCH

Very confidential.—First news of reinforcements from India "half-way houses"—only words he could learn.

442. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 20 MARCH, 1 APRIL

Visit from Count Beust, d'abord adversaire du Congrès mais qui a tourné depuis qu'il a été chargé d'assurer à Londres que le Cabinet de Vienne soutiendrait au Congrès les points de vue anglais.

Beust said he was without instructions for several days, and as this silence corresponded with presence of General Ignatyev at Vienna, this should mean que l'entente s'était établie avec nous.

La nouvelle attitude que V.A. me recommande, celle de favoriser ici un refus du Congrès, sans faire comprendre aux Anglais que c'est précisément ce que nous désirons, m'oblige à accepter et même à provoquer des échanges d'idées au sujet d'une entente directe.

Delay in appointment of Salisbury. Queen hurt because papers announced it before it was laid before her.

443. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 20 MARCH/1 APRIL 1878

(ch) Télégrammes de Vienne représentent mission Ignatyev totalement manquée. Beust reçu ordre tâcher faire revivre Congrès, mais comme il

ne précise pas nouvelle formule ou base Ministres anglais continuent résister ce que j'encourage sous mains par discussions sur entente directe.

444. SHUVALOV TO GIERS, 20 MARCH/I APRIL

(ch) Correspondant du Times à St Petersburg me compromet en télégraphiant paroles qui me sont dites par Ministres et que je rapporte au Prince également par télégraphe

445 SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 22 MARCH/3 APRIL

Première entrevue avec Salisbury, langage très pacifique mais pas franc Nous demande pas faire de mouvements vers Bosphore ou Gallipoli. Solution pacifique et selon lui à ce prix. Lui ai reproché circulaire l'appelant instrument de guerre. Il a marqué étonnement et demandé pourquoi. Parceque se basant sur principe abstrait d'influence russe elle semble dire que le traité préliminaire—et Russie ne le laissera pas modifier essentiellement—va dans son entier contre intérêts britanniques. Il a répondu, non, considère circulaire comme instrument de paix : il faudra des modifications au traité mais peutêtre que ce que nous demanderons nous concerne plus que cela ne Vous intéresse Vous.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

(To be continued)

¹ Disraeli's private secretary, afterwards Lord Rowton.

OBITUARY

STANISŁAW GRABSKI

1871-1949

With the death on May 7 1949 in Sulejów, near Warsaw, of Stanisław Grabski, there passed from the scene of both academic and political life in Poland one of the few remaining members of "the Old Guard". His Doctor's degree was taken in Berne, and from then onwards, for over half a century—both at home and abroad—he was an ardent, even a restless worker for the liberation and development of his country. For at least a decade he championed the cause of Socialism, being active first as an editor in Berlin, but working also in Switzerland and even in London; but early in the new century he went over to the Right and joined the newly formed National Democratic Party, whose leader for the next twenty years was to be Roman Dmowski. Taking up his chair in Economics at the School of Technology in Lwów, he was soon recognised as a partner with influence.

Actively opposing the pro-Austrian policy of Governor Bobrzyński, he was nevertheless an advocate of armed intervention against Russia when relations became strained during the Bosnian crisis. Though at first uncooperative, he did join the All-Polish Commission for Joint Action of the Parties in 1912, and on the outbreak of war he became a member of the N.K.N. in Cracow. Though committed thereby to a pro-Austrian orientation, he was quick to change his front when the Russian victories of the autumn of 1914 made them masters of the best part of Galicia: he established contact with the Russian Governor in Lwów, who was actively engaged in turning the country into a Russian province, and he even proposed calling together a Congress of Poles to consider the whole situation. When the position was reversed by the victories of the Central Powers from May to September 1915, Grabski found himself a refugee in Russia; and here he at once re-established contact with his former chief, Dmowski.

Then came the revolution of 1917. Dmowski had already gone to France, while other Polish leaders stayed in Moscow or elsewhere. Hoping now that the western Allies would win out against the German might, thus liberating the subject peoples of Central Europe, they bided their time, expecting in due course to return to Warsaw and take control. In this last, as we know, they were disappointed. Authority in the new Poland passed rather to the Labour Socialist wing, and the National Democrats remained in disappointed Opposition. Nevertheless, Grabski was given a place beside his old chief on the Peace Delegation in Paris, and he became a deputy to the new Sejm—a position he held until 1927. As Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, as well as of the Peace

Delegation to Riga in the spring of 1921, he had a good deal to do with the settling of frontier problems ; but neither he nor his colleagues could do much toward getting a hold on home affairs. Only when his brother became Prime Minister did he win a seat in the Cabinet, as Minister of Education ; and it was in this capacity that he put through the Concordat with the Vatican in 1925.

Among works of note that came from his pen, during the early years of his university activities are the following :

(i) *Zarys rozwoju idei społeczno-gospodarczych w Polsce od I szego rozbioru do 1834* (1904)—a study of the first beginnings of the machine age in the Polish lands,

(ii) *Z zagadnień polityki narodowo-państwowej* (1925)—some general considerations on the rehabilitation of Poland as a sovereign state ;

(iii) *Ekonomia społeczna* (1927)—a general study of the social and economic problems of the time.

During the thirties, like others of the opposition parties, he was an onlooker and nothing more, but he was veering away from his older connections towards the Peasant Party.

In the autumn of 1939, along with so many of his fellow-countrymen, he was deported to Russia and spent the next twenty months in the Lubianka prison in Moscow. With the forced entry of the Soviet Union into the war, he was liberated, and a few months later he arrived in London. He brought with him many tales, grim and humorous, about his prison days, in which he had for companions Ukrainians and Jews—people for whom a true-blooded National Democrat could have little affection. But, on his own admission, he found them to be human beings, not unlike himself.

Offering his services to the Sikorski government, he was elected in 1942 Chairman of the National Council, i.e. Speaker of the Polish Parliament in Exile. In this capacity, and because he knew his way about in the Union, he accompanied Mikołajczyk to Moscow in 1944, and was present at his conferences with Marshal Stalin. It was about this time that he published in Glasgow a most useful booklet, *Mysli o dziejowej drodze Polski*, which will be valued in the future as a "tract for the times." From being an all-out advocate of the rights of his country to be treated as an equal partner in the world struggle, and to pre-war frontiers as the basis for a peace settlement, Grabski swung round to quite the opposite view. The man who feared that the Polish government was not showing enough firmness in defence of the nation's rights was suspected a year later of urging "appeasement" on Sikorski's successor. And he at least gave proofs of consistency in following Mikołajczyk, six months after the change in the exile government, back to Poland. His death took place exactly eight years after his condemnation by the Soviet court to eight years imprisonment.

It is too soon to pass any competent judgment on the behaviour of a man of Grabski's powers and experience. That he was a patriot cannot

be doubted, but many people with the right to speak would say that he was often not a wise one. Neither as a member of the Opposition in the twenties nor as an "elder statesman" in the forties did he seem properly to assess the forces against him. Like other, even more famous, wartime leaders he either trusted Marshal Stalin too far, or else he failed to assay at its proper level that statesman's powers. Time will tell whether it might not have been better for him to have stuck to his university work, and let politics take care of themselves.

W. J. ROSE.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE NAZI-SOVIET PACT, APRIL 1939-JUNE 1941

IN the concluding chapter of his conscientious and able *Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia* * Mr Max Beloff makes the following remarks: "... it is clear that we have not at our disposal the means to see even in outline the nature of the conflicting interests and objectives whose tensions have to be resolved ... we know so little about the foreign policy of the Soviet Union because we are so far as yet from understanding to the full the working of its institutions" Mr. Beloff goes on to state his view that "An explanation of Soviet policy which dismisses the Revolution would seem to be an explanation which neither the facts nor Soviet writings warrant" (pp. 388-90).

To-day few students of Soviet foreign policy would disagree with the author in this latter opinion. During the internecine struggle of the twenties, both the protagonists of world revolution first (led by Trotsky) and those who believed in prior consolidation within the Soviet Union ("Socialism in one country" led by Stalin) considered that world revolution was not merely desirable but necessary. The difference between the two schools was one of analysis, of method and of timing—not of object. But the victory of the Stalinist school (which, together with developments in the thirties clearly set out by Mr. Beloff, led many observers and students to conclude that the revolutionary aims of the U.S.S.R. had been abandoned) did not in fact end all differences of opinion as to method and timing among leading members of the Soviet hierarchy, even though all without exception (so far as may be determined from the available evidence) had come by 1939 to accept the doctrine that the cause of world revolution was incarnate in, and dependent on, the existence and strength of the U.S.S.R. These differences continued in the thirties, and—no doubt—continue now. After 1933, in the field of foreign affairs, the U.S.S.R. was chiefly concerned to devise methods of meeting the evidently-developing threat of Nazi Germany: one school advocated the policy of collective security (combination with the *status quo* capitalists against the aggressors—the best-known exponents of this policy were Litvinov and Maisky); the other school believed in holding the U.S.S.R. aloof from inter-capitalist hostility, in stimulating that hostility to the point of conflict in order to avoid attack on the U.S.S.R., and in deriving the utmost benefit from the conflict for a U.S.S.R. finding itself in the happy position of *tertius gaudens*. Thus Kalinin in January 1937 "described the Soviet Union as surrounded by foes, and declared that the class war had now taken on an international character";¹

* *The Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia*, Vol. II. By Max Beloff; O.U.P., 1949, pp. 395, 215.

in September 1938 a leader-writer in *Pravda* commented: "The Soviet Union views with equanimity the question as to which imperialist robber gives orders in one or other colony, in one or other vassal State; for it sees no difference between German and English robbers";² in the following November Molotov said: "The second imperialist war has already begun on an immense field from Gibraltar to Shanghai. The democratic Powers allege as a pretext their weakness in face of an aggressor, but in reality they do not desire to intervene seriously against the aggressor, for they are still more afraid of a workers' movement";³ on 11 March 1939 Manuisky wrote: "... the British reactionaries would like to use the U.S.S.R. to draw the fangs of German imperialism, to weaken Germany for a long time to come to preserve the dominant position of British imperialism in Europe..." while four days later in London Maisky was saying: "... at present there is no conflict of interest between the U.S.S.R. and the British Empire in any part of the world. You will find that in the last resort the fate of peace or war in our time depends on the kind of relations which exist between London and Moscow";⁴ and finally in a famous article in *Pravda* on 29 June 1939 Zhdanov declared "that for his part, he could not agree with those friends of his who held that the British and French Governments were sincere in their desire for a treaty with the Soviet Union on terms which a 'self-respecting government' could accept."⁵

While therefore it may not be possible to see "the nature of the conflicting interests and objectives whose tensions have to be resolved," no study of Soviet foreign policy, any more than of other countries' foreign policies, is likely to be wholly convincing if it attempts to depict the steady development of a policy to a known end. In spite of the care of his approach, Mr. Beloff seems not to have avoided this danger in his analysis of the making of the Nazi-Soviet Pact; thus he considers it probable that by March 1939 the Soviet Government had come "to accept the view that its purposes would best be served by some formal arrangement with Germany,"⁶ but the evidence rather suggests that certain leaders (Zhdanov, and perhaps Molotov) never wanted a pact with the West, others (Maisky, and perhaps Litvinov) infinitely preferred it to an arrangement with Germany, while Stalin, who made the decision, probably only made his mind up in August. The author is on firmer ground in discussing the working of the Pact with its breakdown in mind, but here too concentration on centres of conflict tends to underplay both the degree of co-operation achieved, and the probable intention of the Soviets that that co-operation should continue. The following paragraphs are concerned to examine the Nazi-Soviet Pact in the light of these two considerations.

In April 1939 it appeared to the Soviet Government that she was likely soon to be attacked by Hitler, with or without the connivance or assistance of the Western Powers. She could meet this danger with one of two alternative policies: she might conclude some sort of agree-

ment with the Western Powers against Hitler—but this would only be of value if she were assured of effective military support in case of any threat by Hitler to what she considered her vital interests; or she might come to some arrangement with Hitler at best destroying, at worst postponing, any threat to herself—provided that relations between the Western Powers and Germany had reached such a point that the possibility of their co-operation could safely be excluded (for the threat of such an agreement might have been just what was needed to bring Britain and France in on Hitler's side⁷). Mr. Beloff admirably demonstrates how the course of events since 1936 stimulated Moscow's suspicions of Paris and London and strengthened the hand of the exponents of Soviet "independence": the apparently dilatory and reluctant approach of the Western Powers during the actual negotiations in 1939 could not but increase still further the influence of these elements. Never did the Western Powers fully satisfy the Soviet requirements in the event of "indirect aggression" against the Baltic States (such satisfaction may of course have been impossible); the special emissary sent to conduct the negotiations was Mr. (now Sir William) Strang, a Foreign Office official, while Chamberlain had flown to Berchtesgaden in 1938;⁸ traces appeared in the British Press of the growing Russian suspicion that the negotiations were being used merely as a means of extracting better terms from Germany;⁹ clear evidence that the appeasement policy was still being secretly pursued was provided by the discussions between Wohltat and Mr. R. S. Hudson in July.¹⁰ In spite of these facts, the major available collection of documents on the Nazi-Soviet negotiations conveys the impression that the Soviet Government had come to no decision before August (although it must be admitted that the documents reveal the course of the negotiations as seen through German eyes). As early as 20 May Molotov had made the re-opening of economic negotiations with Germany dependent on the construction of the necessary "political bases"; but it was not until 10 August, when the Germans themselves designated certain political issues that might be discussed, that any significant approach towards definition was made, in spite of all Schulenburg's pressure to that end (economic negotiations were in fact re-opened at some undetermined date between 12 and 22 July). Indeed, so inflexible was Molotov on 20 May that the Germans were left in doubt whether he intended to reject economic negotiations or whether he desired a political agreement; and this doubt was not removed until the Soviet Chargé in Berlin, Astakhov, informed Weizsäcker on 30 May that "Molotov had to be sure talked with the customary Russian distrust but not with the intention of barring further German-Russian discussions."¹¹ Further, on 27 July, after an extended discussion with Astakhov, Schnurre concluded: "I had the impression that Moscow had not yet decided what they want to do . . . it looks as if Moscow, for the time being, is following a policy of delay and postponement toward us as well as England in order to defer decisions the importance of which they understand completely."¹²

As late as 4 August Molotov maintained a forthright demeanour to Schulenburg and was strongly critical of German policy; Schulenburg concluded: "From M's whole attitude it was evident that the Soviet Government was in fact more prepared for improvement in German-Soviet relations, but that the old mistrust of Germany persists. My overall impression is that the Soviet Government is at present determined to sign with England and France if they fulfil all Soviet wishes." ¹³

If the several impressions of these two able German officials were correct, what were the factors that in the first weeks of August brought Stalin down on the side of those favouring a *détente* with Germany and opposed to an alliance with the West? Contributory factors may have been first, the delay in arrival of the Anglo-French Military Mission (agreed to on 25 July, arrived in Moscow on 11 August)—none of whose members approached in status Marshal Voroshilov, who headed the Russian delegation—and, secondly, the departure of Mr. Strang on 7 August, owing to an alleged great accumulation of work in London, without final agreement having been reached on the definition of indirect aggression. The decisive factor favourable to the Germans, however, would seem to have been Ribbentrop's offer to visit Moscow: in the Soviet Government's official reply Molotov formally stated that "the dispatch of such a distinguished public figure and statesman emphasised the earnestness of the intentions of the German Government," ¹⁴ and Schulenburg for the first time had the impression that the negotiations might succeed. The decisive factors against the Western Powers would appear to have been the revelations afforded by the military discussions—first, the shock of the Western Powers' military weakness,¹⁵ and secondly their inability to reply to Voroshilov's enquiry on the 14th whether Russian troops would be permitted to pass across Polish territory. Even after Schulenburg's communication of the 15th announcing the Ribbentrop offer, Molotov used every weapon in his diplomatic armoury to delay the visit as long as possible in face of great German urgency; and on the 19th, in response to a pressing telegram from Ribbentrop pointing out that conditions on the Polish frontier were so intolerable that hostilities might break out any day, Molotov would only acknowledge the importance of the proposed trip, but would not fix a date even approximately, nor would he discuss the non-aggression pact (of which Ribbentrop had sent a draft) until the economic agreement was "signed and proclaimed and put into effect" ¹⁶ But postponement of a decision was no longer possible. Half an hour after Schulenburg had left the Kremlin he was asked to call again, and Molotov presented him with the draft of a non-aggression pact and said that the Soviet Government agreed to Ribbentrop's visit about a week after the signing of the economic agreement. Evidently Stalin, realising the urgency underlying Ribbentrop's message, had made the decision with or without the advice of Molotov.

It is of course impossible on the available evidence definitely to decide

whether Stalin had made up his mind before this moment or not. He certainly gave his decision before the final Polish answer to Voroshilov's question was received,¹⁷ and Molotov's delaying tactics may have been due merely to a desire to postpone the outbreak of war as long as possible ; but the impression persists that the final decision was not made before the 19th, and that the military aspect was of crucial importance.¹⁸ At the very least we may say that the evidence does not wholly support Mr. Beloff's view that by March 1939 the Soviets considered their " purposes would best be served by some formal arrangement with Germany," and that his statement " the arguments which carried the day in favour of the German offer must have been apparent at least from the moment of the British guarantee to Poland " (p. 228) fails to take into account the military factor.¹⁹

The aims of those Soviet leaders whose policy had now been adopted were two-fold : exploitation of the hostilities among the capitalist powers was not merely the correct way of defending the Soviet Union, but it also created the conditions in which Soviet power could be expanded. The strength of the Soviet Union relative to its potential enemies was moreover greatly increased by the U.S.S.R.'s new and growing military and economic resources : Mr. Beloff states (p. 8) that the Soviet Union's military budget rose from 8 milliard roubles in 1936 to 34 milliards in 1938, while the Army was doubled in size between 1934 and '39, and the Air Force increased by 130 per cent. ; in the economic field, between 1929 and 1939 the annual Soviet production of coal rose from 30 million to 170 million tons, of steel from 4 million to 18 million tons, and of electricity from 5,000 million to 50,000 million kilowatt hours. The strength of the Soviet position was however transformed by the overwhelming successes of Germany in April and May 1940 : the imminent collapse of France impelled the Soviet Union in June to complete the consolidation of the Baltic begun in the previous winter, and to open the second phase of defensive-expansionism in the Black Sea and the Balkans. Once again the author shows the greatest skill in disentangling the complicated criss-cross of threads which formed the material of Nazi-Soviet relations ; but he perhaps fails to bring out with sufficient clarity the aim which seems to have dominated Soviet policy between August 1939 and June 1941—the maintenance of the neutrality of the U.S.S.R. and the expansion of its power while the capitalists fought among themselves. To this policy, which initially brought great gains, no alternative existed because the only other possible policy of co-operation with the West had apparently been proved a failure by the events of 1936–1939.

Soviet relations with Finland perhaps illustrate this policy. The U.S.S.R.'s abrupt conclusion of peace with Finland in March 1940 can only be plausibly explained by the fear that the Western Powers were preparing active intervention : the German Government's instructions to its representatives abroad showed no favour to the Finnish position, and Mr. Beloff's argument that " . . . the administrative and economic

strain had been heavier than justified by the military effort required, and with so much uncertainty on all sides, the Soviet Union clearly required a breathing-space to put its house in order " (p. 310) is not wholly convincing in view of the Red Army's considerable achievements in the last weeks of the war. Public pressure on the British and French Governments to intervene on behalf of Finland was heavy, and military action was being seriously considered in March, ²⁰ Molotov devoted much of his speech on 29 March to an attack on the Western Powers' imperialist policy of hostility towards the Soviet Union, and to a reaffirmation of the Soviet policy of neutrality; Schulenburg considered that the possibility of conflict with the Western Powers " . . . must have been one of the main reasons why the Soviet Government broke off the war against Finland, abandoning the People's Government." ²¹

But if fear of being involved in war with the Western Powers caused the failure of the first attempt to settle the Finnish problem, it was fear of German hostility that prevented the attempt being renewed. In November 1940 Molotov found Hitler firmly opposed to any further Soviet action in Finland, and although the first condition under which, on 25 November, the Soviet Government declared itself willing to enter the proposed Four Power Pact for the division of the world was the withdrawal of German troops from Finland, the documents reveal only one reference to the Finnish question thereafter. Soviet requirements from Finland threatened at one stage to involve her in war with the West, and at another in war with Germany in both cases she preferred not to press her demands.

Although Soviet action was first directed towards the north, Soviet interest in the south was declared from the time of signature of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. On the night of 23 August Stalin asked Ribbentrop what Germany thought about Turkey, and Ribbentrop (according to his report) replied somewhat evasively that the answer of Turkey to the efforts of the Reich for friendly relations had been to join the encirclement pact against Germany. Stalin and Molotov said that they too had experienced Turkish vacillation. ²² But the Western Powers had a far more fundamental interest in Turkey and the Straits than in Finland, and were linked to Turkey by the provisional agreements of 12 May and 23 June 1939. These agreements looked forward to the conclusion of long-term reciprocal pacts between Britain and Turkey and France and Turkey, and in September and October in Moscow Sarajoglu could therefore firmly refuse any demands made by the Soviet Union which might compromise Turkey's independence. The evidence is as yet insufficient to determine how far the Soviet Union followed Germany's wishes in putting pressure on Turkey, or how far she ignored German suggestions; but it is clear that only Anglo-French support of Turkey (formalised in the tripartite treaty of mutual assistance of 19 October) enabled her to resist Soviet demands. As in the case of Finland, however, when Molotov raised the question of the Straits in Berlin in November 1940 he found

that Soviet action was now blocked by Germany as it had previously been prevented by Britain and France. Hitler showed himself willing to revise the Montreux Convention by a German-Italian-Russian-Turkish Conference which should agree on the limitation of passage through the Straits to Russian and Turkish warships, but he frowned on the Soviet desire to settle the Straits question direct with Turkey, and he sidetracked Molotov's rejection of "paper agreements" and demands for "effective guarantees of her security."²³ Presumably the Soviet interpretation of "effective guarantees" is to be found in the second condition contained in the Soviet memorandum of 25 November, "Provided that . . . the security of the Soviet Union in the Straits is assured by . . . the establishment of a base for land and naval forces of the U.S.S.R. within range of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles by means of a long-term lease."²⁴ Once again, therefore, the Soviets failed to achieve the position they desired because of Anglo-French opposition on the first occasion, and because they forbore to press their demands in the face of German opposition when France was defeated and Britain gravely weakened.²⁵

The Soviet determination to avoid embroilment in the war is however perhaps best illustrated by the events of the last few months before the German onslaught. With the exception of the annexation of Bessarabia and North Bukovina, the Soviet Union gained none of her objectives in South-East Europe: from the November 1940 conversations it was clear that Hitler's dreams of partitioning the world among Japan, the U.S.S.R., himself and Italy involved the exclusion of the Soviet Union from Europe and the direction of her interests to Iran and India. The failure of the Soviet attempts to prevent the establishment of German troops and German control in Rumania, and to open up the Danube through control of the delta,²⁶ caused Molotov to direct his main efforts at Berlin to securing German agreement to a Soviet guarantee to Bulgaria. Hitler parried Molotov's insistence by stating that he must consult Italy, and the disaster to Italian arms in Albania gave Hitler the excuse he needed to extend his military control through the Balkans. On 1 March 1941 Bulgaria was induced to join the Tripartite Pact and German troops moved into the country (ostensibly to forestall a British landing in the Balkans through Greece). The Soviet Government temporarily reacted to the German encroachment in regions it had repeatedly designated as in its own sphere of interest by reaffirming the Non-Aggression Pact with Turkey on 25 March and by concluding a similar Pact with Yugoslavia on 6 April—the day Germany attacked Yugoslavia and Greece; but the startlingly rapid and complete success of the German forces in the Balkans caused an abrupt reversion to a cautious policy and an abandonment of formerly-held views about the Balkans. The assumption of the Chairmanship of the Council of Peoples' Commissars by Stalin on 6 May was generally held to signify a last attempt to avoid a breach with Germany; and on 12 May Schulenburg drew attention to subsequent Soviet measures (the Tass denial of alleged strong concentrations of military

forces on the western border of the Soviet Union, the closing of the Embassies of Belgium, Norway and Yugoslavia and the expulsion of Gavrilović, and the opening of diplomatic relations with the new anti-British Government of Rashid Ali in Iraq) to illustrate his conclusion : " I firmly believe that, in an international situation which he considers serious, Stalin has set himself the goal of preserving the Soviet Union from a conflict with Germany." ²⁷

Just a month previously, the neutrality policy had received its clearest affirmation in the Pact signed with Japan on 13 April, which bound the two parties to neutrality in the event of either being involved in war. Japan's rear was secured for an advance against Britain and the United States, but for the U.S.S.R. the Pact not merely guaranteed immunity from attack by Japan (the extent of Matsuoka's concessions showed how far he was willing to go for peace in the north in exchange for a free hand in the south), but it served as an indication to Germany that the Soviet Union was still not afraid to pursue an independent policy serving its own interests. The point was emphasised by *Pravda* (" it is high time that it was realised that the U.S.S.R. follows its own policy, independent and free of all external influence. This policy is determined solely by the interests of the people of the Soviet, the sovereign state, and peace " ²⁸) ; but the occasion of Matsuoka's departure was used for an unprecedented appearance of Stalin to bid him farewell, after which Stalin first publicly asked for Schulenburg and said to him, " We must remain friends and you must now do everything to that end ! " and later turned to the German Acting Military Attaché and said, " We will remain friends with you—in any event ! " ²⁹ Scarcely more plainly could Stalin have shown his desire to avoid being dragged into war in any quarter, while at the same time indicating his readiness to meet a German attack if it came. ³⁰

The chief common interest linking the Soviet Union with Germany during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact was of course their commercial interchanges, and in this field the punctiliousness of Soviet deliveries is sufficient evidence of their desire to avoid conflict with Germany. By the Economic Agreement of 11 February 1940, supplementing that of 19 August 1939, the Soviet Union undertook to deliver large quantities of grain, mineral oil, cotton, phosphates, iron and platinum, these deliveries over twelve months to be compensated by Germany by deliveries over fifteen months. The U.S.S.R. granted rights of transit from and to Rumania, Iran, Afghanistan and the Far East including Manchukuo, and offered to buy for Germany metals and raw materials in third countries, thus defeating the British blockade of Germany. ³¹ A new agreement signed on 10 January 1941 considerably increased the volume of exchanges between the two countries, and apart from a brief period at the beginning of 1941, Soviet deliveries kept to schedule, while the German deliveries of machinery, machine tools and armaments regularly fell behind. The brief Soviet restraint in deliveries in January and February 1941 was fully compensated in March and April, and on 15 May

Schnurre reported, "I am under the impression that we could make economic demands on Moscow which would even go beyond the scope of the treaty of 10 January . . . The quantities of raw materials now contracted for are being delivered punctually by the Russians, despite the heavy burden this imposes on them." ³²

Mr. Beloff's comprehensive and detailed study ends with a wholly admirable analysis of the principles of Soviet foreign policy.³³ It is a pity that this analysis did not inform the work throughout, for in that case its value would have been greatly enhanced: the Nazi-Soviet Pact, to take the example with which this paper is concerned, would then have appeared as merely one among many tactical manoeuvres dictated by the underlying aims and beliefs of Soviet policy. The *soi-disant* proletarian character of the Soviet Union denied the possibility of genuine friendship with any other state in the world, so long as all remained capitalist; and therefore, since any and every state would attack the U.S.S.R. if the situation were deemed sufficiently favourable, the Soviet Union equally could not be expected to be bound by any agreements made on the basis of temporary expediency when observance of such agreements had become no longer expedient. Between 1919 and 1939 the Soviets entered ever more closely into international associations with other countries and to an increasing extent committed themselves to the maintenance of the *status quo*: this policy was necessitated by the internal weakness of the Soviet state, backward and undeveloped in 1917, shattered by anarchy and civil war between 1917 and 1919, and only becoming industrialised by force from above after 1928. In August 1939 the Soviets completely reversed their former tactics while keeping unchanged their strategic aim of promoting the cause of World Communism embodied in the existence and strength of the U.S.S.R.: this reversal was necessitated by the policy of the Western Powers and their allies, and by the evident intention of Hitler to start a war; but it was made possible not only by the irreconcilable opposition between the Axis and the West, but also by the great increase in the military and economic strength of the U.S.S.R. The new policy of co-operation with the expansionist and revisionist powers in order to turn that expansionism away from her own borders, together with the outbreak of war between the revisionist and the *status quo* capitalists, created a situation in which the Soviet Union could safely use her increased power to advance her frontiers, so strengthening her defences and liberating oppressed proletariats in the newly-occupied territories.³⁴ Treaties concluded with the Governments of such territories were naturally ignored, and by the end of June 1940 the frontiers of the former Tsarist Russia had been reached in most regions, and crossed in a few. The paths of advance chosen by the Russian apostles of Communism revealed themselves to be the same as those followed by the Russian Imperialists of the former Tsarist Empire—north towards the Baltic, south-west towards the Balkans and the Straits, south towards Persia and the Persian Gulf.

But the prosecution of the new policy largely depended on the entanglement of the capitalist powers in war with each other, and the collapse of France released the mobilised land forces of the Nazis for the conquest of South-East Europe. Sensible of the benefits already derived from the expansionist policy, doubtful of the wisdom of withdrawal before the Nazis whose appetite grew with feeding, lacking any alternative policy which would not immediately bring the fury of the Nazi hordes upon them, the Soviets endeavoured to maintain their advance in the Balkans while binding the Nazis to them by supplying enormous quantities of materials unobtainable for Germany elsewhere. But this economic bond became itself a further cause for conflict,³⁵ for Hitler always feared dependence on supplies whose source and lines of delivery he did not himself control—that was his justification for a policy of continental, not colonial, expansion. As the struggle in the Balkans sharpened, the Soviets could less afford to yield; by his demeanour in Berlin Molotov destroyed what chance of settlement remained; warnings of invasion and evidence of preparations grew, but still the Soviets held to their policy—protesting over Bulgaria, reaffirming their Pact with Turkey, concluding a new one with Yugoslavia, but continuing and expanding their economic deliveries in the months of April and May. The Pact of Neutrality with Japan represented the Far Eastern counterpart of the European policy, but this agreement was the first since August 1939 from which the Soviets drew no territorial or concrete military advantage. It thereby foreshadowed a reversion to the policy of association against expansionism, a policy dictated by the Nazi threat, and primarily based, as before 1939, on the weakness of the U.S.S.R. relative to the power of the hostile attack.

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¹ Beloff, II, p. 87. ² Cf. p. 153. ³ Cf. p. 219. ⁴ Cf. pp. 228–29.

⁵ Cf. p. 255. ⁶ Cf. p. 211.

⁷ Hitler did in fact try such a manoeuvre. *I*de despatch of Coulondre, *French Yellow Book*, p. 134, quoted Beloff, p. 236.

⁸ Mr. Beloff discounts the effect of this on the negotiations saying “no high Nazi dignitary visited Moscow before Ribbentrop’s arrival for the actual signature of the instrument” (p. 252). But Mr. Churchill has instanced the importance attached by the Soviet leaders to matters of protocol; Mr. Eden offered to go to Moscow, an offer of which the Russians may well have been aware (Churchill, W. S., *The Gathering Storm*, p. 303), and we have the evidence of Molotov’s own statement to Schulenburg that “with regard to the proposed trip of the Reich Foreign Minister . . . the Soviet Government was very gratified by this proposal . . . This stood in noteworthy contrast to England, who, in the person of Strang, had sent only an official of the second class to Moscow.” *Nazi-Soviet Relations*, p. 60 (U.S. Dept. of State, 1948).

⁹ “In restating the readiness of the country to negotiate with Germany before the negotiations with Soviet Russia were completed, the Foreign Secretary ran a slight risk of being misunderstood in Moscow.” *The Times*, 13 June 1939.

¹⁰ The rumour that Chamberlain was still attempting a deal with Germany as late as July 1939 has received documentary backing in the Soviet Government’s publication *Documents and Materials relating to the Eve of the Second World War*, in Vol. II of which are described the contacts of Sir Horace Wilson with the German

Ambassador in London, von Dirksen, as well as the discussions between Mr Hudson and Wohltat. Further details of these negotiations, together with speculation as to their effect on the Soviet Union, are to be found in Dallin, A., *The Month of Decision: German-Soviet Diplomacy July 22-August 22 1939* in *Journal of Central European Affairs*, April 1949.

¹¹ *Nazi-Soviet Relations*, p. 13. On 29 June Hitler decided not to resume economic negotiations with Russia at that time but agreed that the Russians should not be so informed for a few days. (*Ibid.*, p. 25.) The decision was of course never put into effect.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 35

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹⁵ "At the Kremlin, in August 1942, Stalin . . . gave me one aspect of the Soviet position . . . 'How many divisions,' Stalin had asked, 'will France send against Germany on mobilisation?' The answer was 'About a hundred.' He then asked, 'How many will England send?' The answer was: 'Two, and two more later.' 'Ah, two, and two more later,' Stalin had repeated. 'Do you know,' he asked, 'how many divisions we shall have to put on the Russian front if we go to war with Germany?' There was a pause. 'More than three hundred.'" Churchill, W. S., *op. cit.*, p. 305. Stalin was not present at the military discussions, so this account must have been dramatised by one of its reporters, but the gist is no doubt correct. Despite this revelation, the Soviets continued to misjudge the relative strengths of the opposing forces on 2 September the Soviet Ambassador in Warsaw asked Beck why the Polish Government had not taken up Voroshilov's hint to ask the Soviet Union for supplies (Beloff, p. 280), which he would hardly have done had his Government anticipated the speed of the Polish collapse, and in the Soviet Press in May and June 1940 could be detected the surprise and consternation of the Soviet Government at the French debacle.

¹⁶ *Nazi-Soviet Relations*, p. 64.

¹⁷ There is a slight conflict of evidence as to what Poland's answer was, but Mr. Beloff is almost certainly right in his confident belief that the Poles did not agree (p. 271)

¹⁸ The quotation from Churchill in footnote 15 *supra* gives some support to this view.

¹⁹ There is some discussion of this issue in two recent articles, that by Alexander Dallin mentioned in footnote 10 *supra*, and Part I of an article by E. H. Carr entitled "From Munich to Moscow" in the first issue of the new Glasgow journal, *Soviet Studies*, June 1949. Mr Dallin believes "from the tenor of Soviet conversations" that the decision to come to an arrangement with Germany was made at a session of the Politburo not later than the first week in August. This view may overemphasise the element of *Realpolitik* in Soviet policy and underestimate its ideological motivation. The probability of capitalist (Nazi) attack on the U.S.S.R., with or without the Western capitalists' support, was the basic premise of Soviet action: the valuelessness of association with the West as a method of minimising the danger of the attack was only *proved* by the military conversations, though this does not of course preclude an earlier decision. Professor Carr has not yet discussed the matter in detail, but appears to be placing the decision certainly no earlier than Mr. Dallin, and possibly as late as the present writer suggests.

²⁰ Churchill, *op. cit.*, p. 453, and Falls, Cyril, *The Second World War*, p. 35

²¹ *Nazi-Soviet Relations*, p. 136

²² *Ibid.*, p. 73

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 252

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 258

²⁵ Molotov subsequently referred only once (17 January 1941) to the memorandum of 25 November. The "early German reply" which he requested was of course never sent. (*Ibid.*, p. 270.)

²⁶ Beloff, p. 341.

²⁷ *Nazi-Soviet Relations*, pp. 338-39.

²⁸ Quoted in Gafencu, *Prelude to the Russian Campaign*, p. 159.

²⁹ *Nazi-Soviet Relations*, p. 324.

³⁰ In the middle of April Sir Stafford Cripps predicted 22 June as the date of the German attack on the U.S.S.R. Mr Churchill had already sent a warning to Stalin of the imminence of the German onslaught (*The Times*, 23 June 1941), while Sumner Welles had warned Umansky in Washington as early as February, and again on 20 March. (Beloff, p. 358)

³¹ *Nazi-Soviet Relations*, pp. 132-33.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 341, quoted in Beloff, p. 378.

³³ One detail perhaps deserves comment, namely Mr. Beloff's identification on p. 395 of "Marxist" with "believer in the Soviet Union." While it may perhaps now be proper to define "Communist" as "believer in the Soviet Union," many individuals who profess Marxism do not regard the Soviet Government as the apostle of their faith, and would refuse to accept the label "Communist" if it is given this meaning.

³⁴ In June 1940 the seizure of Bessarabia was eulogised in the Soviet Press as "liberating the people from the Capitalist yoke" (Dallin, D. J., *Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy 1939-1942*, p. 240), while the New York *Daily Worker* of 25 July wrote "In some cases Socialism is coming by the independent action of the masses in a given country, in others by decisive help from without . . . the occupation of Poland, Bessarabia and the Baltic countries by the U.S.S.R. is part of this whole development" (quoted in Bullitt, W. C., *The Great Globe Itself*, p. 205).

³⁵ Mr. Beloff refers to the "favourable influence" of economic factors (p. 377), but it seems more probable that the degree of Russian assistance to Germany was more a source of irritation than gratification to Hitler. The case for this point of view is argued in Gafencu, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-74.

The Law of the Soviet State. Edited by Andrei Y. Vyshinsky. Translated from the Russian by Hugh W. Balb. Introduction by John N. Hazard; Macmillan, New York, 1948, \$15.00.

THIS is an important book because, as Professor Hazard says in his Introduction, every Soviet student of government and law reads it, and administrators and jurists use it for reference. It is, in a way, the official account of Soviet public law, and the reader will find in it an authoritative exposition of the ideology behind the constitution and of the historical development of the Soviet system of government as the powers that be wish it to be understood. For practical purposes, though not for the purposes of the historian, the latter is much more important than the actual truth, since it forms the minds of lawyers, administrators and diplomats. Even if it is to a great extent a myth, it may prove to be as important an item of history as the so-called "myth of Magna Carta." Perhaps one ought to take the same view of the garbled references to features in foreign systems of government of which the authors disapprove. They certainly give a wrong impression, and are perhaps wilfully distorted or, more usually, are half-truths taken out of their context, but readers doubtless believe them and, of course, they have no opportunity of correcting them. Thus the feeling of unsuspecting superiority over foreign countries is confirmed, with, as Professor Hazard says, very important effects in diplomatic intercourse. Very much the same may be said of the discussions of the writings of foreign writers on political philosophy. For all these reasons it was assuredly important, and probably necessary, that the book should be translated into English—and well translated under the supervision of one of the greatest foreign students of Soviet law.

For all that, one may wish that it had not been added to the list of books which a well-read student of politics and public law should read. For it is not only abusive and bad-tempered, but extremely repetitive and dull. It is unlikely to convince anyone not already convinced of

the merits of the Soviet system, except perhaps by its references to equality between the sexes and—though I understand that the practice is here in doubtful conformity with theory—between various races and peoples. It is indeed not intended for foreign consumption, but for those who, being already members or adherents of the Communist Party, accept the official doctrine and require only to be instructed in matters of detail and to be fortified in the faith. Thus it does not set out to answer the really awkward questions that a westerner might put, such as, what virtue is there in perfecting the universality of the vote or equality of race and sex in the active conduct of judicial or administrative functions if the whole system is essentially based on appointment from above and subject to “dual responsibility” to a Soviet on the same level and to those above it in the hierarchy; or, more fundamental still, what evidence is there for the validity of Communism itself. It goes without saying that there is no sense of the virtues inherent in toleration, but, on the contrary, a firm conviction that it never in fact exists in other countries. Much of the argumentation is based on the premiss that all governments are actually as authoritarian and partisan in intention as those of the U.S.S.R. The only differences are that they are not so well organised for their purpose and that they hypocritically disguise their true character behind a sham façade of liberalism. The effect is to give to the non-Soviet reader an impression, which is surely not intended, of extreme cynicism. One can only hope that the reality is better and more attractive than the appearance.

A lawyer must find the book profoundly unsatisfactory and uninteresting, even if he is familiar with the only semi-legal character of public law in countries other than the U.S.S.R., and perhaps especially in the United Kingdom. He is accustomed to having to deal with constitutional conventions and the changing habits of political life, with the obscure working of parties and with the details of administrative structure and action. He is even prepared to devote some attention to the foundations that a constitution has in political theory, though anyone who has probed into the metaphysical basis of the American Constitution knows the dangers of approaching a bottomless pit. But he expects some body of neutral principle which will bind, for the time being at least, the various persons engaged in government, whatever the party programme which they are trying to carry out. Constitutional Law in this sense finds its apogee in the American Constitution; and English constitutional law becomes most interesting at the points where what the late Sir Maurice Amos once called the “constitutional conscience” gives something like the guarantees which in the United States are given by constitutional instruments and the courts which apply them. Now nothing of this appears in the book before us. It consists of Communist ideology, a tendentious interpretation of history in accordance with that ideology, and an explanation, in no very great detail, of the organisation of the legislative, administrative and judicial organs of the U.S.S.R. and the

Union and Autonomous Republics comprised in it. It is as if a book on the English Constitution contained nothing but a panegyric on liberty, together with a description of Parliament—only the electoral system, not procedure or *mores*—and of the Government Departments, Local Authorities and Courts. This is perhaps a little unfair, because the book does contain a fairly full discussion of the rights and duties of citizens in the Soviet Union, in which the practised eye will detect—what is indeed admitted—that the rights are in no way guaranteed against the government, but are always subject to abridgement by the authorities. In other words, they never rise to the level of what we should call political liberties.

It would in the nature of things be idle to expect any more from a book on such a subject, for one cannot easily imagine anything comparable to the neutral legal doctrine of a western constitutional system in a regime which uncompromisingly denies the validity of the doctrine of the separation of powers or the possibility of any genuine opposition between the interests of the individual and of the community. Other peoples may feel that ultimately such an opposition does not exist, but for the time being the task of reconciliation exists, and it is a very difficult one. For the Soviet theorist, there is no possible opposition here and now, and there is nothing to reconcile. There seems to be no escape from the conclusion that the Soviet system is a tyranny, no doubt established and conducted honestly in order to put in action a specific body of doctrine, but none the less a tyranny; and for the lawyer all tyrannies are unspeakably dull. Perhaps those who are interested in the problems of business organisation—and from another point of view the Soviet system is essentially a business organisation—may find the book more readable, but I suspect that there is too little detail and too much concealment of the real structure and operation of Soviet government to satisfy such readers.

F. H. LAWSON.

Oxford.

The Handicrafts of Ancient Russia. By B. A. Rybakov; published in Russian by the Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R., 1948, pp. 792. *Kievan Russia.* By Georg Vernadsky; Yale University Press, New Haven, 1948, pp. 412.

MODERN historians understand by the term Kievan Russia the period between the 9th and the 13th centuries. Rybakov's exposition, however, covers a wider field: it extends to the 15th century and deals similarly with the early part of the Muscovite period. It is the first 520 pages which interest us: these are an account of the origins of handicrafts in Russia (4th–8th centuries) and trace their differentiation and development in the period which ends with the Tartar conquest (1223–1240).

In his preface the author touches upon the question of sources and methods of his work. His acute critical approach in his review of the

specialist literature on the subject must be noted as a positive fact, as also the fact that he makes use of many works on the subject, though, unfortunately, by no means exhaustively, which have appeared outside the Soviet Union, as well as pre-revolutionary and Soviet works. Furthermore in his evaluation the author is usually strictly factual which certainly increases the significance of his conclusions.

He has drawn upon vast data and has made use of all the available written sources both Russian and foreign. He has studied inscriptions, illuminated manuscripts and has made use of valuable archæological data : in particular the excavated barrows of the 9th-14th centuries which alone number some 20,000 and data obtained from excavations of the sites of old towns and villages such as Kiev, Belgorod, Vyshgorod, Novgorod Veliky, the city of Reykovetsk, Staraya Ladoga, Dievich-Gora, Pskov, Suzdal', Staraya Riazan', Vladimir-na-Klyazme, Bogolubov, Smolensk, Galich and many others.

In volume, breadth, thoroughness and particularly in the technical approach to archæological data, Rybakov's work surpasses all previous works on the subject, not excluding the classic works of N. P. Kondakov (*Istoria i pamyatniki vizantiiskoy emali*, 1892 ; *Russkiye klady*, I, 1896 ; *Russkiye drevnosti v pamyatnikakh iskusstva*, IV-VI, 1891-1899) and Lubor Niederle (*Slovanské Starožitnosti*, III, 1, *Oddíl-Záměstnání řemeslná*, 1921).

What then is the main thesis of the author of this outstanding work and what is his approach ?

The question of *dating* is one of the most important problems. There are few relics which can be dated precisely (from an inscription or a record in a written source) and the majority of these are the work of master jewellers. The author correctly considers that " the preliminary condition for the dating of archæological collections is the classification of articles according to type " (p. 28). The author employs the method of stratigraphical approach to sequences of type, i.e. P. P. Efimenko's method of statistical classification by types (*Ryazanskie mogil'niki*, *Materialy po etnografii*, 1926, III, *K istorii Zapadnogo Povolzh'ya*, *Sovetskaya archeologiya*, 1937, No. 2) together with A. V. Artsikovskiy's method which is a combination of a strictly typological method with the correlative method applied in Natural Sciences (*Kurgany vyatichy*, 1930). Rybakov does not completely reject stylistic analysis, but he points out its frequent imperfections which, as in the case of A. S. Gushchin, for example, led to a series of gross errors (*Pamyatniki Khudozhestvennogo Remesla Drevney Rusi X-XIII V.V.*, 1936). On the other hand Rybakov correctly points out that an enthusiasm for sociological schemes leads to the repudiation of precise dating and to making general definitions which deprives archæology of factuality, one of its most important attributes.

Rybakov has evolved a new method in Russian archæology for determining whether or not given objects were made at the same time. The method is equally applicable to objects from barrows and from sites of

old towns produced by a similar technique (casting, stamping, etc.). In view of the undoubted significance of Rybakov's method to Russian archæology his own words must be quoted in full: "Amongst a number of articles of one type similar in size, pattern and outline, there can be found articles which have been cast in the same mould or else punched out by the same stamps. To establish this, each and every detail of the articles compared must coincide. Some defect in the casting mould, the slightest quiver of the craftsman's chisel in cutting out the mould ('izlozhnitsa'), may supply the clue as this defect will inevitably be repeated on all castings from the given mould. The preliminary work in searching for identical objects was done with a magnifying glass and calipers, but for the final proof, plaster and plaster-of-Paris casts and microfilms were made. This method is somewhat laborious as it requires the comparison of each article of a given type with every other of the same type. If a signifies the number of articles of a certain type, then we can determine the number of comparisons (x) which must be made, by the formula.

$$x = \frac{(a-1)^2 + (a-1)}{2} \quad (\text{page 29}).$$

The application of this method of the identity of articles cast in the same mould is justified by the comparatively short life of limestone and earthenware casting moulds. The first and last castings from one mould cannot be separated by a period of more than a few years, which means that identical articles were made by the hands of one craftsman, or in any case were made within the limits of one generation. An interesting fact shows how laborious this method is: in order to study 483 examples of the seven-lobed temple ring of the type ascribed to the *vyatichi*, Rybakov had to make 116,403 comparisons.

Similarly he uses all other methods of determining archæological objects.

The determining of the *origin* of objects is also another important question, i.e. whether it is local or foreign. From the times of V. V. Hvoyko and N. F. Belyashevsky's work in the 1890's and from the discovery of individual instruments with Russian inscriptions or with Russian errors in the Greek text, it became clear that Russian handicrafts had made a great contribution to the creation of an archæological inventory. Rybakov applied *cartography* to archæological data. An interesting result was obtained. Distribution maps of raw materials (iron, red slate, amber) and the finished products made from them, together outlined the possible areas in which the corresponding articles were made. The establishment of the fact that surface iron ore was to be found all over the territory of Kievan Russia supports Rybakov's assumption that there was local production.

In Chapter I Rybakov describes the origins, the gradual development and change of cultures on the territory of the future Kievan Russia (4th-8th centuries). He divides it into natural-geographical areas (steppe,

wooded steppe and forest regions) and traces the development of technical practices amongst the population of this territory. Rybakov defines more precisely a certain method of iron working, which is important : at that time iron was not properly smelted, but heated to such temperatures as primitive implements allowed. He does not identify the Eastern European population of all periods with the latest Slavs, but admits that, "in the biological sense, the Slavs of the 8th-9th centuries are perhaps the descendants of the ancient Scythians and of the D'yakov towns" (p. 40), which is explained by the continuance of certain cultural features. In his opinion the Slav stage was clear in the 3rd-4th centuries in the Dnieper area, but only in the 6th-8th centuries in the north-eastern regions.

Rybakov asserts that a number of cultural influences acted on these areas—Greek and Roman (examples of Roman influence being the potter's wheel, enamels, clothing, fibulæ, etc., concluding with a remarkable fact, established by N. T. Byelyaev—*Seminarium Kondakovianum*, I, 1927, Prague—the coincidence of the Roman and Russian dry measures, if these measures are translated into litres). He is particularly critical of De Baye's "Gothic theory," and distinguishes Slav made articles of the 6th-7th centuries, formerly ascribed to the Goths.

Rybakov considers that in the 4th-5th centuries one can speak of a more or less unified Slav "urn field" culture of the Venedi (extending from the left bank of the Dnieper to the Oder and Elbe) : it is to this area that he refers the upper courses of the Desna and Oka. In the 6th century one can speak of the Antes, although undoubtedly very little is known of this period.

Rybakov stresses the cultural role of the Khazar Khanate, which was formed in the 7th and flourished in the 8th century. It is for this reason that the Samanid element in treasure hoards is increased. Probably the composition of the Khazar Khanate in the 8th century included the South-eastern Slav tribes—the Severyanins, Vyatichi, Radimichi and "Warlike Polyanins." The Russian areas acquired articles of Eastern production (textiles, female adornments, chain-mail, head pieces, etc.). The author conjectures that it was the Slav part in the South-eastern Khazar campaigns which opened the road to Tmutarakan for the Slavs and created a link with the Transcaucasus and possibly Central Asia. The problem of Kievan Russia's link with the culture of the Ante-Khazar period, in the first instance, and her deeper Scythian-Sarmatian roots, in the second, are now settled affirmatively, which is explained by the particular maturity of the Dnieper region culture. He emphasises that the increasing role of agriculture in the North in the 7th-8th centuries, "balances in some measure the industrial aspect of the North and South," and shows that craftsmen's villages with several industries sprang up (smithery, casting, pottery, bone-carving and jewellery).

In Chapter II, "Rural Handicrafts of the 9th-13th Centuries," he describes smithery, proving that the craftsmen knew all the most

important methods such as welding, torsion, hole-punching, riveting and tempering of steel. Axes, sickles, scythes, ploughshares, pikes, hammers and locks, etc., were made. Jewellery was widely known. Amongst the technical methods of the Ancient Russian craftsmen, Rybakov gives pride of place to casting. Moreover, in casting an earthenware mould was often used, but stone moulds have also been found and some casting was done by wax models. In the making of pottery, which was widely practised, he distinguishes three types of potter's wheel—the light hand wheel, the heavy hand wheel and the pedal wheel.

On the subject of the controversy, started in the sixties and renewed in 1902 by V. I. Sizov, over the significance of the enigmatic signs (circles, crosses, stars, etc.) found on the bottom of vessels, Rybakov follows A. Kotlyarevsky and A. S. Uvarov, rejecting the religious symbolical explanation of these signs and coming to the conclusion that they are merely craftsmen's trade-marks. Moreover he asserts that the production of individual potters was very small.

The author concludes with well-founded opinions on the difficulty of distinguishing, before the 15th century, carpentry, shoe-making, tailoring, tanning, cooperage, weaving, etc., as practised professionally by craftsmen in the natural rural economy of that period. These can only be described from the 15th century and therefore the author confines himself to a summary of information on instruments and methods used in these branches of domestic crafts.

In Chapter III, "Town Handicrafts of the 9th-13th Centuries," Rybakov reviews smithery, lock-smithery and the making of arms. He analyses the equipment, instruments and furnaces of town forges, and has a particularly high opinion of the Reykovetz furnace. The articles made in the forges were: agricultural implements, craftsmen's tools, articles in daily use such as nails, knives, rings, needles, scales and so on, and arms, armour and harness. Evidence of traces of file work is emphasised. It is remarkable that the obscure term "харалужный" to be found in the much-disputed "Slovo o Polku Igoreve" is explained as being a process of tempering steel by air. The phrase in the "Slovo"—"Вжестоцем харадузе скована, а в зюестя закалена"—becomes understandable: "харалуз"—flame, making red hot; "Буестб"—a gust of violent wind, i.e. "forged in the harsh flame, tempered by the tempestuous wind."

The working of copper, silver and gold in ancient Russia is best known—mainly through the monumental researches of N. P. Kondakov. Rybakov asserts that the famous Russian treasures correspond to the line of movement of the Baty Tartars; exceptions to this are a few silver treasures and coins, which the owners concealed in the earth from their neighbours. Rybakov justly rejects the method of dating by deduction, which is to be found in the works of certain contemporary Russian authors, and gives an account of the history of jewellery in this period. He comes to the following conclusions: (1) from the 9th-10th

centuries, casting by a wax model was applied for the making of intricate articles (with the loss of the mould); (2) in the 9th-11th centuries a method of casting by a flat wax model in a one-sided earthenware mould was used for fine work; (3) casting in flat *two-sided* moulds appeared probably in the 12th century; (4) in the 11th century stone moulds emerged; (5) in the 12th century casting moulds of solid layers of stone appeared and with their aid craftsmen imitated the intricate technique of court jewellers; (6) work on casting silver and its alloys was usually linked with other technical practices (embossing, niello, gold grain work, filigree). Only copper was cast without additional working.

Rybakov makes a sensational discovery that the famous arches of the old town of Vshchizhsky, considered to be clearly of Romanesque origin, are Russian work of the 12th-century "craftsman Constantine."

An investigation of the forging and chasing of non-ferrous metals, leads him to the conclusions that the forging of copper, silver and gold (both hot and cold) was widely practised; that chasing was similarly well known; and that the art of relief embossing developed from the 11th century.

The impressing and stamping of silver and gold can be dated from the 10th century and shows a gradual complication of technique. Niello, gilding and incrustation leads Rybakov to the assertion that Russian jewellers, having created a new type of gilding technique (gold amalgam on copper) even surpassed their Tsargrad, Italian and Rhenish contemporaries.

An investigation of wire, filigree and gold grain work convinces Rybakov of their Russian origin, although eastern patterns often served as prototypes and thus the theories, by which all the 9th-10th century silver and gold ornaments were purchased, have become groundless.

He describes in detail pottery in the towns and thinks there must have been furnaces for the kilning of utensils by the end of the 10th to the beginning of the 11th century, although the furnaces known to archæologists are of the 12th-13th centuries. Certain types of furnace date from Roman times and, in the Black Sea area, even from the Hellenic period. Potters produced not only domestic utensils, but also toys. Brick baking became known, either through Byzantine towns, such as Kherson or Khazar Khanate, or possibly Danubian Bulgaria. Brick baking is known in Kievan Russia only from the Christian period. Multi-coloured glazed ceramics, decorative tiles, coloured toys and domestic utensils were widely developed. Rybakov deciphers the inscription of an 11th-century potter on the fragment of a vessel, which links the name of the vessel with a type of pitcher for wine and honey.

Dealing with enamels, Rybakov tries to prove that this highest branch of the jeweller's art was perhaps practised in Kiev by the 9th-10th centuries. In the 11th-12th centuries enamelling flourished in Kiev and appeared in Vladimir, Riazan and possibly Chernigov and Polotsk,

but after the Tartar invasion enamel work was continued only in the Galician-Volynian principality. The making of glass in Russia was an exclusive town handicraft and goes back to the second half of the 10th century.

He summarises the data on tanning and tailoring (a 12th-century tanner's workshop was unearthed in Novgorod), weaving and the making of books (book-writing workshops existed in Novgorod from the end of the 11th century). He investigates with great care the utilisation of wood, giving a valuable general picture of the data and a résumé of information on bone work. A curious detail is the fact that chess was evidently known in Russia by the 9th century. In the 11th-13th centuries the church persecuted chess-players, threatening them with excommunication!

Russian stone-masonry attained its highest level of development in Suzdalian Russia in the 12th-13th centuries (the Dmitrievsky and Iurievsky Cathedrals). Rybakov makes the suggestion that stone carving was brought to the Galician principality by craftsmen fleeing from the Tartars. Millstones and grinding stones were made and, in addition, beads, ikons, small crucifixes, casting moulds, etc. A short summary on building is included.

Rybakov considers that, if Kiev and other towns of the Central Dnieper region led in handicrafts in the 9th-10th centuries, then in the 12th-13th centuries cultural advances created other Russian centres; handicrafts advanced, as for example, in Vladimir, Riazan, Novgorod, Galich, Polotsk and elsewhere.

In Chapter IV, "The Marketing of Products in the 9th-13th Centuries," Rybakov comes to the following new conclusions:

- (1) Rural craftsmen worked to order, their products spread over an area with a radius of 10-20 km.;
- (2) The area of sale for town craftsmen had a radius of 50-100 km.; they worked partly to order (for the boyars and the "druzhiniks");
- (3) Some of the town craftsmen (of Kiev, Smolensk, Novgorod and others) sold their products on the market (in particular Kievan champlevé production and glass bracelets), the area of sale was 1,400 km.;
- (4) In the 11th century there arises, in settlements near Ovruch, a rural domestic craft industry of slate bobbins ("priaslitsa"), the area of sale being all the Russian lands and Bulgaria, Kherson and Poland.
- (5) Articles manufactured by Russian craftsmen were exported to the Volga region of Bulgaria, to the Black Sea area, Bohemia and Moravia, Poland, the Baltic Slavs and Sweden, and thus Russian handicrafts exerted their influence on production in a number of Western Slav regions.

In Chapter V, "Craftsmen of the 9th-13th Centuries," Rybakov

gives an analysis of groups of craftsmen, their social position and professional ties. He divides craftsmen into the following categories: (1) rural, (2) patrimonial, (3) municipal. The superiority of free town handicrafts becomes apparent in the 12th-13th centuries and the list of craftsmen's individual handicrafts, drawn up by the author, is valuable.

Rybakov's general approach, which he systematically stresses, is clear; it is aimed at proving that Russian culture has deep roots and that the claims of adherents to the Norseman theory, who consider that everything began in Russia with the advent of the Variags, have no foundations in objects of material culture; and so he writes: "it was not the Norsemen, who only appeared here in the 9th century, who were the creators of Kievan Russian culture: it was, on the contrary, the flourishing of the Dnieper region in the 7th-8th centuries, its links with Byzantium, Iran and the Arabs, its own high culture, which determined the centre of gravity of the Variag campaigns from the second half of the 9th century" (pp. 114-15). This anti-Normanist trend has long been gaining ground in historical science and not only amongst Soviet scholars. In a recent book, *Historical Survey of Russian Culture*, part I, published in Russian in New York, 1947, V. A. Riasanovsky attacked the "Norseman theory" which was defended in 1931 by V. A. Moshin in two articles published in Russian, "The Beginning of Russia: The Norsemen in Eastern Europe," *Byzantinoslavica*, III, 1931, Prague, and "The Variag Russian Question," *Slavia*, 1931, Prague. In principle Riasanovsky's conclusions are in agreement with Rybakov. N. P. Kondakov rejected on concrete data "the influence of the Variags" and was the first to put the study of Russian antiquities on a solid foundation of data relating to the Scythian-Sarmatian period, the period of transigrations and the Byzantine period.

Rybakov's denial of Norseman influence on ancient Russian culture would have been more convincing had he referred to Scandinavian antiquities found on Russian territory. He only vaguely mentions "an insignificant number of exclusively Variag burial mounds" in Russia. But A. V. Artsikhovskiy ("The Russian Druzhina according to Archaeological Data," *Istorič-Marksist*, 1939, No. 1) admits, nevertheless, that amongst the famous Gnezdovo barrows, "there are several barrows which are identical with the Swedish Melar barrows. The Norsemen-Druzhins were actually buried here" (p. 193). Silver articles in the Gnezdovo treasures, the Nievel treasure and the finds in Staraya Ladoga undoubtedly testify to the presence of Scandinavian articles, probably of the 10th century. Unfortunately, when referring to the works of archaeologists, which describe these articles and admit certain Scandinavian influence on ancient Russia, Rybakov does not, in the present instance, develop a concrete criticism of them. His silence is annoying. For the sake of clarity he should have analysed this in the manner in which he analysed the Gothic theory.

Rybakov's great service lies in the fact that he has summarised the vast amount of information on Soviet excavations and has given a complete, critical and, on the whole, unexaggerated picture of the growth of material culture in "Kievan Russia." It must, however, be said that in spite of a series of masterly analyses and a display of erudite knowledge of archaeological data and written sources, the reader is left with several doubts. In spite of all the author's provisos, the criterion for dividing barrow data into town and rural sections is nevertheless not clear; for this reason the whole chapter on rural handicrafts is somewhat conditional. It would be a pity if, involuntarily of course, he had modernised his definitions. Can data from contemporary ethnography always prove historical data? For example, after all Rybakov's proofs, the author of this review, who formerly considered, in accordance with Uvarov, the signs on pottery to be trade marks, now suspects that possibly, at that period, they were sacramental signs, which would be justified both by the dual faith of the craftsmen and the strange rarity of these trade signs on ceramics, as pointed out by Rybakov and also, to some extent, by their individuality. We imagine that such might have been the *origin* of personal possession signs in general. It is undoubtedly strange, as Rybakov himself remarks on page 363, that "ancient Russian potters were the only craftsmen who *widely* employed the trade marking of manufactured articles." But who then, of the ancient Russian craftsmen, used these marks on a *limited* scale? Apparently Rybakov could not name such craftsmen. Analogies with the 19th and 20th centuries can give no explanation, for the meaning of these sacramental signs has been gradually lost. Thus, in spite of all Rybakov's arguments, the question of pottery signs remains, as before, problematical. Indirectly too his deciphering of an 11th-century inscription on a fragment of pottery gives rise to the thought that the wish "that the vessel when filled should be blessed," is also an echo of these sacramental tendencies.

We note that Rybakov's criticism of De Baye's "Gothic theory" should be supplemented by the author by works published on that subject outside the U.S.S.R. since 1922, for not a single publication outside the U.S.S.R. after that date is mentioned. In actual fact De Baye's views have long since been abandoned. Attempts were made to resurrect them in Germany during the war, but who can seriously pay any attention to Nazi distortions? Rybakov himself says (p. 46) that "the works of Rostovtsev and Kondakov have established the Sarmatian, Black Sea area origin of the style which they linked with the Goths." For this very reason Rybakov's views on this subject are of great interest, for are they not following a publicist rather than a scientific line?

It is regrettable that he has quoted foreign authors and publications comparatively rarely (for example, no mention is made even of Professor Sir E. H. Minns' classic work on the Scythians). Unfortunately there is no reference to the works published by the Kondakov Institute and the State Archaeological Institute, Prague, 1930-1931, on Byzantine

enamels on the Zavish cross in Vyšším Brodě, which would have given support to his theory, in the section on enamels.

B. A. Rybakov's book, in its application to questions of Russian history, is unquestionably exceptionally useful. The theories on "the commercial development" of ancient Russia are characteristic of many Russian historians (from V. O. Kluhevsky and Dovnar-Zapolsky, Kulisher, Rozhkov, Pokrovsky, Liaschenko to G. V. Vernadsky). At all events, they correct the misconceptions about trading in their explanations of the growth of Kievan Russia.

The work could be called social archæology, in that it attempts, on the basis, and with the aid of, archæological data, to explain the cultural and social processes of ancient Kievan Russia.

It is a great pity that there are no indices and few maps, references to maps in old and rare publications are, in reality, of no help in following his arguments.

B. A. Rybakov's book is written in Russian and, moreover, on a complicated archæological subject; it was therefore necessary to give a short characterisation of its themes and contents. The book of Professor G. Vernadsky, Professor of Yale University, New Haven, U.S.A., is printed in English and is widely known in Western circles interested in Slavonic history; there is therefore no need to summarise its contents, it is only necessary to characterise the author's conception.

The problems connected with the history of Kievan Russia and its culture have led to a revaluation of historical data related to this period, during the past thirty years. Moreover, owing to the specific circumstances of the development of Russia, the method of dealing with the historical problems of Kievan Russia has often been bound up with the various points of view and, more especially, the diverse ideological political attitudes taken by historians.

In these conditions the appearance of Vernadsky's collated work *Kievan Russia*, one of the 10 volumes of Vernadsky and Karpovich's *History of Russia*, arouses particular interest as an attempt to pick a nucleus of truly valuable scientific deductions from the several "ideological works" in which, unfortunately, scientific truth has been sacrificed to a political line. Furthermore, the author, who is himself one of the initiators and creators of Eurasianism, which passed as a most singular phenomenon into the annals of the development of Russian historical views, has abandoned the initial exaggerations of his Eurasian thesis in the course of his researches and, with his excellent knowledge of all the latest works on the subject of the book under review, he proves himself to be one of the most competent contemporary historians dealing with the problems of ancient Russia. As Professor Vernadsky himself wrote, "I have therefore had to offer my own interpretations of many aspects of Russian history of that period." In fact this book represents an organic whole which does not present a purely mechanical sequence

of historical facts but a complete conception of Russian history in the Kiev period.

Of late Professor Vernadsky himself, together with other Russian historians outside the U.S.S.R., has been subjected to attacks in the Soviet press (cf. in particular the editorial in the leading Soviet historical journal, *Historical Questions*, No. 2, 1949) which rank these historians with "the homeless cosmopolitans" who are, it is alleged, consciously trying to lower the national and cultural significance of Russia. This accusation is unjust. When Eurasian works first began to appear (the twenties and the beginning of thirties) the Eurasians (numbering amongst them Professor Vernadsky), were carried away by Mongolianism, i.e. a certain idealisation of the steppe peoples and also the Tartars. Considering the general plan of development of Russian historical science, these Eastern sympathies were fruitful. They led historians to review and revalue the basic factors of Russian history. Questions of influences, the geographical factor, the study of centres of development, geo-political conformities to established laws in the country's development, the question of the singularity of the gigantic "Ocean-Continent," Eurasia, i.e. Russia itself, placed problems of the national creations of the Russian peoples in a different light, not as they had been understood by the liberal western tradition of Russian historians or M. N. Pokrovsky's School of "Economic Materialism." The outcome of this was that the extremes in the Eurasian theory diminished. Taking as an example Professor Vernadsky's works, and *Kievan Russia* in particular, it is evident that on the basis of the Eurasian attitude to Russian history, the author comes to conclusions based on contemporary historical science, including the works of Soviet scholars.

Vernadsky's conception cannot be called narrow—it tries to be objective and to give an accurate picture of Kievan Russian development.

The basic theses of Eurasianism are reflected in the present work, in which the author clearly sees that Kievan Russia, by virtue of the whole combination of the factors of her history, was in actual fact an Empire. The picture he draws of all those complications which stood in the way of the creators of the "Rurik Power" is on the whole convincing. Furthermore he avoids the temptation to idealise the events of the Kiev period and to describe a monolithic Slav state in that period; no, this unity was brought about gradually, by strife, where the lion's share of success fell to the Orthodox Church, which gave the Russian State an ideology. But the periods of genuine unity were brief—the growth in importance of separate regions, the internecine struggle of the Princes, fear of neighbours, the "Rurik Empire's" ethnically complex population—all these were elements which impeded the stability of the huge state.

He emphasises the role of the towns. His collated characteristics of the Economic Foundations of Kievan Russia, Social Organisation, Government and Administration, Russian Civilisation and the ways of

life, give a sufficiently complete impression of the development of different aspects of life in Kievan Russia. Furthermore, it should be noted to Vernadsky's credit that he usually remembers that his book is addressed to non-Russian readers. It is for this reason that his opening and closing chapters, "Kievan Russia's Place in History" and "Russia and the Outside World in the Kiev Period," are especially appropriate. In the author's exposition it is clearly seen that the exaggerations of the Norseman theory are now an anachronism (incidentally his proof of Princess Olga's Slav origin is convincing), at the same time he describes convincingly the part played by the Scandinavian druzhins in consolidating the power of the Ruriks.

Amongst other problems raised by Vernadsky, his dispute with B. D. Grekov and other Soviet scholars over feudalism is important. In Grekov's opinion feudalism existed in Kievan Russia, but Vernadsky is justly sceptical of such an interpretation of the data. The author similarly disagrees with Grekov, in that he does not define the cultural character of the Kievan State as primarily agricultural; he considers that the significance of foreign trade in her development cannot be denied. It would seem that, in this instance, owing to the appearance of Rybakov's work he must review certain of his theses. At all events, in the light of Rybakov's analyses, as is shown above, the trading theory is no longer convincing. Similarly, Rybakov's work adds many new facts to the question of Kievan Russia's communications and links with the outside world.

The author's views on the christianisation of Russia are interesting. He contests Priselskov's suggestion, that Russia accepted Christianity through the agency of the Bulgarian Ochrid patriarchy and defends the direct Byzantine source of Russian Orthodoxy. He puts forward considerations in defence of his suggestion on the importance of the Tmutarakan See in the nebulous and enigmatic period of the Russian Church's administration between 990-1037. Unfortunately he does not analyse the theses of Priselskov's supporters. They have a strong case in the fact that the majority of Russian written records originated in Bulgaria. S. Vladimir's sons were christened Roman and David in honour of members of the Bulgarian dynasty. In 1020 the relics of Boris and Gleb were canonised in the presence of the Bulgarian archbishop. These examples and others indicate Kievan Russia's close connections with Bulgaria at this time. The question is still left open, as is shown by the summaries given, for example, in P. E. Kovalevsky's book, published in Russian, *The Historical Path of Russia*, I, p. 17, 1946, or in the same author's work, *Manuel d'Histoire Russe*, 1948, pp. 43-50. Similarly, in H. Koch's "Byzanz, Ochrid und Kiev," *Kyrios*, No. 3, 1938. (Incidentally the last-named work is not mentioned by Vernadsky.)

The author has obviously marshalled a large number of facts which on the whole convince the reader. However, reservations must be made on two points. The general one is that the author at times modernises

his terminology. For example, he sometimes uses the latest terms: the Ukraine, when speaking of the areas covering the Southern and South-western principalities; Latvia, when speaking of the Baltic region of the Gulf of Riga. The term Ukraine, however, appears in this sense in the 16th-18th centuries (M. Krushevsky, *Ocherk istorii Ukrainnskogo Naroda*, p. 197, 1904; D. Doroshenko, *Naris istorii Ukraini*, I, p. 19, 1932) and the term Latvia is of still later origin.

On page 215, describing the opposition of the Kievan population to Prince Jurii Dolgoruky's Suzdalian boyars, the author remarks that this is the first manifestation of Russo-Ukrainian rivalry. This conclusion can be contested. The struggle, in that period, between the Suzdalians and the Kievan population, did not have an ethnic character. Even the campaign in 1169 of Suzdalian Prince Andrei Bogoliubsky, who plundered Kiev, cannot be conceived in this sense. In 1170 the same Andrei marched against Novgorod; the Novgorod inhabitants repelled him. At this time regional feelings flared up and it was not for nothing that this struggle between Novgorod and Suzdal was reflected on ikons. In 1203 Kiev was devastated by the Chernigov princes who brought the Polovtsi with them. These together with many other analogous facts were mainly the manifestation of the internecine warfare between the Princes, at times complicated by regional egoisms and based, as Vernadsky justly remarks, on a struggle of economic interests. If we look straight at the facts the beginning of ethnic rivalry or divergence cannot be seen in these events of the 12th century.

Both these books, by B. A. Rybakov and G. V. Vernadsky, show that the study of Kievan Russia is by no means exhausted. Vernadsky's conception and Rybakov's analyses indicate that historical science still has before it a multitude of unsolved problems. Undoubtedly both works will arouse and increase interest in Kievan Russia.

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In Defence of Materialism (The Development of the Monist View of History). By G. V. Plekhanov. Translated by Andrew Rothstein; Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1947, pp. 303, 18s.

GEORGI VALENTINOVICH PLEKHANOV was the founder of the Russian Social Democratic Party, and the most influential figure in its history. He found his true faith relatively early in life, when he was converted from Populism to Marxism, and thereafter developed a capacity for applying it both to theory and practice in a manner which set him off from other European Socialists (not to speak of the handful of Russians) as a bold, independent and exact-minded thinker. He was a man of acute, fastidious, and fearless intellect, and uncompromising and often violent moral feeling; he was remarkably well read, even for a Russian doctrinaire, and possessed a disciplined mind and great talent as a writer. Both in the quality of his temperament, and in the position which he

occupied, whether *vis-à-vis* his countrymen or left wing movements in Western Europe, he was the only true heir of Alexander Herzen. These unique gifts Plekhanov combined with sanity, a clear head, a sense of proportion, and an exceptional capacity for organisation. It is to him, more than to his friends Axelrod and Vera Zassulich, that Russian Marxism as an organised movement owes its existence. His works, and his influence (as his disciple Lenin in effect acknowledged), became, to a degree scarcely smaller than those of Marx and Engels themselves, the foundations upon which Russian Socialism was built. At all the Party Congresses he was the unquestioned intellectual authority, the formidable, remorseless, venerated "professor," whose mordant tongue and air of disdainful superiority his associates, even the indomitable Trotsky (whom he disliked), seemed to find somewhat disconcerting, and even a little frightening.

Plekhanov made his choice when he was in his twenties, and his intellectual output, which was considerable, remained (until almost the end, when he composed a noble monument of historical scholarship) directed to one single, central, all-absorbing purpose: the inculcation of the Marxist method of theory and action, equally of understanding and making history among the growing body of Russian socialist intellectuals and industrial workers who composed that revolutionary force which, Plekhanov was convinced, was the revolutionary instrument specially chosen by history for the overthrow of the Old World and the building of the New.

A thesis endlessly repeated is apt to produce tedium in the audience, however true, profound and important its message may be; and indeed the readers of Lenin's collected works—not to speak of those of his successors—may be excused if they sometimes nod to the dull ticking of the monotonously-rehearsed doctrine. Plekhanov, schoolmaster as he was, never bored his audience, because of the variety and brilliance in style, the endless forms which his ironical imagination took, the ease and elegance of his luminous prose, but above all because of the breadth of his interests, and the arresting quality of his ideas. His historical treatises, polemical as their purpose for the most part was (intended as they were to act at once as primers, pamphlets and revolutionary manifestos) are striking examples of these very rare and attractive qualities. His *métier* was the relating of the growth of social institutions to the development of ideas; this interplay he analysed by using the Marxist canons of the "historical dialectic" in a very fresh and comparatively untried fashion, achieving thereby the beginnings of that new method of historical analysis which Marx and in particular Engels had promised but not fully possessed.

The volume under review is the earliest and one of the most spirited examples of the new invention in action. Like all Plekhanov's studies of his favourite thinkers, it is animated by the thesis that, whatever their errors, they were men who had fought in a cause dear to the author;

and his accounts of their lives and opinions are held together and given direction by a unifying pattern of thought and feeling, which more scholarly, detached, carefully balanced studies sometimes conspicuously lack. To Plekhanov such writers as Helvetius and Holbach, St. Simon and Fourier, Thierry and Mignet were not merely sociologists or historians of genius but also heroes and martyrs in the war for truth and freedom—the war of whose final outcome he had, until the very end of his life, not the slightest doubt. These great and noble pioneers were doubtless excessively one-sided, often profoundly mistaken, sometimes blind to issues of primary importance, and above all without the benefit of either Hegel (whom Plekhanov worshipped for all his regrettable spiritualism) or—what was worse—of Marx, and were thus “pre-scientific” and naive. Yet they were spreaders of light, at times flickering and intermittent but nevertheless light, in the far greater darkness of their times without them the great final revelation might have been far longer delayed. Plekhanov’s chapters on them possess a sharp and discriminating intellectual enthusiasm, and a triumphant sense of the unconquerable powers of reason once it is unleashed, which is itself reminiscent of the heroes celebrated in them—the youthful Herzen and beyond him the Encyclopædists themselves. Because, for all its learning and reverence for German scholarship, Plekhanov’s writing possessed the first hand, non-derivative quality of an innovator of the first order, it had a profoundly liberating influence on two generations of Russian intellectuals: to them it offered a new historical vista—the familiar facts boldly re-interpreted and thereby transformed—and so came close to giving them a new awareness of the revolution in which they were involved, as Hegel had once done for the Germans, and Michelet or the positivists for the French; and thereby opened a window into what seemed a new moral and intellectual universe.

Belinsky and Chernyshevsky had of course done something of this, far less systematically, for an earlier generation of Russians: by violently stirring the moral emotions they had moved young men to reform or revolution in the name of freshly discovered truths, of the new, movingly, but often very haphazardly and crudely formulated “materialistic” sociological principles. The generous enthusiasm of the sixties and seventies had since that day been crushed effectively by the police, the *revolté* young men had been broken, scattered, and above all dispirited by the lack of response, and indeed by suspicion and open hostility, on the part of the “uncorrupt” peasant masses—the “elemental forces” to which they had gone to draw inspiration and power with which to build the new life. Plekhanov himself had obtained his training as a revolutionary among these passionate radicals, whose extreme wing consisted of those idealistic anarchists and terrorists whose blindness to the “objective” social and economic factors had finally forced him to search for the light in a new direction. His conversion came at a moment of acute depression in the left wing camp, and many of its survivors found

unexpected support in the structure of his all-embracing, systematic, heavily fortified Marxist fortress, which offered them the double advantage of being at once a more formidable bulwark than the ramshackle defences of earlier Radicalism, and of exposing its adherents to less immediate peril. In addition to a heavily theoretical, thoroughly academic air, it also advocated the education of the masses as the foundation for all further construction—almost gradualist “penetration” in preference to individual terrorism; pointing out (to the satisfaction of respectable persons) the futility and waste brought about by the old and the dagger of the old-fashioned romantic, Utopian, unclass-conscious, “idealistic” assassin.

The clumsy title under which the treatise translated by Mr. Rothstein was published was given it deliberately in order to avoid the attentions of the Russian censorship, as the translator relates in his preface, this ruse succeeded, and it duly became one of the basic texts of revolutionary Marxism in Russia. The work is divided into several sections. It begins with a cursory but vivid sketch of the early French materialists, followed by their successors, the Utopian Socialists and St. Simonian social historians; after this it gets into its stride and begins to wield the powerful weapons forged by Marx and Engels to destroy the “Populist delusions” of such contemporary publicists as Mikhailovsky and “V. V.” (Vorontsov). The argument is not always either conspicuously fair or logically flawless, but it advances with immense verve and is a splendid piece of derisive pamphleteering. Mikhailovsky clearly had some ground for just indignation, since the validity of some of his criticisms of Marxism and historical materialism cannot be wholly concealed even in the brilliant caricatures of Plekhanov.

Nevertheless, despite these intrinsic merits, some kind of historical introduction is needed to throw light for the English-speaking public upon the context, the historical atmosphere, the opponents against whom it was directed and the subsequent history of its influence. Mr. Rothstein has unfortunately provided something rather different from this: his introduction is a faithful reproduction of the present Soviet party line: and according to this line there are two Plekhanovs—the good Plekhanov who rescued the left wing Russian intelligentsia from the morass of populist and Bakuninist sentimentality and error, and was its wise and intrepid leader until the rise of Lenin, of whom he was the fore-runner, and Baptist; and the “other” Plekhanov, who, after Lenin’s appearance abroad, rapidly loses his virtue. The fatal year 1903 proves his undoing; thenceforth he deviates and errs and turns into a false prophet in direct proportion as he fails to see the light to which Lenin points. From time to time what Mr. Rothstein likes to call the “old” Plekhanov—Dr. Jekyll—reasserts himself: this, however, occurs only on those rare occasions when he and Lenin find themselves co-operating against some common foe; more often he turns out to be a sorry travesty of his former brave and brilliant self.

Only on the assumption that Lenin was never wrong, and that nothing he did or wished to do was ever bad or even short-sighted, does this theory of the two Plekhanovs become intelligible. Unless the rigid yardstick of pure Bolshevik orthodoxy, as provided by the *Shorter History of the Communist Party*, is applied to Plekhanov's highly individual and, for all its doctrinaire quality, essentially humane and civilised thought, the lapses from grace, which Mr. Rothstein records with a certain sadness, are not perceptible. There is no noticeable inconsistency in Plekhanov's position between 1903 and 1910, or, for that matter, in 1917. Mr. Rothstein, following his masters, implies that the principal difference between Plekhanov and Lenin was that the former believed in co-operation with Liberals, whereas the latter stressed the necessity of alliance with the peasants. Plekhanov did, of course, believe in a greater degree of collaboration with the radical Liberals of the Left, whom he fundamentally liked no more than did Lenin, than the Leninites, but in 1903-1904 that was not the central issue. Mr. Rothstein need only look at the documents of the Party, or at the very fair and detailed, if sometimes almost too self-consciously pro-Bolshevik, summary of them provided by the late Theodore Dan, to see that the issue was in the first place strategic, organisational, and to a large degree a matter of differing temperaments—an issue between "hard" and "soft" methods of Party tactics and Party organisation—and not, at least consciously, a disagreement either on ideology or the analysis of and prediction of events; nor did it turn mainly upon the peasant question, however great the political insight which Lenin, as compared to his rivals, in fact displayed on that occasion.

The differences which divided Plekhanov from Lenin and other Bolsheviks were indeed deeply irreconcilable, and sometimes doctrinal, but there was at least one further reason, not altogether surprisingly omitted by Mr. Rothstein. Plekhanov's moral values, his code of personal behaviour, as opposed to his political and social and economic beliefs, were those of the great 19th-century champions of human freedom—Michelet, Mazzini, Herzen, Chernyshevsky—and Lenin's were not. For all his sharp phrases at the Congress of 1903 and his, at times, harsh or sardonic moods, Plekhanov detested brutality and cynicism, however disinterested, "realistic" or fearless. Two luminaries can evidently not shine long together in one firmament, particularly if the quality and source of their light is so profoundly dissimilar. Plekhanov derived from Belinski, Herzen, and the humane and civilised European Radicals, Lenin from Marx, Zhelyabov, Chernyshevsky—and, perhaps, Boris Godunov. Lenin, who was, above all, not a jealous or mean-minded man, always, even at the height of their bitter quarrels, gave Plekhanov (just as he gave Martov) something like his due; nevertheless, Lenin's victory made a just assessment of his master, particularly of his last phase, something politically impossible in his native country and for historical reasons the validity of which Mr. Rothstein appears to accept.

So much for Mr. Rothstein's own commentary as for his translation it is a valuable contribution to the dissemination of knowledge. It is very competent, though somewhat flat in style, which is more devastating to a sensitive and brilliant writer like Plekhanov with an acute sense of language, than, for example, to the sledge-hammer prose of Lenin. We get at fairly frequent intervals such typical translator's English as "What a change, with God's help!" (p. 70) "Amusing people!" (p. 71). "[No-one] as they say, pricked up an ear" (p. 75). The English for "proklyatyie voprosy" is scarcely "damned questions," nor is "theoretical property" the equivalent of "property rights in the field of theory." There is little attempt at scholarship. A misquotation from Goethe is left uncorrected and unattributed, Chernishevsky is described in a footnote as guilty of the charges brought against him by the Tsarist police without mention of the almost conclusive evidence gathered by Soviet and pre-Soviet scholars to show that the police had forged their "documentation"; so that the police are whitewashed because Chernishevsky must be made to appear more "activist" than he was. There are other and similar ironies of the changing party line. But these blemishes are not fatal to a work whose importance is in the first place that of an historical document. Cautiously, therefore, as the translator's comments should be treated by a reader still attracted to the ideal of "objective" truth and scholarship, his translation does something to remedy that accident of language which has concealed much of the most arresting work of Russian thinkers from Western eyes.

Lenin won, and Plekhanov lost and knew that he had lost. One of his friends has recently told the story of how in the autumn of 1917, when Plekhanov was in Moscow after forty years' exile, he one day asked his old friend and comrade Vera Zassulich to accompany him on a walk on the Sparrow Hills. Presently they reached the very place from which they imagined that Herzen and Ogaryov had once, on a famous occasion not long after the Decembrist Rebellion, looked at Moscow stretched below them, and sworn their famous "Hannibalic oath," dedicating their lives to the liberation of their countrymen; there the two old revolutionaries stood for a while, looked at Moscow and wondered whether this was the freedom for which they had lived their own hard and single-minded lives. As Hegelians and Marxists, they were, no doubt, obliged to accept the verdict of history, however barbarous it might seem to them to be, not merely with stoicism, but with understanding, and consequently rational approval. They had not themselves been too kind to the failures and disillusiones, the victims and casualties of earlier revolutionary movements; but this revolution—the *coup d'état* of the 25th October—they could not bring themselves to bless. With their passing, the period during which revolutionary Marxism belonged to the tradition of European enlightenment came to an end.

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Changing Attitudes in Soviet Russia: The Family. By Rudolf Schlesinger; "The International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction," Editor Karl Mannheim, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, London, 1949, 25s.

"PROPER assessment of the respective importance of the elements of continuity and change," writes Mr. Schlesinger in his preface to this collection of documents on Soviet family policy, "is amongst the most urgent, and most difficult, tasks of the students of Soviet society." He has chosen, he explains, to illustrate in his first volume the Soviet attitude towards the family as "a field which, apart from being in itself of considerable interest to sociologists in all countries, provides an unequivocal illustration of the change in attitudes observable in the course of the Russian revolution"

The story, as revealed by the documents selected by Schlesinger, is simple in its outline. It tells how, after the October Revolution, the rulers and legislators of the Bolshevik dictatorship applied in practice their radical theories about the emancipation of women, finally embodied in the Family Code of 1926. It then goes on to describe, in the words of the dust-cover, "the inevitable 'Restoration,' " when human nature re-asserted itself.

Equality of the sexes, in the view of early Communist theorists, was to be achieved essentially by drawing women into "social production" and thus making them financially independent of men. This, in the case of married women, raised the question of how the new economic activities were to be combined with motherhood and the maintenance of the home. Let the working woman, the theorists replied, be relieved of housework by the provision of family hostels, of communal laundries, canteens, etc., and of care for their children by the establishment of crèches, kindergartens and public educational institutions. True, in the absence of proper facilities, and as the result of a drastic housing shortage, home and family might still, for a time, impose an additional burden on women; but with the raising of material standards these cares would gradually diminish and eventually disappear. As to the bearing of children, of which unhappily working women could not be relieved, facilities would be provided to reduce the inconvenience to the mother to an absolute minimum.

In accordance with these views, a determined attempt was made by the Soviet régime to draw women into "social production," less perhaps, it may be suspected, in the interest of sex equality than in that of increased production.

As a corollary to this policy, two principles were, at an early stage, embodied in Soviet legislation. As early as December 1917, a decree established the right of either party to a marriage to secure, through the courts, a dissolution of that marriage. In 1918 co-education in the schools was proclaimed and put into practice by the Soviet Government. The edifice of sex-equality was complete.

In real life matters did not work out as the theorists had intended. Except in the textile and graphic industries, some branches of teaching, and the medical profession, as Schlesinger explains, "we nowhere find women in numbers approximating to those of men with similar qualifications, and the total number of women actively engaged in industry and the professions would drop to a very low figure were some special branches everywhere favoured by them left out of account. In spite of all the State's efforts, and even of the pressure which public opinion at that time exercised against women with no place in social production, the facts of physiology—and the practical difficulties of fulfilling the functions of motherhood while remaining in employment—would appear to have asserted themselves" (p. 21).

By 1943 it had become apparent that co-education, the basis of industrial equality, gave rise to inconveniences. "In co-education," as A. Orlov, writing in *Pravda*, revealed, "neither the peculiarities of the physical development of boys and girls, nor the different requirements of their vocational training, practical activities, preparation for leadership and military service can receive proper attention." It was essential to introduce into girls' schools "such additional subjects as pedagogy, needlework, courses in domestic science, personal hygiene and the care of children." In boys' schools, on the other hand, handicrafts must become part of the curriculum. Their syllabus must also be different for subjects such as geography, mainly for military reasons (p. 363 f.). In consequence, as from 1 September 1943, separate education for boys and girls in all forms from the first to the tenth was introduced in Russian secondary schools.

Treating marriage as the private affair of the two partners, and allowing easy divorce at the request of one of the parties, as the Soviet rulers came to realise, was not a satisfactory policy. *Pravda* came to the conclusion that a bad family man could not be a good Soviet citizen and social worker, and that "irresponsible and caddish treatment of the family" was in reality "refined petty *bourgeoisie*" (p. 336 f.). The Family Code of 1936 established a "largish fee" for divorce, explained later by "the need to put considerable difficulties in the way of divorce as an additional means of combating a light-minded approach to that issue" (p. 388). In 1944, this policy was continued by a further increase in the fees for registration of divorce.

The war against Hitlerite Germany caused a further development of Soviet family policy for, owing to the appalling loss of manpower suffered by Russia, Soviet legislators considered it indispensable to encourage the mass-production of babies for the defence of the Socialist Fatherland. By the new Family Code of 1944, the Soviet rulers, following the example set by Hitlerite Germany, adopted a "positive" population policy. From now on, the children of unmarried mothers were to be supported by the State until the age of twelve, the father being relieved of all material responsibility. This, as Schlesinger remarks, was an

arrangement designed to encourage "a polygamous attitude on the part of men" (p. 404). Generous family allowances for children born in lawful wedlock were at the same time granted for all children after the third; a bachelor tax was introduced; and new orders and decorations were created to reward the Stakhanovites of child production. Motherhood was made a remunerative and socially recognised profession.

Such, in brief, is the story told by these documents on Soviet family policy. Its different phases are illustrated by a wealth of official material, taken from a variety of sources. One might, however, feel inclined to criticise Schlesinger's selection for the inclusion of items such as the extensive extracts from the work of A. M. Kollontay, or the items grouped together under the title of "Soviet Justice and Administration in their Fight for the Emancipation of Women in the Soviet East," as designed merely to distract attention from the author's principal theme.

What concerns Schlesinger is "neither the opinion of the extremists on either side nor the 'average' trend of public opinion . . . but the way in which the ruling Party reacted to it" (p. 400). He therefore relies exclusively on "the official codes and the writings of Soviet commentators" with the result that the documents collected unavoidably contain a mass of official propagandist phraseology. However, although this is not material to the author's argument, the documents also contain much interesting detail about the impact of Soviet family legislation on ordinary Russian men and women; and the attentive reader is enabled to catch glimpses of the opposing views of peasants and town workers, of the widespread feeling against Soviet bureaucracy, and of the different attitudes adopted by Russian women towards the relation of the sexes.

In his Conclusion, Schlesinger records the changes which have taken place in different fields of Soviet family policy. He is careful to point out that throughout the whole period "the principle of equality of rights for both sexes . . . has been strictly maintained" (p. 392); but subsequently admits that the abolition of co-education might "possibly have far-reaching consequences for this issue" (p. 393).

Soviet family policy, Schlesinger considers, arising as it does from special social and historical conditions, can offer little guidance to sociologists and legislators outside Russia. "However interesting Soviet experience may be from the standpoint of practical verification of left-wing theories," he remarks, "it is hardly conclusive when applied to completely different conditions" (p. 392). Anyone, therefore, who wishes to study these documents with a view to deriving from Soviet experience lessons for English population policy, will be disappointed. The earnest student of the evolution of Soviet policy, however, will find in the documents presented a useful factual basis for the formation of a sober and well-informed opinion.

W. E. MOSSE

The Industrialisation of Backward Areas. By K. Mandelbaum ; Oxford, 1947.

IN 1944 a volume on world economic development by Prof E Staley was published under the auspices of the International Labour Office in Montreal. The industrialisation of backward areas was one of the main points of this valuable book, and China was indicated as the typical under-developed country. Mr. Mandelbaum in his book about the industrialisation of backward areas, published under the auspices of the Oxford Institute of Statistics, shows as the typical backward area the East European countries, by which we mean Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Roumania, Yugoslavia and Greece. This region is, according to the author, neither the largest nor the poorest of the backward areas, but it can serve as a model, presenting all the main economic problems of industrialisation. The book is divided into two main parts. In Part A the economic case for industrialisation is stated; Part B shows hypothetical models of an industrialisation process in East Europe. Though the latter occupies the main part of the book, it is Part A which, by the exposition of the main outlines of industrial planning, attracts the particular interest of the reader. The exclusion of Czechoslovakia from the above-mentioned group of countries is explained by the fact that, together with Austria, it is shown as a model area for the six other countries.

The author looks at his problem from the point of view of transfer of the surplus population from agriculture into developing industries. The majority of the active population in the densely crowded area of East Europe had before the war remained in agriculture, though the land offered productive and remunerative work to only a part of the labour force. Even where the yield per acre was not too low, income per head was inadequate because too many people shared in the output. Whether they were independent farmers or farm workers they worked on small and over-crowded holdings and on badly cultivated soil. Their productivity remained extremely low. Thus a problem of disguised unemployment arose which could best be solved by the withdrawal of surplus workers from agriculture, and by their absorption into other occupations. The agricultural output would not suffer thereby, whereas the increased industrial output would contribute to the higher income of the community. An alternative solution would be offered by the rationalisation of agriculture, but the author believes that this is conditioned by industrial advance. The experience of advanced countries which faced similar problems earlier, illustrates in his view the process by which agriculture is rationalised simultaneously with an expanding industrial system which absorbs part of the rural population. The author does not quote the example of Denmark where the reorganisation of agriculture by increased live-stock breeding contributed to the solution of problems without extensive industrialisation. This example might be of extreme importance to some of the East European countries. The

author, however, leaving aside this solution, turns to the historical problem why certain countries remained backward for so long.

He starts his discussion with the difficulties of "making a beginning" of industrialisation. Some countries, such as those of East Europe, were left behind at the time of the industrial revolution, a fact which may, *inter alia*, be explained by social and political factors. The most interesting point, however, is the negative influence of an open international system on under-developed countries. Advantages gained by advanced countries tend to become cumulative under *laissez-faire* conditions, whereas disadvantages of countries left behind become permanent; in the words of the author "Poor countries may remain poor just because they were poor to begin with." This strange tendency may be explained by the concept of external economies. Once a country is industrialised, it establishes lasting benefits, such as the training of workers, organised labour, markets for by-products, transport facilities, a high level of science and engineering, etc. These benefits, called external economies, contribute highly to the whole economy of a country. In an advanced industrial community any new enterprise will not only contribute further to, but also take advantage of existing benefits. On the other hand, a new firm in a backward area cannot benefit from the above cost-reducing services, but has to incur costs and risks for which there is no compensation in the form of external economies. The author believes, therefore, that in an open world market a backward area cannot make a beginning in the absence of state support. His belief is strengthened by the fact that the open world market, overgrown by monopoly, constitutes a still greater obstacle to the development of backward countries. The consequence of such a state of affairs is, a rigid international division of labour, connected with cost relationships unfavourable for one set of countries. The author might have also mentioned another aspect of the problem which follows logically from his reasoning, i.e. the fact that the open international system was, paradoxically as it may seem, connected with frozen shares and channels of world trade.

The two main obstacles to the industrialisation of backward countries are lack of demand and lack of capital. As to the first the author recommends government subsidies to consumption, and public investment, which he believes to be the proper remedies. The theory of state initiated and financed expansion of demand is, in his view, by now undisputed. This section of Part A seems to be quite dogmatic. The author goes even further and advocates the assumption by the state of entrepreneurial functions to accelerate the industrialisation. He quotes as an encouraging example Japan, and the direct interference of its government into certain branches of industry, an example which, however, would become discouraging if followed to its bitter end.

The next obstacle discussed is the lack of capital. He admits that though each country can industrialise on its own, the development would proceed more quickly and call for smaller sacrifices if the internal savings

of the developing country were supplemented by foreign loans. This brings us right into the field of international economic relations, the discussion of which is, however, in principle avoided. A word might have been said about the position of under-developed countries under different monetary and financial systems. No real understanding of the present financial difficulties is possible without it. Under the gold standard national economic autonomy was sacrificed to an international financial set-up. With fixed exchange rates disequilibria in world economy were not adjusted by flexible remedies but by sometimes painful (often deflationary) changes in national price and wage systems. The leading industrial countries were able to withstand these changes without prejudice to their standard of living. The East European countries, however, were unable to make their "beginning" under this system. After the breakdown of the gold standard the idea of unfettered national economy in the economic field prevailed, and different national price systems were brought into mutual relationships by fluctuating exchange rates. This system proved to be an incalculable one. After the crisis of the inter-war period, creditor as well as debtor countries started to defend their balances of payments by drastic economic defence measures such as import quotas and exchange control which made any international credit policy impossible. The Bretton Woods system is an attempt to find a compromise between national economic and financial autonomy and fixed exchange rates, but unfortunately no revival of an effective international credit policy is in sight under its auspices.

The author reminds us of the insufficiency of private foreign credits for backward areas, a point which was earlier developed in Dr. Rosenstein-Rodan's publications. No private foreign investor can cure the ills of a backward area, because it is not his job to make an investment in a particular branch of industry, and to invest at the same time in other branches of a backward economy which are strictly interconnected with the branch specially supported. But without parallel investments no efficient remedy for a backward economy is provided. The author suggests, therefore, as a solution, inter-governmental arrangements by which complementary industries connected with regional development schemes would be treated as one huge firm, and included in a single investment unit. This would, in his view, reduce borrowers' and lenders' risks, and widen the scope of foreign investment. This seems to be an unfortunate anticipation of events! Nearly all the East European countries have now become *sui generis*, huge government units, but this is the very reason why no foreign credits are granted to them.

The author devotes one section of Part A to the international division of labour. He wants it to lose much of its classical simplicity. The classic theory emphasises the need of the optimum use of resources in each country, and gives an order of preference of industries in accordance with the international gradients of costs. The author makes an interesting distinction between natural and mutable cost factors. In the 19th

century a pattern of exchange between primary products and manufactures was established which was considered natural and immutable. The position of East European countries was frozen under the above system, it is only, as the author points out, by the introduction of conscious economic policies that the classical system of comparative costs is made more flexible. In other words, the author recommends extensive planning for backward countries. He believes they will in that way become better producers and consumers, better exporters and importers, and so make better contributions to world trade and take more advantage of it. The author dismisses politics from his valuable book. He could, however, have mentioned one fundamental truth, that extensive economic planning in one set of countries tends to be connected with a certain political set-up, and though it might prove beneficial to world economic development, it is in fact connected with political disintegration which makes the necessary credit facilities for backward countries impossible, and hampers the multilateralisation of international trade relations. It is also obvious that planning in backward countries means substantial readjustments in mature countries. The author quotes, in this respect, Prof. Staley's most interesting views. He says that these readjustments cannot be carried through under *laissez-faire* conditions. This undoubtedly means another deterrent for international credit transactions. East European industrial planning is therefore conditioned by a high rate of internal capital accumulation, even at the cost of the standard of living. This and other sacrifices call, however, as the author points out, for stable governments strong enough to overcome the resistance of interested groups. This may be so, but it all depends on the ways and means whereby resistance is overcome.

In calculating the transfer of population in East Europe during an initial five-year period from agriculture to industry (Part B), the author plans to draw each year about 675,000 people (surplus) from agriculture. To absorb this population in industry the author recommends the development in the first place of labour intensive (light) industries such as building, clothing, furniture, textiles, leather, light metals, etc. In the above industries capital employed per worker is relatively low otherwise than in heavy industries where capital invested per worker is high, and where, therefore, the absorption of the unemployed surplus population in the absence of sufficient capital (the main bottle-neck) is far from satisfactory. In reality East European countries concentrated in the post-war period to a great extent on heavy industry planning, but as the lack of internal and external capital remains the main limiting factor, the transfer of population (the main object) is inadequate. Only 1 to 2 per cent. of the total population is expected to find additional employment during the present period of planning, whereas the rise of population is 5 per cent. at the same period. This confirms the reader's conviction that there is no possibility of absorbing into industry within, say, a generation, the existing surplus of population and its natural increase. The question

whether planning on the lines suggested by the author might have given better results is as hypothetical as the plan itself. It is rather difficult to judge the chances of his industrial plan as it is an isolated programme leaving aside the inter-connection between planned industries and whole national economies. The plan suffers also from the application of rapid industrialisation methods. The experience of planning *coûte que coûte* is not too encouraging. Mr. Mandelbaum's book, which undoubtedly represents an interesting type of approach to the subject, is therefore deprived of this minimum connection with present-day reality which would have given it the character of a more practical guide. Nevertheless it is a study of great value from the academic point of view.

KAROL ALEXANDROWICZ

Man and Plan in Soviet Economy By Andrew Rothstein ; Frederick Muller, 1948, pp. viii, 297 and index, 10s. 6d.

THE working of the Soviet economic machine is an important and interesting subject, and one on which it is hardly possible to have too much information. Mr. Rothstein follows in the footsteps of the all too few writers who are qualified by economic knowledge in general and knowledge of the U.S.S.R. in particular to explore this little known field. The author claims that, in his survey, he has paid more attention than have his predecessors to the important rôle played by the individual worker in the business of planning in the U.S.S.R. And he has included chapters on subjects to which relatively little attention has been paid by other writers, such as internal trade, and economic developments in Soviet Central Asia. He also deals fully with post-war economic problems in the U.S.S.R.

Mr. Rothstein relies largely in his presentation on long quotations from writings and speeches by Lenin and Stalin, excerpts from the works of Kautsky and others, as well as from the proceedings of Communist Party meetings and conferences. Unfortunately this makes his book dull reading for readers who are unaccustomed to according uncritical admiration and credence to such authorities, and reduces many sections of the book to the level of a dreary catalogue of uninspiring events.

As with most books on the U.S.S.R., facts and figures matter less than the interpretation put upon them by the author. In this respect there are many distortions and omissions in Mr. Rothstein's book, which detract from its value, and which can be particularly misleading for less experienced students of the subject.

The most basic omission is his failure to say anything about the Marxian doctrine of the inescapable hostility between the capitalist and communist systems. This makes nonsense of his repeated assertions that the U.S.S.R. has a vested interest in maintaining peaceful relations with other countries and in "consolidating for peace purposes its war-time friendship with the Great Powers" (p. 51). Here we have the familiar

but wholly unacceptable attitude that the U.S.S.R. is invariably in the right, and that all other countries have to accept this if they want her "co-operation" in the common search for peace. It is the crux of the continuing difficulty of securing real co-operation between East and West, and Mr. Rothstein's pronouncements do nothing to encourage the hope that the situation will be easily improved.

Again, the author maintains that schemes of industrialisation under the pre-war and post-war five-year plans, as well as the collectivisation of agriculture undertaken in the early 1930's, had for their primary aim the raising of the standard of living of the population, with the implication that this aim had been achieved. "Thus agriculture, like industry, had as its target the provision of butter rather than guns" (p. 162). Similar claims to an altruistic attitude on the part of the Soviet government are made in the chapter on Central Asia, where it is made to appear that the government's principal aim in developing the economies of the Republics was to elevate the level of well-being among the natives of these areas.

It is certainly true that the improvement of living standards as a long-term aim has been behind all these plans of the Soviet government. But the more immediate goal has been to strengthen the defensive capacity of the country vis-à-vis potential external enemies. Stalin himself has emphasised that Russia had been beaten in the past because she was economically backward, and that the elimination of this backwardness must be a primary aim of national policy. There is no doubt at all, although one would not gather this from Mr. Rothstein's book, that the implementation of this policy in industry has involved serious sacrifices in the standard of living of the workers, and in agriculture has meant a violent and painful change in the traditional possessive attitude of the peasant towards his land. In Central Asia, strategic ideas have been important as well as economic. A clearly expressed aim of the five-year plans has been to lessen economic dependence on the more vulnerable western areas by developing the economic resources of the east. It cannot be supposed that rapid industrialisation in Central Asia has been achieved without involving difficult adjustments for a relatively primitive population, but the Soviet government does not encourage any independent investigation of such problems.

Mr. Rothstein, however, shuts his eyes to these negative aspects of government policies on the life of the ordinary people. For example, he says nothing about the pace of industrialisation and the strain this involved for the people both before and after the war, nor does he mention the specific intention of the Fourth Five-Year Plan "to enhance the defensive power" of the country before any mention is made of raising living standards. He talks of the steady rise in the wage level during the inter-war period, but does not mention the movement of prices which went far to cancel out any benefits to the consumers. He has much that is interesting to say of the turnover tax as a measure of "rouble control," and gives figures showing its incidence on articles of prime

necessity such as food and clothing. But he does not say how heavily this weighs on the mass of the population, most of whom still live at a very low level of general comfort. In agriculture he says nothing about political control over collective farm administration which does much to nullify the freedom of the peasants in these so-called "free co-operative enterprises," nor does he give any idea of the weight of compulsory deliveries to the government which are a heavy burden on the peasants.

Mr. Rothstein devotes a great deal of space to the phenomenon of socialist competition in the U.S.S.R., claiming that this proves the ability of the communist system to elicit in the workers an entirely new and creative attitude towards labour, such as cannot be found under capitalism. He uses these arguments to refute a statement attributed to Mr. Churchill to the effect that "communism rots the soul of a nation." But is the difference in this respect between communism and capitalism as stark as Mr. Rothstein would have us believe? It is simply not true that communism alone can secure in the working of the economic machine the "active and critical co-operation of millions of lively individual intelligences" (p. 161). The same thing can and does happen every day in the working of the capitalist system. Much of what Mr. Rothstein describes in this section, the various forms of socialist competition, the drawing of workers into production meetings and conferences, is less the spontaneous eruption of creative energy released by the communist system as he would have us believe, than the effort of the Soviet authorities to raise the dangerously low level of productivity among their workers. Soviet leaders have long been aware of the gap in this respect between the U.S.S.R. and the more advanced countries of the West, and have repeatedly stressed the need to lessen it.

In the same way, the special efforts put into restoring war-devastated cities, etc. are not peculiar to communism as Mr. Rothstein implies, but are surely characteristic of what can be expected of any virile and patriotic people in times of acute national peril and crisis.

When he thinks he is emphasising differences between the two systems Mr. Rothstein is really underlining similarities. It is apparent that, in educating the workers to realise that only by increasing production can they hope to enjoy a higher standard of living, that, for the present, national welfare demands that they put more into the country's store of wealth and take out less, the Soviet government meets with as many difficulties as does a capitalist government when trying to "put over" the same unpalatable truth. It is the lesson which government spokesmen constantly reiterate in this country, and which the T.U.C. and the mass of the people do not readily absorb. Evidently the absence of a "boss" class in the Soviet Union does not eliminate or even simplify this problem for the government.

Another aspect of this labour question which deserves serious attention from the British reader is the light it throws on the methods used by the Soviet government to maintain labour incentives under conditions

of full employment, a question of very practical importance in our own economy at present.

The extreme sensitivity to criticism shown by Mr Rothstein in his refutation of Mr Churchill's remarks appears in many other parts of his book, for example when he castigates foreign scepticism as to Soviet statistics (p 265), quotes an indignant protest against aspersions cast by a British Member of Parliament on the cultural level of the inhabitants of Uzbekistan and Tadzhikistan (p 268), and scolds the British Government's *Economic Survey for 1947* (p. 291) for its unfavourable comparison of "totalitarian" with "democratic" planning. Mr. Rothstein probably feels that the volume of what he considers to be unfair criticism of the U.S.S.R. can only adequately be met by such methods, but it may be doubted whether vehemence and hostility are ever effective means of defence. On the contrary they are likely to exacerbate further, rather than to allay, the tension between the U.S.S.R. and other countries which Mr. Rothstein notes with such disapproval.

A few minor points may be noted in conclusion. Mr Rothstein mentions bonds of State loans as "an auxiliary means of hastening capital construction of publicly owned enterprise" (p. 56). But he does not make it clear that high-pressure propaganda makes subscriptions to these loans practically compulsory, and that, if purchasing power were not restricted in this way, the exigencies of the State plan would demand restrictions by other methods such as price-raising or lowering of wages. When discussing the aims of the Fourth Five-Year Plan (p. 59) he speaks of the State spending 115 milliard roubles "out of its own resources" to make good war damage, thus inferring that the State is bestowing a gift upon the people. But of course the State has no "resources" other than the wealth created by the labour of the people who obviously have to provide these "gifts" out of the proceeds of their own toil. He cites as a virtue of *Socialist* business management that it serves the community in the first place and not private shareholders (p. 89). Under the latter system of course, the community has some say in what it wants to have produced, which is certainly not the case when all such decisions are made within the framework of a State plan. Mr. Rothstein refers frequently to the economic activities of women (pp. 182-83, pp. 278-79 *et al*), and gives impressive figures on their employment in agriculture and industry, even in such heavy branches as coal and ore mining. One can only conclude that women in the Soviet Union must work even harder than men, since they shoulder such a large portion of the general economic toil of the country, in addition to the domestic work and care of children which they share in common with the women of all countries, and which are by no means fully eliminated by communal services such as day nurseries, canteens and so on.

MARGARET MILLER.

Chinese-Russian Relations By Michel N. Pavlovsky; Philosophical Library, New York, 1949, \$3.75.

THE title of this book is somewhat misleading for a student of international relations who is looking for a guide to the history of relations between the Soviet Union and China over the last twenty years. Only one section of one of the four essays of which the book is composed carries the story later than the Russian Revolution, and that comes no nearer to our time than 1936. Most of the book deals with the 17th and 18th centuries; in this field it makes some valuable contributions to historical knowledge and interpretation. The author is familiar with the Chinese as well as the Russian language, and he states in his introduction that the major part of the book was written in China during the war.

Russia had diplomatic relations with China much earlier than any other European power. This was primarily due to the fact that Russia approached China overland while the nations of Western Europe established contact with China from the sea; thus questions of territorial jurisdiction and frontier delimitation were involved from the outset between China and Russia, whereas it was possible down to a late period for the Chinese Court to regard Western Europeans as merely traders and to avoid any kind of diplomatic intercourse with them. Apart from this contrast, the early development of Chinese-Russian relations was also facilitated by Russia's own seclusion from the normal conventions of European diplomacy in the 17th century; Russian diplomatic habits before Peter the Great were derived from the usages of the Tartar empire to which China also had once been subject, and this common tradition gave the Russians an understanding of the conditions for dealing with China such as was not available for Western European envoys. Mr. Pavlovsky enumerates some of the features of diplomatic usage which the Russians found in China and which European ambassadors noted as characteristic of Muscovy—"the same border procedure; the same questioning and chicanery on the part of the *vayvodes*; the same insistence of the *vayvodes* on receiving credentials actually addressed to the sovereign; the same arguments over titles; the same gift-offering ceremony; the same isolation of ambassadors on arrival in the capital (they were kept house-prisoners until the day of their first audience); the same meal-time ceremony, during which the sovereign despatched to the embassies tables laden with dishes coming from the court." Much of this indeed has a curiously modern ring; contemporary practice seems to have added little except the hidden microphones.

Mr. Pavlovsky shows admirable common sense in his explanation of the prolonged Russo-Chinese equilibrium in eastern Asia between the Treaties of Nerchinsk (1689) and Kiakhta (1727) and the revival of Russian forward policy after 1850. He points out that this apparent stagnation was not due to neglect of Russia's "Eurasian destiny" by ministers in St. Petersburg, but the fundamental geographical factors which were clearly set forth by Vladislavitch in 1731 in a secret report

on "the Condition and Strength of the Chinese State." This report stressed the immense difficulties which any war against China would involve for Russia owing to the distances involved and the lack of supply bases in Siberia, and argued that "the cost of such an undertaking, even assuming that it should be successful, will never be recovered." In the 18th century the Manchu-Chinese empire was still a formidable military power, even by European standards; it possessed cannon as well as an excellent cavalry. If, therefore, Russia was not prepared to challenge China to armed combat, the only wise policy was to agree on, and adhere to, a partition of the intervening steppe lands corresponding to the zones of effective power and influence. This is what was done, and the stability of the settlement reached reflects great credit on the reasonableness of the negotiators on both sides after the initial clashes between the two expanding powers.

The most striking section of the book is the essay on a document which has caused much controversy among Russian historians—a *nakaz* or letter of instructions from Arshinsky, the *vayvode* of Nerchinsk, to the Cossack Milovanov, who was sent as an envoy to Peking in 1670. The *nakaz* proposed that the Emperor of China should declare himself a vassal of the Russian Tsar—which in view of the Chinese monarchy's claim to world-wide primacy was, to say the least of it, provocative. The odd thing is that no political fireworks ensued and that the Chinese Emperor replied to the minor points raised by the embassy without any reference to the insulting demand. This has led some Russian historians to the belief that the document was never in fact delivered in Peking. But the National Palace Museum in Peking has recently published it from the Chinese archives, proving that it was delivered. Mr. Pavlovsky's explanation of the mystery is that Arshinsky, by a stupid blunder, copied into the note for the Chinese Emperor a formula which was intended for Siberian tribes—the author gives evidence of this—and that Milovanov, realising the risks of presenting such a demand, deliberately mistranslated it for Chinese consumption. There was thus no immediate Chinese reaction; but later on, the author thinks, the Chinese discovered the real meaning of the Russian text, and their awareness of the insult which they had unwittingly swallowed was reflected in a phase of unfriendly treatment of Russian envoys. This at any rate seems to be the most probable solution so far given of an interesting historical problem.

Mr. Pavlovsky writes as a specialist and certainly does not go out of his way to be helpful to the general reader, though his style is readable and the interest of the subject often far-reaching. He appears to assume that everyone has read Baddeley's great, but rare, work *Russia, Mongolia, China*, which is the fundamental classic for this field of study; the Treaty of Nerchinsk itself is treated as if its terms belonged to the stock of information which Macaulay's schoolboy would know. The author has, of course, the right to confine himself to learned studies for specialist readers, but it would have been better if he had chosen a title more in

keeping with his range. A comprehensive general history of Russo-Chinese relations from the Cossack pioneers in Siberia to the present day has yet to be written. Mr. Pavlovsky certainly seems to have the qualifications for writing it, and if he continues to devote himself to historical study, he should be encouraged to undertake it.

G. F. HUDSON.

Un Collaborateur de Metternich. Mémoires et Papiers de Lebzeltern.
 Publiés par Emmanuel de Lévis-Mirepoix Prince de Robech.
 Librairie Plon., Paris, 1949, pp. 501.

MATERIAL on or connected with Metternich is always bound to interest students of diplomatic history, especially that of Russia. Lebzeltern, a familiar figure to those students, was one of Metternich's principal assistants, to whom he assigned the most responsible tasks in fulfilment of his policy. A volume of Lebzeltern's memoirs could therefore have been of importance. It is a pity that the book under review contains only rather scanty fragments of his memoirs. The larger part of the book consists of Lebzeltern's reports to Metternich and of Metternich's letters to him—of which a great part have already been published by the Grand Duke Nicholas Mikhailovich in his book *Les Rapports Diplomatiques de Lebzeltern* (St. Petersburg, 1913). The correspondence and fragments of memoirs which are pieced together in the present volume are given a coherent outline by the editor's commentary which aims at giving a brief history of the period in question.

The most important of the activities in Lebzeltern's diplomatic career were those connected with Russia. After Austria had concluded in 1812 the alliance with France directed against Russia, Metternich assigned to Lebzeltern the task of maintaining friendly relations with Russia, this assignment continued even while Austria took part, though a limited part, in the hostilities against Russia, and it grew in persistence with Napoléon's failures and defeat. Lebzeltern's lengthy reports on his talks with Alexander I, Rumiantzev, Nesselrode and Stackelberg (he visited him in Graz where the Russian Minister to Austria had moved from Vienna) reveal but one single argument in his diplomatic armoury—that Austria could harm Russia much more if she were to put more than 30,000 men against her, the number provided by Austria's treaty with France, and that in thus limiting her obligations towards her new ally Austria was acting out of feelings of friendship to and solidarity with Russia. The documents assembled in the book confirm once more what has already become almost *communis opinio*, namely, that Metternich's policy in 1812–1813 consisted in keeping a foot in both camps, and that when the events of the war had shown how things were tending to develop he adroitly turned his coat and gradually joined Russia. The editor of this book is right in stating that Lebzeltern's reports confirm this interpretation of Metternich's policy.

In 1816, Lebzeltern was appointed Austrian Minister in St. Peters-

burg, in which post he remained for ten years. We know that Lebzeltern mixed much in Russian society, was married to a Russian woman and was the brother-in-law of the Decembrist Trubetzkoy. From the fragments of his memoirs we do not discover whether, and if so how, he described his life in St. Petersburg and the people he met there. Here again, apart from a few short extracts of his memoirs, the bulk of this part of the book consists of Lebzeltern's reports and of Metternich's letters to him. After Srbik's excellent book on Metternich, published about twenty years ago, M. de Lévis-Mirepoix's book offers very little that is new. Still, it throws some new light on known facts.

Already in Metternich's first instructions to the Minister designate to Russia we find the grain of the whole sad story of the Holy Alliance. In these instructions Metternich laid down two leading principles on which Austrian-Russian relations were to be based: (a) "No divergence of opinion or system divides the two Cabinets, the last treaties having settled the interests of both powers and determined the principles on which they should act. A real guarantee of tranquillity for Europe and of mutual happiness for the two countries ought to be the result of this situation"; and (b) "By the habit of confidence which we shall endeavour to inspire in the Emperor Alexander and by our loyalty to our obligations we hope to bridle the ambitious plans of that Monarch". The convergence of these two lines of policy foreshadows the whole future of the Holy Alliance and indeed reflects the situation in Europe after the treaties of 1814-1815.

The Holy Alliance was conceived as a system of consistent interventionism, by the Protocol of 15 November 1818, signed at the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, intervention was proclaimed as a principle of international law, and two years later, at the Congress of Troppau, the manifesto of 13 November 1820 announced a programme of armed intervention to be applied against states in which a revolution took place. But from the start this policy revealed its impracticability because of internal antagonisms. Agreement was lacking as to the settlement of a number of unresolved questions, and seeds of trouble revealed themselves in the practical implications of the terms agreed upon. Prominent among other issues was the situation which was created by the refusal of Turkey to carry out the terms of the peace treaty signed with Russia in Bucharest in 1812. This in particular led to tension between Austria and Russia owing to their rival aspirations in the Balkans. Indeed, the course of Austria's post-war policy was dominated by Metternich's suspicion and fear of Russia. Against the background of this fear and suspicion it is of melancholy interest to observe the diplomatic work of Lebzeltern which consisted of monotonously stressing the complete harmony and unison between the two countries. About the middle of the twenties, the artificial web was torn asunder, and with Russia coming to an agreement with Britain a new chapter in European history, foreseen by Castlereagh and realised by Canning, began to unfold. With it began the eclipse of Metternich's policy.

M. de Lévis-Mirepoix's book adds little to the known facts, but it supplements them by vivid traits of figures in international politics at the beginning of the 19th century and their methods. The book is certainly worth reading.

B. I. ELKIN.

The Bogomils. A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichæism. By Dmitri Obolensky; Cambridge; At The University Press, 1948, pp. xiv, 317, and Map, 25s.

THE problems presented by the persistence and involved variety of belief and practice of the heretical groups broadly grouped as dualist or Manichæan have challenged the interest of the historian and the theologian for many centuries. The attraction of the dualist theology throughout Christian history has always been potent. St. Paul felt it. St. Augustine succumbed to it in his early years and the scholastics had to answer its claims.

The present serious study by Prince Obolensky is therefore most welcome. As late as 1946 the Cambridge University Press published a broader survey of *The Medieval Manichee* by Steven Runciman which touches upon many of the same problems. Chapters III (The Paulicians) and IV (The Bogomils) of Runciman's book cover in a broader compass what Obolensky treats in a more critical and detailed analysis of literary sources, primary and secondary, from many literatures.

The author has traced this dualistic heresy from its now undisputed place and person of origin, the Persian Mani who flourished around the middle of the 3rd century A.D., until its apparent disappearance in the 14th century in Bulgaria. The fact that Mani's thought was in great measure derivative or composite only underlines the persistence and breadth of its later appeal. Much of the core of the study is devoted to a disentanglement of the doctrines that Obolensky regards as genuinely Bogomil from other strains of dualist heretical thought. The task of tracing to their roots in Gnosticism and Manichæism, Massalianism and orthodox Christianity, those elements of religious and cosmological thought and derived practice is only slightly less complex than the task of maintaining thereafter the continuity of the movement during and after the transfer from Asia Minor to Macedonia just previous to the time of the *pop* Bogomil (mid-10th century). At all times it is difficult to make a satisfying distinction between essential Bogomilism and other dualistic or quasi-dualistic heresies such as Paulicianism, Hesychasm, Massalianism, Phundagiagitism, Catharism or Paterenism. A close study of the available accounts of Bogomilism and similar heresies forms the core of the story. The important texts with which all researchers in this field have had to deal are the *Historia Manicheorum* of Petrus Siculus, imperial Byzantine ambassador to Tephrike in 869, the "Sermon against the Heretics" of the priest Cosmas (ca. 975), the *Panoplia dogmatica* of the Byzantine theologian Euthymius Zigatenus (early 12th century), the

Alexiad of Anna Comnena (1148), the *Liber Sancti Johannis* (probably early 12th century), and the Bulgarian *Synodicon* of the Tsar Boril (after 1211). It is not the least of the worries of anyone studying this movement that these basic sources are not by Bogomils. They all show careful observation and at times bear tribute to the high personal ethics of the Bogomils, but the fact remains that they are not a friendly voice. This fact, largely parallel to the situation of the Cathari, Albigenses and Waldenses in the west, makes any definitive analysis of the doctrines of these heretical movements at best somewhat difficult. Obolensky has made every effort to overcome this difficulty. His desire to examine these documents from every possible angle does not make the reading any simpler. It would obviously be proper to say that simplicity of analysis where simplicity in the subject did not exist would invalidate the account.

The reviewer wishes to give all credit to the author's thoroughness of exposition and the painstaking use of a wide range of literature, in Latin, Greek, Bulgarian, Russian, Ukrainian, Czech, Serbo-Croat and of course the western European languages. It would be captious to ask for more.

On the other hand several points might strike the interested reader as calling for notice. Niederle's monumental work, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, is quoted frequently in the abridged French edition when the original Czech was available. Gantscho Tzenoff's important works on early Bulgarian history are not mentioned. There is no reference to the important correspondence of Innocent III and Honorius III with Bosnian and Hungarian rulers about the spread of these heresies in their countries. The crusade of Gregory IX is likewise not mentioned. One might possibly lay more emphasis than Obolensky does on the nationalistic aspects of Bulgarian adherence to an anti-Byzantine religious programme. At some points it was true that to be a Greek meant to be orthodox, and to be a native Bulgarian meant to be a Bogomil. Resistance to Byzantinisation for several centuries came principally from the adherents of the sect. One gets the clear impression that the author would prefer to confine the movement to Bulgaria. But, given the geography of the Balkans, such a limitation was not likely, nor indeed was it in strict accord with the facts. Byzantine Neo-Manichæism was part of a much larger movement which had its advance posts in North Africa, in Spain, in southern France and in the Lombard valley. It may have taken diverse forms as it traversed this coastwise path, but its roots lay deep in Mediterranean culture. We might venture to suggest that the whole movement, east and west, even if on the distaff side, is an important exhibit in the ever-present controversy as to the close relationship between Eastern and Western cultures. In any event, the profound fact of the parallel course of related heresies should not be lost to view, even in so focused and withal successful a study as this.

S. HARRISON THOMSON.

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Bez Ostatniego Rozdziatu, Wspomnienia z lat 1939-46 By Władysław Anders, Montgomery Printing Co., London, 1949, pp. xv and 447, 20s English edition: *An Army in Exile*, Macmillan Co., 21s.

FATE has decreed that, since the tragic death of Sikorski in July 1943, two Polish leaders have been much in the limelight: or have, one might say, against their own will been in varying degrees placed before the bar of public opinion, which betimes has gone so far as to question their good faith as patriots. The one was a civilian, the other a military commander. Stanisław Mikołajczyk inherited the policy of his predecessor in office, and toiled both abroad and at home for a *modus cooperandi* with the Soviet Union on every other basis than complete subordination. Władysław Anders, of whom no one had heard in the outside world until 1942, found himself suddenly called to the most difficult of tasks, in which he soon became convinced that any dignified partnership with the same Soviet Union, whether in arms or in politics, was impossible.

The former's book, which tells of his efforts to work with Moscow, is reviewed elsewhere in these pages. The plain, unvarnished story of Anders' experiences is told in "Minus the Last Chapter," as the Polish title reads, and beside it even the tale of Othello to Desdemona pales. Already in 1945-6 the author was the object of various kinds of attack, but these have got worse since the publication of his book. The controversies that wage do mischief, if only because they divert attention from the facts of history here revealed in a fresh light, in particular from the most important point of all. What made General Anders unpopular with many people in the highest positions even in 1942, but more in 1944, and still more a year later, has by now become the recognised fact of European politics. In other words *he* was right, and those who objected to his stand were wrong.

Doubts have even been cast on the reliability of the narrative, and they may be again. This reviewer can only say that the book does not read (he has used the original Polish) like something in any way "cooked-up" to prove any thesis, or to score off any person, party or people. No attempt is made to gloss over differences; praise is given to people with whom the author was in fundamental disagreement (e.g. General Zhukow); the reader is left to form his own judgments. Nor was it the incredible treatment meted out to him as an officer prisoner-of-war that disposed him critically to Soviet policy. No emotional resentment can be felt in these pages save on one score, which was the, at first halting but then quite unblushing, betrayal of the Polish cause not only by the U.S.S.R.—from which no favours were expected—but even more by Britain and the U.S.A. The consequences of this are now—four years after the end of hostilities—evident to all. But the facts are so easily forgotten that a book like this is to be welcomed: and the good press given to the English edition shows that the sense of justice has not wholly departed from the earth.

The work falls into several unequal parts: a brief account of the

overwhelming of Poland in September 1939, a longer one of twenty months of prison and interrogations at Soviet hands; a still longer one on the task of creating, out of the wreckage of humanity that was saved from prison camps of Europe and Asia, a new Polish army in the U.S.S.R. and later in the Near East: one hundred and fifty pages on the gallant part taken by that army in the war in Italy, and, finally, what is perhaps the saddest part of all, the post-war sequel of eighteen months waiting in forced inactivity, by "one of the finest fighting units on the continent" (the phrase of a distinguished British officer), because it could not go home, was not wanted in Germany, and indeed "not wanted" anywhere. Therein lies the reason why the men did not wish to be demobilised! It is to the eternal credit of the British government that it braved reproaches, indeed maledictions, from all sides in finally bringing the "Second Corps" to the United Kingdom and insisting that at least some kind of effort be made to ensure for its members a livable future. But one need not be surprised if the men concerned showed little enthusiasm.

Space does not permit here a recounting of the tangled skein of events set out so well in these chapters. The reviewer can only express wonder that human beings could have survived such unbelievable fortunes, and such a variety, still more that they could recover a measure of physical and mental health that fitted them for the most exacting of campaigns: and *still more* that, when it is all over and they are Ishmaelites in the earth, they can still smile and hope. Two outstanding matters must, however, have attention, neither of which can be more than outlined: the fact that, as a military commander, General Anders had to concern himself with politics; and the extent to which the Poles can be blamed for the unhappy, even intolerable outcome of the war in which they took the first blows of the enemy. In a sense these two things hang together. Anders had shown in May 1926 that his duty as a soldier came first—above any personal or party connections, he did the same in 1939, and on being released from prison in 1941. It is a fair guess that he preferred to concentrate all his attention on military matters, but *dis aliter visum*.

His great hope in 1941 was to assist in the creating of a striking Polish force which would fight shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army for the destruction of the German might in Europe; his purpose was unchanged when this proved to be impossible and a transfer of such as could be mustered was effected to the Middle East. But within a year the terms of the Maisky-Sikorski Agreement of 30 June 1941 began to be broken, as time went on the efforts of the Sikorski government to get outstanding differences deferred until the calling of a Peace Conference became more and more hopeless, and the pressure exerted by London and Washington on it to concede what were felt to be vital Polish interests became ruthless. As one who knew the situation at first hand, Anders had to speak plainly again and again not only with his own C-in-C. but also with his British and American colleagues in Italy. At the very time when the Second Corps was being prepared for the frightful assault on

the key German position south of Rome, Monte Cassino, his troops were hearing and seeing in the press the worst kind of news from home and from the Allied councils. Not only then but still more later on Anders had to claim common justice for his men, whose courage and skill were indeed acclaimed by those who witnessed them but came soon to be forgotten. Sample of this—the Victory Parade of June 1946 without the Poles! The immortal words of Schiller must have come more than once to mind:

The Moor has now his duty done;
Let him depart as best he can!

No other troops on either side of the world struggle were placed in the fantastic position of the 50,000 men who stormed Monte Cassino, or of those that survived during the year of fighting that followed as they made their toilsome way northward to Bologna. It says volumes for their morale that they resisted the German propaganda—in which there was much truth—being poured out for their attention, and it may be doubted whether Monte Cassino would have been taken had the call come three months later, after the Russians had shown their hand by the creation of their own "Polish" army, and by their refusal to help the undaunted "rising" in Warsaw, which they themselves had done everything to provoke. Clearly a perverse Fate was refusing the Poles the happy recovery of their capital that had been permitted to the French. But, whatever our judgment, let no one blame their Commander if he found himself, *volens nolens*, occupied with political issues that others should have shouldered.

On the other issue, referred to above, only a few words can be said. V Day brought no gladness to the hearts of the Poles scattered over the world, and very little to those in the homeland. Could things have been different if General Sikorski had lived? Anders suggests that they could. In any case, he had grave doubts as to the wisdom of Mikołajczyk's policy as Premier, and was roundly opposed to his returning to Poland later, as a private individual. The reason was that this seemed to him to provide a "side door" by which the Allies in the west could hope to escape from the obligations undertaken once and again earlier on, not least in the Atlantic Charter. In the view of the undersigned the verdict of history will be that neither the mistakes of Polish policy nor the "appeasement" of Teheran and Yalta were the *cause* of what happened both to Poland and to all of Central Europe: even if those responsible had all been angels in Heaven the result would have been the same. Once the Germans had failed to break the power of the Soviet Union nothing on earth could have kept an age-long expanding Russia from reaching out to engulf her smaller neighbours. The ideological justification, used then and since, has only served to make the action more acceptable to many people; what we have is a new version of the old imperialism. The fault lies farther back than 1939, even than Hitler and

Mussolini; but this can in no way absolve the people who during the thirties let things come to such a pass that, once war had broken out, the ethics of the jungle came into power, and the rights of smaller nations ceased to exist. There are some of us who agree with General Anders: the "last chapter" of the story is still to come.

W. J. ROSE.

The Pattern of Soviet Domination. By Stanisław Mikołajczyk; Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Ltd., 1948, pp. xiv and 353, 15s.

THE author of this book, by origin a Polish peasant, was driven from his country by the German invasion but took part in the rehabilitation abroad of his country's forces and administration, and rose to be Prime Minister and to discuss Polish affairs with Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin. He describes the events of this time as they affected Poland, but a great deal of what he describes lives in his memory as a participant and eye-witness. As the Chairman of the Polish Peasant Party, representing the greatest mass of Poles and forming the Centre of the Polish Parliament, he was able to look objectively on the extreme views of the Left and Right. It was natural then when General Sikorski died that this level-headed leader should succeed him as Prime Minister.

Unfortunately, the position of Poland, for some time the only ally of Great Britain in her struggle against the Germans, changed when the U.S.S.R. with all its resources came into the War against Germany. The first attempts at conciliation of her former enemy by Poland failed completely when the Katyn affair, involving the killing of thousands of Polish officers, proved a hopeless obstacle to any further *entente* between the two countries. When the Russian army recovered from its early disasters, its attitude to Poland became frankly hostile and the tragic story of the battle of Warsaw is fully told by the man who was so closely concerned with it.

But it was not mainly by military success that the Russian rulers determined to reduce Poland to a vassal state. They had to deal with an active government, in close contact with the Allied Governments, and a strong and heroic underground movement in Poland itself. The story of how they succeeded forms a substantial part of this book. By propaganda in the Press, on the radio and at conferences they tried to prove that the London Polish Government was based on no real popular support, and they produced a number of Polish pawns, culminating in the Lublin Committee, to take its place. They overcame the underground movement, already weakened by the Warsaw battle, by creating a Communist "underground," and by "liquidating" its leaders as the Red Army advanced. Most tragic of all was the surrender of Polish claims by Great Britain and the United States at the conferences with Stalin and Molotov. Hearing at Moscow of the surrender of East Poland to the U.S.S.R., Mikołajczyk describes the scene: "Shocked, and remembering the earnest assurances I had personally had from Roosevelt at the

White House, I looked at Churchill and Harriman, silently begging them to call this damnable deal a lie. Harriman looked down at the rug. Churchill looked straight back at me. 'I confirm this,' he said." But the problem of the Eastern frontier soon gave place to much more serious scenes. Mikołajczyk himself found it impossible not to yield on the frontier question, and so earned the hatred of many of his fellow-countrymen. Now there loomed up the prospect of the complete loss of Polish independence under the rule of Communist Poles. The Western Powers strove to prevent this but were too timid to risk offending their great ally, now in occupation of the whole country.

After the failure of appeasement to solve the problems of reviving a free Polish State, the Western Powers could not prevent these from becoming a purely internal affair in which the Communists, organising a Security Police in close touch with the Russian N.K.V.D., ruthlessly crushed all opposition. Mikołajczyk took a personal part in the political struggle, at first as Deputy Prime Minister, and as successor to Witos as leader of the Peasant Party. The events of this time make painful reading. It is still difficult to understand how the success of the small Communist minority was achieved even with all the methods of terrorism which they practised. It was probably the deep desire of the people to avoid a new and terrible civil war and to concentrate on reconstruction, which led to the break-up of the underground movement.

No one wishing to study this period can do without this book. Many critics may find special points for attacking the author in his many activities, but no one can see, knowing what we now know of the intentions of the U.S.S.R. leaders, how any Polish leader could have prevented the penetration of Poland by Communist supporters of Russia. Mikołajczyk emerges from the book with reasonable modesty, as a brave, indomitable Polish peasant, who stuck to his democratic ideals and refused to recognise failure till the very end.

A. BRUCE BOSWELL.

Język polski. Pochodzenie, powstanie, rozwój. By Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński; Wydawnictwo S. Arcta, Warsaw, 1947, pp. 487, maps.

THERE are broadly three classes of books on language besides textbooks, viz. (1) those intended for the specialist, (2) those for the specialist and the general reader, and (3) those for the general reader. *Język polski* belongs to the second class and is a meritorious specimen of its kind.

Since the nineteen-thirties attempts to popularise what József Balassa would call the "biography" (*életrajz*) of a language have been fairly numerous. In England we have had the Great Language series, of which B. F. C. Atkinson's *The Greek Language* (London, 1933) is the most appropriate example for our purpose, because it exhibits a peculiarity

of these popular-scientific language-histories, viz. the inclusion of illustrative matter in the form of chronologically arranged excerpts. In 1937 came Balassa's pleasing and succinct *A magyar nyelv életrajza* (Budapest), to be followed in 1945 by G. O. Vinokur's *Russkij jazyk Istoričeskij očerk* (reviewed in this *Review*, No. 66) and in 1947 by M. Cohen's *Histoire d'une langue. La langue française* (Paris) and the book under review. All these are both histories and anthologies.

Lehr-Spławiński appears to have written his book entirely during the Second World War. He was living in the country all the time and had no uninterrupted access to the libraries in Cracow. This prevented him, on his own admission, from making adequate use of the extant specialist literature in Polish, though his bibliography shows him to have consulted at least Bruckner, Łoś, Nitsch, Szober, and Słowski. Accordingly he was compelled to fall back on textual matter (that since the 17th century representing his own selection), and he modestly disclaims that his book is intended for anyone other than the layman with a grammar-school education.

Język polski begins with a passing reference to the place of Polish among the Slavonic languages, which Lehr-Spławiński classifies into the customary three geographical groups and, by separating Upper from Lower Lusatian, Czech from Slovak, and subordinating Cassubian and Slovincian to Polish, brings up to eleven, exclusive of the dead types. The first chapter of the book is devoted to the "origin and primitive habitat" of the Slavs, and here the author summarises the findings of his treatise *O pochodzeniu i prajęczyźnie Słowian* (Poznań, 1946; v. the notice in this *Review*, No. 66). Assuming the existence of Common Slavonic (*prastłowiański*) and, less plausibly, a still earlier Balto-Slavonic language, he traces back the origins of the first to c. 2000 B.C. and locates the territorial focus of the tribes that used it in the valleys of the Oder and Vistula, which approximately coincides with the territory delimited by prehistoric archaeology for the burial-pit culture (*kultura grobów jamowych*). History in the person of Herodotus (5th century B.C.) finds the Slavs as *Σκῆθαι Ἀγορήγεες*, Neuri, and even Budini (the two latter are doubtful identifications). By the 1st century A.D. the common name for the Slavs seems to have been Veneti (*Oðenédai*), a name which reappears subsequently as Wenden in German and Venajä (Russia) in Finnish. The name "Slav" came into currency much later (cf. Jordanes's *Sclaveni* in the 6th century). But these few names are insufficient to help us draw the frontiers of the prehistoric habitat of the Slavs. Place and river names, culture-words, and general lexical contacts with other languages must also be taken into account.

Indisputably Indo-European place-names occur beyond the eastern limit of the hypothetical Slavonic focus as far as the middle Volga, the Northern Caucasus, and the Black Sea coast, though it remains uncertain to which subgroup of Indo-European they belong. The Slavonic vocabulary however contains native words for "yew" (P. *cis*) and

"ivy" (P. *blucysz*), whose botanical geography is known, and there are loans from both Germanic (e.g. P. *chąsa*, *ksiądz*; O.P. *skot*) and Iranic (e.g. P. *socha*, *kur*, *topór*). Not content with purely verbal evidence, Lehr-Spławiński proceeds to lay archæology and even anthropology under contribution by using the larger bones of prehistoric graves and a modern type of the blond dolichocephals of Northern Europe to piece together a composite likeness of the "Slavonic" physique. It is results of this kind which point to the supreme fallacy of the Indo-European protoglossa theory. The danger of equating linguistic with archæological material comes out very clearly on pp. 26-27, where a Late Neolithic culture of four thousand years ago (2300-2000 B.C.) is identified with Uralian speech, and Uralian tribes are said to have occupied Lithuanian and Polish territory as far as Pomerania and Silesia. This archæologically defined (comb-pottery) culture would seem to have been partly overlaid by an Indo-European (string-pottery) culture-wave proceeding from west to east up to the Northern Caucasus. If we accept the author's equations, this would give Indo-European speech a local, Uralian substratum, but the author does not attempt to connect it with the disintegration of the conjectured Indo-European linguistic unity. He confines himself to fixing the date of the separation of Baltic and Slavonic at c. 1800-1500 B.C. and mentions in this connection a second wave of Indo-European string-pottery culture (Lusatian), which overflowed the primitive habitat of the Slavs in the course of about two centuries and rolled southwards to the Danube. Lehr-Spławiński applies the name "Venetic" to Lusatian culture and appears to consider that both terms are synonymous with the later Slavonic. The south-eastward expansion of the Slavs dates from the 3rd century with the appearance of the Goths on the Vistula. As a result of this stimulus the Slavs reach the Danube by the 4th century and the Balkans and Black Sea lowland in the succeeding centuries. The expansive movement led gradually to dialectal divisions and groupings, and the already mentioned Slavonic tripartition came into being. The detachment of the Southern Slavs would seem to have preceded the detachment of the Eastern Slavs from the common Western centre. The intrusion of mostly Turkic tribes, starting with the Huns and ending with the Bulgars and the Magyars, left a permanent wedge between the Southern and the Northern Slavs, whose geographical continuity still remains unbroken. The Poles, as the most conservative and least mobile of the Western (Lechitic) tribes, stayed behind in the original habitat. West Slavonic expansion was mainly towards the Elbe and the Saale, but it did not lead to sharp phonetic cleavages: for instance, the groupings *kvě/gvě* and the affricates *c*, *dz* (*z*) < *tj*, *dj* remain characteristic of all West Slavonic languages, though anything like a real unity is denied by a closer comparison of present-day types or their mediæval prototypes. Several of the historically recorded Western tribes were later germanised, viz. all the Polabian and Baltic Slavs, except the East Pomeranians (Cassubians and Slovicians). But frag-

ments of West Slavonic survived into the 18th century as far west as the Transalpine Drawehn in the Lüneburger Wendland. The language of these Drzewianie (the Polish name for them) survives in scanty vocabularies, which the author lists and compares with Polish forms (e.g. *t'im*, P. *koń*; *plaug*, P. *plug*; *pic*, P. *pieć*), trying to prove the close relationship of the language with Cassubian and his mother tongue, though it is obvious that the differences, phonetic and lexical, are equally considerable (e.g. *t'otāl*, P. *kocioł*, *wuca*, P. *owca*; *natā*, P. *trzoda*; *slepāc*, P. *kogut*).

Of the Polish-speaking tribes the closest related are the Polanie, Słężanie, and Wiślanie, which accounts for the present-day resemblances between the dialects of Polonia Major (Wielkopolska), Polonia Minor (Małopolska), and Silesia in contrast to the Masovian dialect and Cassubian, which the author, like Nitsch (whose dialect-map he reproduces), treats as a Polish dialect. Nevertheless the peculiarity of the Masovian dialect known as mazuration (i.e. the change of *cz*, *ż*, *sz* into *c*, *z*, *s*) is shared by those of Małopolska and some Silesian ones (e.g. *czapka*, *zaba*, *szyja* > *capka*, *zaba*, *syja*), and the conservation of nasal vowels by the eastern and the southern dialects is another phonetic trait which distinguishes them from that of Wielkopolska, where they have become denasalised (e.g. *będę* > *bende*, *zab* > *zomb*). But in spite of these differences the four types of Polish stand together and apart from Cassubian, which has several features linking it with the languages of the extinct Baltic tribes (Obodryci, Weleci), notably *ot* for Common Slavonic preconsonantal *l* (*wotk*, P. *wolk*; *potni*, P. *pełny*) and the palatalisation of consonants preceding *ar* (*m'artw*, P. *martwy*; *cw'ardi*, P. *twardı*). The dialect map of Poland to-day shows a small area abutting on the Baltic, west of Danzig, with two types of Pomeranian (Cassubian and Slovincian), the valley of the Vistula shared from north to south by Great Polish (heard also in the valley of the middle Warthe), Masovian, and Little Polish respectively, and the basin of the upper Oder occupied by Silesian. This distributes the Polish dialects geographically into a northern (Great Polish and Masovian) and a southern pair (Silesian and Little Polish), whose interrelations we have already observed. They were welded into a linguistic unity by political crystallisation round a Great Polish (Posnanian) nucleus under the Piasts, and the kingdom of Mieszko I at the end of the 10th century held them all under a common name. A literary language based on Great Polish gradually provided a stronger link for the Polish dialects.

It is the story of the growth of this literary language that occupies the bulk of *Język polski* (pp. 77-474). Phonetically the Great Polish basis expresses itself in the antithesis of hush and hiss sibilants (*cz*, *z*, *sz* : *c*, *z*, *s*) and of front and back nasal vowels (*e* : *ę*), and in the emergence of *η* (< *n* + *k*, *g*), which also occurs in Little Polish. Lexically its influence is to be seen, for instance, in the replacement of Little Polish *dzierzeń* and *eże* by *tzrymac* and *iż*. The contrary influence of Little on Great Polish is also noticeable (e.g. the dative ending *-owi* for *-ewi* :

królowi for *królewī*), but to a less marked degree, in spite of the political preponderance of Cracow-centred Małopolska under the Piasts and the Jagiellios.

Polish still retains much of the hypothetical Common Slavonic heritage. Its major phonetic changes are the reflexes of the *ě* and *y* still manifest in Old Church Slavonic. Of these *ě* is represented by the apophony of *e/a* and *e/o*, which illustrate an incipient vowel-harmony (e.g. *bzelić* : *biały*, *mierzyc* : *miara*, *ziele* : *zióło*, *ženic* : *żona*) and for which we have parallels in the other Slavonic and in the Baltic languages (e.g. Latvian). The treatment of the Common Slavonic "yers" (*ǐ, ǔ*) involved no phonetic discrimination and depended solely on their relation to stress : they lapsed in weak position and became *e* when accented (e.g. *přes* < *ǐsǐū*, O.P. *psek* < *ǐsǐkǔ*). The C.S. syllabic sonants (*r, l*) have developed supporting vowels (e.g. *wilk* < *ǔlikǔ*, *garb* < *grǔbǔ*), and the metathesis of *el/ol, er/or*, initially and medially, gives *ła, le, ło, ra, rze, ro* (e.g. *łabędź, mleko, młot, radło, brzeg, wrota*). C.S. *t, d + j* gives the *c, dz* peculiar to West Slavonic, and the author postulates a double set of consonants, hard and soft, to explain the consonantal dichotomy of modern Polish. Of the C.S. vocabulary, according to the author's own computation, some 1,700 words, i.e. about a quarter of the average current stock of words (8,000), are represented "without fundamental change" in Polish. More than half of these are nouns, 10 per cent. are adjectives, and about 25 per cent. are verbs. Semantically these words are, for the most part, reflections of everyday impressions, with a minimum of abstract and esoteric terms. The culture they body forth is that of settled agricultural tribes with a developed system of family relationships. In course of time this initial vocabulary was very considerably increased, mainly by the transforming process of derivation from already extant material and partly by accessions from other languages. The latter source implies culture contacts, whether with a living language or a cultivated dead one, and serves to fill in the background to a picture of vital growth.

As a literary language Polish emerged late. It was preceded by Bulgarian, Serbian, Russian, and even Czech, which, like all other languages subject to the influence of Latin ecclesiastical culture, had been checked in its earliest phase. There is no record of the existence of a literary work in Polish till the early 14th century, though there are numerous lists of proper names in Latin bulls going back to the 12th (e.g. the Gniezno Bull of 1136) and records of Latin loan-words since the christianisation of the country from Bohemia under Mieszko I (e.g. *anioł, krzyż, papież, msza, żegnać, marzec*). Besides Latin loans it is very likely that certain German ones also entered the language at an early date (e.g. *szlachta, rycerz, rzesza, berto, barwa, bursztyn*). The oldest sentence in Polish occurs in a Latin document of 1270 from Silesia : *sine et ego etiam molam* (we read), *hoc est in polonico*—*day ut ia pobrusa a ti poziwai* (i.e. *daj ać ja pobrucze, a ty poczywaj*). The first connected work in the language is the short hymn to the Blessed Virgin (*Bogurodzicza dzewiczca*) whose oldest MS.

goes back to the 15th century. This exhibits certain archaic features, e.g. long forms of the 2nd sing. imperative (*spwcz, sziszcz, i.e. spuści, zyszczy*) side by side with shorter ones (e.g. *slisz, i.e. słysz*), which suggest that the 15th century was a transitional period in the evolution of Polish. Other mediæval documents are the so-called "Holy Cross Sermons" (*Kazania świętokrzyskie*), the *Psalterz Floriański* (early 14th century), which contains traces of Czech influence (e.g. *znamo* for *znajomo*, *cera* for *córa*, *mieza* for *miedza*), the *Żywot św. Błażeja* (late 14th century), with its individual orthography, the *Kazania Gnieźnieńskie*, possibly a Polish original, and several other religious writings in prose and verse, the most valuable of all being the *Biblia Królowej Zofii* (1455), which owes its origin to Czech inspiration and is relatively free from the complexities of Latinity. To the 15th century belongs Canon J. Parkosowicz's Latin treatise on Polish orthography, which for all its faults is important for the history of Polish as the earliest codex of observations on the pronunciation of the language. From a linguistic point of view also the short legal documents which go back to the 14th century are of considerable value for the characterisation of mediæval Polish. Their style is less influenced by foreign example and a specialised terminology and reproduces something of the simplicity and directness of everyday speech. This had assimilated numerous German loans, as the literary language had assimilated Latin and Czech loans, and by the 16th century there were nearly as many German words in Polish as there are to-day. Among the less obvious were the very Polish-looking *lada* (Lade), *ważny*, *rachunek*, *stosować*, *alkierz* (Erker), *żur* (sauer), *obcas* (Absatz), *prasa* (Presse), *trafić*, *szukać*, *szkoda*, *szlachta*, and *dzięki*.

We have now reached the 16th century and the "golden age" of Polish literature, when the inspiration of the Renaissance and the creative tension of the Reformation and the Counter-reformation led to the rise of a vernacular literature side by side with the already existing Latin one, and printing presses were set up in Cracow to multiply and popularise it. The effect of the Renaissance on Polish may be seen in the renewed influx of Greek and Latin terms, both concrete and abstract (e.g. *norma*, *fakt*, *trybunał*, *forteca*, *pomidory*), and that of the Renaissance and the Reformation together in the individual force and vitality of Rej, Kochanowski, and Skarga, whose language, unlike that of their mostly anonymous predecessors, is not so very different from modern Polish. By this time too a considerable part of the West Russian *szlachta* had become polonised, and this opened the way for Russian words into Polish (e.g. the endings *-icz*, *-owicz* for O.P. *-ic* and words like *czereśnia*, *bohater*, *sioto*, *czerep*). There was a decline of literary style from the middle of the 17th to the middle of the 18th century associated with the cultivation of the heavy, involved period and the use of archaisms and other verbal devices which recall Rej rather than Kochanowski. New life and a new manner emerged with the onset of Romanticism. Here the creative names are Mickiewicz, Słowacki, Krasiński, and Kraszewski, who, however, were

not uninfluenced by predecessors and contemporaries alike. Mickiewicz, for instance, drew on Zaleski, who was responsible for the introduction of a large number of Ukrainian loans. The post-romantic period brought the contributions of Sienkiewicz, Żeromski, and Reymont, each of whom introduced a personal element into the Polish vocabulary. In the present century, after the First World War, a self-conscious pose enters the language and takes on a variety of forms such as the use of mediæval archaisms (e.g. Jan Powalski), of dialectal matter (e.g. J. Kędzior), and of verbal jugglery (e.g. the futurists, integralists, *skamandryty*).

In the closing chapter of his book Lehr-Spławiński sketches the development of literary Polish as used for other than imaginative purposes and introduces passages taken from technical treatises. He also deals with points of interest in Polish pronunciation as between Poznań, Cracow, and Warsaw, and shows what phonetic peculiarities bind or separate the literary capitals. This brings him to the end of a fluently written and aptly illustrated work, whose serious defect lies in the occasional substitution of dogmatic statement for caution and reserve, where these are most needed, as in the introductory, non-linguistic section on origins.

W. K. MATTHEWS.

Ohlas písní ruských. Ohlas písní českých. By Fr. L. Čelakovský; Národní knihovna, Prague, 1948.

THE interesting thing about folksongs is their spontaneity; like Topsy, they "just grewed". If they are short and incidental they are labelled ballads, if long and heroic, epics, if neither of these things, just songs. They are nearly always tragic, if not tragi-comic like the tearful tale of "Clementine." Nothing illustrates the principle of growth—anonymous, spontaneous and ageless—better than the cumulative ballad of the "House that Jack Built" type, of which there are analogues in all languages. Another folk-technique is to repeat the second half of one line to form the first half of the line following. This device, like the refrain, gives the community song-makers time to think out the next theme. The chain of possible incidents and variations seems endless.

Historical truth in folksong is beside the point. What is important is to look for the motive, a difficult task in these sophisticated times. There is the singing that invariably accompanies weddings, feast-days and the like; there is the ballad of the paid entertainer. But to these we must add what I would like to call the Song of Work. It is the song of a mother rocking her child to sleep, of the ploughman treading the furrow, of the line of reapers moving across a field, of the unmarried and elderly women at their spinning parties. Primitive village life had discovered a truth which has recently been put into practice in the factory, that rhythmical singing keeps going a job of work that would otherwise be unbearably monotonous.

Folksong and ballad motives run in well-defined channels: love

(generally unrequited), the mischief of fairies and sprites, the exploits of a local hero, the deeds of the village simpleton. Many of these songs are conventional in conception, cliché-ridden and archaic in vocabulary, the product of a bygone folk-mentality. Sometimes they contain strings of meaningless jingles ("Nuts in May," "looby-loo"), a fact which illustrates the one-time functional quality of the folksong and folk-ballad. Occasional flashes of wit or philosophy are due rather to the accidental promptings of language itself than to any originality of the human mind. Rhythms vary according to the requirements of the situation. The themes are earthy, materialistic and specific, effects are gained by impact and shock rather than by subtlety of diction or fineness of sentiment. The tune is generally repeated chant-like for each line. Indian poetry, including that of the Gipsies, is almost invariably chanted in this way. A well-known example from Czech folk-literature is the anonymous ballad the *Orphan Child*, which is still chanted in the traditional way at sewing-parties in Czech villages and schools.

The folksong and folk-ballad draw their inspiration from all manner of situations, ancient or modern. A less sophisticated age than our own would have done for the Battle of Britain or the Invasion of Normandy what Wace did for William the Conqueror. Commenting on the Battle of Hastings Wace puts stirring words into the mouth of Roger de Montgomery, who commanded part of this invasion (an event which was oddly reversed in 1944):

"Strike, Frenchmen!
Ours is the field! On to the English!"

Such is the substance of folksong, folk-ballad, and folk-epic.

The step from folksong to creative poetry is simple and obvious. The motive force must be a literary or national revival. Eager collectors write down what has hitherto been mere oral tradition, and the collections find ready buyers. Ever anxious to continue satisfying the public craving, the more imaginative collectors exercise their poetic rights and create new songs in the style and spirit of the old. Poetry is born.

For enslaved nations mindful of their days of freedom folksong had a meaning doubly poignant. Folksongs show continuity of nationhood. The ballad and the epic carry a message of past prowess and future promise. The countryside is henceforth a hunting-ground for every shred of evidence to show that the mind of a people is still at work. Proverbs are collected in self-justification, since they illustrate the innate wisdom of a frustrated people.

František Čelakovský's fame was not spontaneous. Inspired by his school friends Kamarýt and Chmelenský (the former a collector of folksongs, the latter a poet, critic and librettist), and infected by Kollar's Slavism and the researches of Dobrovský, Šafařík and Palacký, Čelakovský (1799-1852) became a folksong enthusiast. Like Herder he collected themes from all parts of Slavdom, adapting them to the needs of Czech

prosody but preserving the spirit of the originals. Yet neither his *Miscellaneous Poems* (1822-1827) nor his first volume of *Slav National Songs* (1822) brought him instant fame. Living amid the excitement of the Czech Revival, a zealous contributor to the *Journal of the Czech Museum*, Čelakovský was puzzled by his non-recognition, especially as folksongs were quite in the mood of the period. His *Miscellaneous Poems* contain some original verse, and betray Čelakovský's twofold aim, to encourage the study and appreciation of Slavonic folksong both as artistic expression and as proof of Slavonic creativeness, and to set up new models for the lyricist to follow. Čelakovský condemned the imitation of classical models, and "classicism" being still in vogue it is easy to see in this some reason for his eclipse, the fate of many an innovator.

Then came the momentous year 1829. Russia, the "big Slav brother," at war with the Turks, had crossed the Danube. In the same year Čelakovský's *Echo of Russian Songs* appeared, telling the stirring deeds of past Russian heroes:—a tale woven round the name of Ilia Volžannin and the defeat of Ugadai, Genghiz Khan's successor, at Lehnitsa in 1241 after overrunning Russia and Poland; Alexander I's death at Tahanroh. The timing of the book could not have been better. San Stefano had been anticipated by nearly half a century. The enthralled lesser Slavs saw light and the end of "Germanentum." Prematurely, of course. Čelakovský's *Echo of Russian Songs* now made him something more than a national writer; it made him a national figure. Had one poem *Russians on the Danube* not been excised by the Austrians until 1847 his fame would have been even greater.

After 1829 Čelakovský returned to the songs of his own countrymen. Ten years after his *Echo of Russian Songs* appeared his *Echo of Czech Songs*. These have a more homely, intimate ring. The canvas is smaller, the themes are slight. To one theme Čelakovský returned again and again. It was the folksong as evidence of Slavonic unity. *Echo of Czech Songs* contains the famous ballad of *Toman and the Woodland Nymph*—symbol of undying Slavdom. Čelakovský had earlier translated Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, and the mystic symbolism of the Scottish poem is clearly reflected in *Toman*. The theme still lives in Welsh poetry (cf. the *Caniadau* of Gwynn Jones, 1934). Čelakovský, who was less of a poet than his contemporary J. Langer, set the pattern for others to follow. The folksong became the model for Czech lyricism, a poetic form brought to perfection by Erben several years later.

STUART E. MANN.

Pamiętnik Literacki, vol. XXXVIII, Warsaw, 1948; pp. v and 573. *Pamiętnik Literacki*, a special quarterly for the history of Polish literature, published before the war in Lwow and now in Warsaw under the joint editorship of Julian Krzyżanowski and Tadeusz Mikulski, devoted its last volume, XXXVIII, entirely to Mickiewicz, in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of his birth.

This stout volume contains ten large articles, a number of miscellanies, sources, bibliography and reviews. One paper—by Marian Szyjkowski from Prague—is about Czech translations of Mickiewicz, another—about a friend of Mickiewicz; two small contributions deal with some details of the history of Mickiewicz's fame. All the other articles are critical examinations of Mickiewicz's poetry. There are no papers on Mickiewicz's biography, his political activity or his prose works. This concentration on Mickiewicz's poetry gives the volume a certain degree of unity.

The first paper is the most valuable. It is by Wacław Borowy and under the title *Mickiewicz in the classical school* provides a subtle and well-balanced analysis of Mickiewicz's juvenile poetry (up to his *Ode to the Youth*) based on the classical tradition of the 18th century. A note added to the paper describes it as "a tentative chapter from a larger whole." At the same time Borowy published, in other periodicals, two more studies on Mickiewicz's poetry, one on *Grażyna* and the other on *The Forefathers' Eve*. All three seem to herald a book that should be an event in Polish literary life, namely a book on Mickiewicz's poetry written by the most subtle and acute of contemporary Polish critics.

One of the greatest merits of Borowy's critical method is his sense of proportion which is never blurred by his enthusiasm for Mickiewicz's poetry. It is an exhilarating experience to compare the few lines he devoted to young Mickiewicz's trifling exercise in elaborate style *Winter in Town* (*Zima miejska*) with a long, extremely erudite and pretentious paper on the same subject by Wacław Kubacki published in this volume.

In subsequent papers we pass to Mickiewicz the Romantic. Czesław Zgorzelski wrote a detailed and interesting analysis of Mickiewicz's ballads. Konrad Górski's *Remarks on "Grażyna"* show that poem against the background of the newly awoken interest for Lithuanian antiquities. Julian Krzyżanowski publishes a paper on *The greatness and originality of "Pan Tadeusz"*. The paper by Mme Zofia Szmydtowa on *gawęda* elements in Mickiewicz's poetry has a special value. *Gawęda* is an intimate narrative, very loosely composed, put into the mouth of a simple and usually jolly fellow, written in colloquial language and full of local colour (Burns's *Tam o' Shanter*, for instance, would be by Polish standards a *gawęda*). Mme Szmydtowa makes some penetrating remarks on the use of such elements in Mickiewicz's later poetry, especially in *Pan Tadeusz*.

One is less happy about Tadeusz Dworak's *Analysis of comparisons in "Pan Tadeusz"*. Its author loses himself in a maze of irrelevant details. What is the use, for instance, of the knowledge that in the first book of *Pan Tadeusz* there are 32 short comparisons, 12 medium, 7 long and 1 very long, while in the fifth book the respective numbers are 38, 7, 7 and 3?

Zygmunt Sitnicki reviews Dante's influence on Mickiewicz. Some of the examples he quotes are too futile to be convincing.

An unfinished paper by the late Stanisław Łempicki, *The so-called "Heinrech" in the autograph of "The Books of the Polish Pilgrimage,"* is of a quite different character. It deals with the fascinating and little-known problem of the sources of Mickiewicz's mystical theories. Łempicki points out a number of analogies between the ideas expressed in the third part of *The Forefathers' Eve* and the teaching of a German mystic and psychiatrist, Johann Christian August Heinroth, with whose works Mickiewicz might have become acquainted during one of his stays in Germany between 1829 and 1832. Some of these analogies are striking. They don't, however, solve the problem of the influences that shaped Mickiewicz's mystical and esoteric ideas. We know, mostly from Mickiewicz himself, that at the root of them are some experiences of the Russian period and some contacts in Russia with the followers of Saint Martin and members of other sects, but we know little more than that. Let us hope that in the forthcoming volume of *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo* devoted to Mickiewicz in Russia, to which every historian of Polish literature looks forward with excitement, we shall find at last materials that will permit us to solve that mysterious problem.

Two out of eight items of the *Miscellanies* are especially worth mentioning. Thus, Borowy states the grounds on which he made textual emendations of some of Mickiewicz's lyrics. The corrected text is to be found in the first volume of the "national" edition of Mickiewicz's works which—together with three others—has just appeared. Thus now at last there is a completely reliable text of Mickiewicz's lyrics.

The other item is by Mme Zofia Ciechanowska. It is a biography of Walenty Wańkowicz, a friend of Mickiewicz, a follower of Towiański and a painter to whom we owe portraits of Mickiewicz and Pushkin. The biography is thorough and detailed. It was thrown by the editors into the limbo of *Miscellanies* solely because, one surmises, it dealt only indirectly with Mickiewicz.

Lastly, it should be added that one of the reviews of the volume, by Julian Krzyzanowski, discusses the English edition of Mickiewicz's poems published in the U.S.A. in 1944 by George Rapall Noyes. The reviewer stresses there the scientific value of Prof. Noyes's commentaries, adding in a number of points to our knowledge.

WIKTOR WEINTRAUB.

Slavonic Encyclopædia. Edited by Joseph S. Rouček, Ph.D.; Philological Library, New York, 1949, pp. 1445.

SLAVONIC studies are not yet so firmly established that they can afford to waste opportunities. The need for a book of this kind is manifest; the zeal and energy of the editor and his contributors is beyond question, all the more disappointing is the result. It is not that the *Slavonic Encyclopædia* is without merit and value. Many of the biographical articles, especially those on living American Slavs, and much of the

descriptive economics and politics of the Slavonic world of 1946 are accurate and useful. The book too has a valuable appendix in which the new constitutions of Bulgaria, Poland, the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia are set out. But as soon as the most modest tests of scholarship are applied to the history, philology, literary and musical criticism, ethnography and orthography of the book, its weaknesses are apparent on almost every page. An encyclopædia is like a railway time-table: if it is inaccurate it is worse than useless, it is dangerous. The failure of this book is the more regrettable because, even though the editor preferred not to go outside the United States, there is much sound Slavonic scholarship in America which could have produced a far more reliable encyclopædia than this is. It is incredible that in the long list of contributors the names of Harrison Thomson, Lednicki, Cross, Jakobson, Vernadsky, Vasiliev, Simmonds, Špinka and of the dozen other distinguished American Slavists do not appear. Only two British scholars appear in the list; one of them, Professor Lavrin, is characteristically assigned to "University College; British Broadcasting Co."

It is tempting, but it would be supererogatory, to give a long list of the errors and faults of the book, but enough must be said to justify an adverse judgment.

Characteristic is this passage literally taken from the article on "Language" (p. 626): "The Western group comprises Czech, Slovak, Polish, with its close relatives, Kashur and Slovinian, and the language of the Polarian Slavs, now extinct & the other Slavs in Germany, now represented by Upper & Lower Lusatian." Even if the innocent enquirer did recognise Kashub, Lusatian-Serb and Polabian here, he might still be misled into believing that the first and second were extinct, and that all three were once spoken in Lausitz. This article on Language is a most perverse confusion of learning and error. Statements such as "прогидние = proiganije" (p. 616), "шекспир = Shakespeare," and "Гете = Goethe" (p. 617), are examples of the frequent printing of л for п and м for т which often reduces the articles which deal with philology, scripts and orthography to unintelligibility. On page 618 there is an elaborate table of western equivalents of Cyrillic letters, but confidence in it must be undermined if the enquirer observes that the table equates ә with the z or s of English, French, Italian, German, "Neth.," Finnish, Polish and Czech. What confidence can any reader retain after he has seen the description of the Kiev chronicle as "Provist' vremenych lit" (p. 893)?

Despite a long article on the "Romanisation" of Slavonic scripts, there is in the body of the book a complete absence of diacritics, so that Karel Čapek appears as naked as his American namesake Thomas Capek. (Incidentally, while the *Encyclopædia* lists and dates seventeen of Thomas Capek's inconsiderable works, it mentions only one of the great Karel's, and that is undated.) But even the absence of diacritical aids to pronunciation will not be as mystifying as an ethnographical article headed

"Kaimyks" or a reference to a Serbian philologist named "Vuk Karadžić" (p. 12), and to a cathedral in Prague dedicated to "St. Vita" (p. 19). It seems unnecessary to invent for St. Wenceslas yet another variant of his already variously spelt name, which appears on page 19 as "Venceslaus," especially when the main article on him spells the word, inadvisedly, in its Latin form of "Wenceslaus." It is also difficult to understand why, of the four Bohemian kings of that name, only the fourth is deemed worthy of special mention; or why, of the many men named Nicholas who have ruled Slav states, only Nicholas of Montenegro is honoured by an article to himself.

In a book which is deformed often into incomprehensibility by the editor's anxiety to save every em of space, it is astonishing to see how much space is wasted on meaningless irrelevances. What does it help to be told of Niemcewicz that "his writings equalled *La Fontaine's*"? The enquirer who seeks to know something about the composer F. X. Dusek will find two dates and three words about him and then be regaled with a half a dozen lines about Dusek's "beautiful wife Josefin." For one of the greatest Slavs, Havlíček, six lines suffice, while Danny Kaye (*né* Kaminski) gets twenty-one, including a list of the "movies" in which he has appeared. The information that Kaye's "specialty" is "the speedy singing of unintelligible and difficult-to-pronounce words" suggests the thought that he might well be provided with a libretto from almost any page of this encyclopædia. On what criterion can Vera Hrubá Ralston, "Skating star of the Ice-Capades," be given as much space in a Slavonic Encyclopædia as the article headed "Duma," which article, by the way, does not indicate that the Duma was ever anything more than "a sort of local government board elected by landlords"?

Anyone who browses in this extraordinary book will, however, find that it has its compensations. When he has wearied his brains in an attempt to interpret a sentence like that on page 624: "Among the many differences between the Russian and the U.L. the 1 of pronunciation of certain letters of the alphabet. For instance, the letter *h*. The U. pronounce it soft, just like the Americans do," he is almost certain to find immediate relief in a gem like the concluding words on "Kardelj, Edward, Jr.": "Vic Premier, Foreign Minister & No. 1 braintruster of Yugoslavia."

It will be realised from the passages cited above that the contributors to this book have even less respect for the English (or American) than for the Slavonic languages in which they flounder so nonchalantly; the most hardened school certificate examiner will find here ways of misusing the words "as," "such," "like" and "similar" which will astound even him.

begin with the famous Firlej family of Reformation days, and go on to note the name of Aleksander Fredro (1793-1876)—there are 25 other Fredros as well!, the celebrated actor Mieczysław Frenkiel, six members of the Fukier (Fugger) clan of bankers, the oldest of the chroniclers, Gallus Anonimus, Archbishop Piotr Gamrat (1487-1545), and Gustaw Gebethner (1831-1901)—with one "set" still to come

This selection of names, which is bound to be invidious in a way, is only designed to serve as a guide to the range and variety of materials here brought together, covering at least six centuries of troubled history, and including every type of human activity. Notable is the number of non-Polish names,—in particular of German and Italian origin, but it is of interest to see that the name Fox (Foxius) appears six times, starting with the goldsmith who settled in Cracow (coming in all probability from Scotland) before 1539. One may express a doubt here and there as to the propriety of including a figure of note, e.g. that of Fryderyk August (1750-1827), the Saxon King who became Duke of Warsaw at Napoleon's bidding in 1807; but at least this can be said of him that he did speak Polish.

The Academy of Sciences is to be congratulated on the resumption of this stupendous enterprise, and on the fact that Professor Władysław Konopczyński has survived as Editor-in-Chief, where so many of his colleagues died as victims of Nazi barbarism. It cannot be urged too strongly that all non-Polish libraries throughout the world should become regular subscribers to an encyclopedia of this kind, whose value for European history is self-evident.

W. J. ROSE

Adam Czartoryski. Tome I. By Marcei Handelsman; Warszawa, Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie, 1948, pp. xx and 334.

THE tragic circumstances in which the late Professor Handelsman's life-work was written commends it to the sympathetic attention of all students of the history of Poland. The outbreak of the war in 1939 ruined his vast plan of exhaustive studies on Polish political problems of the 19th century. He then tried to sum up his studies in a comprehensive, though not pedantic, biography of Prince Adam Czartoryski, whose enigmatical figure appeared at every turning point of the history of that period. Handelsman began to write under a constant threat of a German hunt for Polish scholars; he changed his dwelling several times; copied and filmed the first part of his manuscript, buried it unfinished in his garden. Then, being arrested and deported, he died in a German concentration camp (March 1945). Unearthed, his posthumous work is now being edited by Stephen Kieniewicz and published by the Warsaw Society of Learning. Unfortunately, the work—left unfinished by the author—shows considerable disproportions in its main parts.

Vol. I, recently published, contains the biography of the Prince till

1846. It brings a lot of new historical details and explains the intricacies of the internal politics in Poland and among the Polish émigrés. Vol II, next to be published, will analyse Czartoryski's foreign politics, and Vols. III and IV the outreach of the Polish Question during the Crimean War. Had the author been given leisure to finish and to revise his monograph it would have been a magnificent work. Unfortunately, a part of his notes was destroyed and the "Conclusion" lost. In spite of minute and sympathetic introspection into all motives of Czartoryski's activity, his moral portrait, drawn by Handelsman, shows a queer contradiction. Handelsman qualifies Czartoryski "a true Hamlet in Polish edition" and expatiates on three prejudicial influences paralysing Czartoryski's will and being the cause of his imputed lack of decision. These were: the heritage of the 18th-century moral weakness, his too long being dominated by his mother and his disheartening friendship with Tsar Alexander I. Yet it must be said that, curiously enough, Handelsman himself in his work gave innumerable facts contradicting his initial thesis.

In fact, and in spite of these unhappy impediments, Czartoryski's life proved an astonishing and exemplary consequence and constancy of efforts in all his political and military enterprises. Handelsman analyses his projects drawn in 1803 and 1806, his scheme of the Congress Kingdom Constitution of 1815, his noble and learned *Essai sur la Diplomatie*, his idea of planning Poland's prospective Constitution on the basis of that of the 3rd May, and in all these acts and tendencies he sees Czartoryski's striving towards the single aim: to prepare and to achieve his country's independence. So these efforts, though unsuccessful, should be the criterion of the inference on his merits and character. Czartoryski's motto: "Do not stop working! Do not lose faith!" cannot be taxed of hamletism.

Strange was the life of Prince Czartoryski. His last biography still shows contradictions unfortunately left unlevelled by his indefatigable biographer.

J. A. TESLAR.

O Szczęściu. By W. Tatarkiewicz; Kraków, 1947.

THIS book represents the life-work of one of the most prominent leaders of contemporary philosophical thought in Poland. As in other Central European countries, many Polish philosophers have concentrated their attention on the investigation of the limits of human knowledge. The author, on the contrary, has devoted himself chiefly to the study of morality and the philosophy of Art.

Born in 1886 under the Tsarist regime in Warsaw, he spent most of his life in the Polish capital, with the exception of his frequent journeys abroad. Beside his prolonged stay in Marburg, where he graduated in 1910 as Doctor of Philosophy, his studies took him to a number of foreign cities, such as Zürich, Berlin, Paris and London. Appointed in 1915 as

the first Professor of Philosophy in the reconstituted Polish University of Warsaw, he soon acquired wide popularity among the students through his inspiring lectures on the history of philosophy, ethics, and the philosophy of Art. From now on, he quickly progressed from one scientific distinction to another. He became first a Correspondent, then a Member, of the Polish Academy, was given the direction of an important philosophical magazine, and the chairmanship of several philosophical societies, he was also invited to take an active part in a number of international bodies, such as the International Institute of Philosophy. He came to England to deliver lectures at international conferences and was frequently seen in the Reading Room of the British Museum.

The last war deprived the author of his home, which was burned down together with a great number of books and notes containing materials for several works. In Warsaw, too, he nearly lost the only manuscript of his book *On Happiness* which he had just finished. He saved it from his burning home and carried it away with a few remaining possessions. But his troubles did not finish there. He was sent to a German concentration camp, and when the inspecting Prussian officer learnt of the contents of the book, he threw it contemptuously into the gutter with the words: "There is no need for this type of books any more. Polish culture has ceased to exist, anyway." With great composure, the Polish professor picked up the manuscript—and the book was saved once more.

The book *On Happiness* is by no means the first of the author's works. It was preceded by a long series of articles or larger publications of which the most important were his book on *The Absolute Good* and a *History of Philosophy* in two volumes which had soon reached its fourth edition. A third volume, entitled *Contemporary Philosophy*, is just being published.

The most striking feature of Tatarkiewicz's books is their style. Faithful to the ideals of beauty propounded in his university lectures, he applied them in his writings which are all masterpieces of clarity and simplicity, and, although documented with an impressive amount of references, represent the subject-matter in a most readable and amenable form even to readers with no special philosophical qualifications. The book *On Happiness* is no exception to this rule. And perhaps in no other work has the author left so clearly the impression of his own personality, the unmistakable traces of an essentially good and noble mind.

His main object has been to fill an astonishing gap in current philosophical literature which, although teeming with essays and treatises on a number of particular items connected with man's happiness, has never as yet produced a comprehensive work on the problem of happiness as a whole. The author claims thus to be the first to attempt a work which in the language of the scholastics should be called *summa de beatitudine*, a textbook and an encyclopædia of the philosophy and science of happiness.

Although the object of the book is mainly theoretical and descriptive, there are many practical hints and psychological observations which

betray the author's views on the art of acquiring happiness no less than on the questions about its nature. The author's main conclusions are summed up in the foreword: the conception of happiness is a complex one, and the great divergence of views in the matter is due to a great extent to its ambiguity. Happiness as an ideal is confused with happiness as a practical aim in life, momentary pleasure with a deeper satisfaction of life, pleasure derived from striving to reach an ideal in life with the ideal itself. While the acquisition of absolute happiness is as impossible as a fall into absolute unhappiness, it is within the reach of most people to become reasonably happy, although the ways in which this is done are as many as the individuals who apply them, and as the circumstances in which they live. Most people do not try to be happy, but to live a life free of worries, and they find happiness best when they least think of it.

As in every truly philosophical analysis, the author begins with the definition of the main concept. The ideal happiness, as Tatariewicz understands it, consists of a "lasting, full and justified (i.e. not merely illusory or pathological) satisfaction from life taken as a whole." It may seem odd to see excluded from the conception of happiness a state of all-round satisfaction acquired later in life, or generally for some limited time, even in conditions where no reasonable fear of its loss comes to the mind to disturb the enjoyment of an otherwise unmitigated pleasure. The author himself does not seem able to keep to his unnecessarily strict definition. Further on in the book he uses more than once the word "happiness" in the sense of a "happy moment" or "happy sensation."

Most valuable are the chapters which deal with the history of the theories of happiness, and those devoted to philosophical and typological analysis of happiness as an actual experience. And it is here that the significance of the book as an "encyclopædia of happiness" appears at its best.

The work excels by its frequently interspersed thoughts and deep observations. A moderately optimistic tone prevails. Real misfortune, the author says, is found only in lasting despair. Even the slightest ray of hope lightens the burden of the sufferer. The most inevitable of all evils, death, causes unhappiness chiefly through fear; and in later life it frequently appears as something desirable. Generally speaking, it is not so much the present, or the past, as the future that is the principal factor in happiness. Even the greatest happiness can be spoiled by the thought of its shortlivedness; and at times the unhappiness caused by the anticipation of a misfortune may be so great that it is almost a relief when it really comes. The worst suffering is frequently not the one directly experienced, but seeing the suffering of others and not being able to help. The author has a warning for hasty reformers: happiness and unhappiness are usually so interwoven that by trying to remove the causes of the latter one often destroys the source of the former. Thus

the Stoics who tried to become insensitive to the pangs of all passions ended by taking all joy out of life.

One needs a "talent" to be happy just as one needs it in other matters in life. Some are "born happy" and remain cheerful in almost any conditions; with others the reverse is the case.

It is a pity that the author does not express more of his own views on the various problems whose historical development he traces so clearly. On the other hand, many theories of secondary importance could have been omitted or dismissed with but a few words. These shortcomings arise no doubt from the author's attempts to be too thorough and to avoid in his work any remark that might be considered as personal bias, contrary to the objective judgment of a historian.

Unless this reviewer is mistaken, the reader will concur with the verdict of the Polish Academy which granted the author an award for this crowning work of his life.

R. A. L. WENTWORTH.

London.

Conversational Russian—A Beginner's Manual. By George A. Znamensky; Ginn & Co., Boston, 1948, pp. xvi and 298, 8°, \$4.

AMONG the many Russian grammars, older and recent, published in France, England, and in the U S A., Professor Znamensky's book can claim special distinction as regards the originality of method and approach, aimed especially at the needs of the student in English-speaking universities and colleges. To quote from the Preface:

"The method of approach in this textbook is based on the theory that it is logical to begin the study of a foreign language with words that have something familiar about them. Hence the extensive use of cognates in this book. The task of vocabulary-building is greatly simplified during the crucial early stages by emphasis on the similarities, rather than on the differences, between the foreign and the English words. Without strange roots of entirely Slavic origin to distract him, the student may concentrate on the endings.—Cognates are not enough, however. They must be in context —The study of thought units shortens the process of establishing habits of correct usage and new speech patterns

"Each lesson in Part One is a unit, the core of which is a connected reading in everyday Russian on a single topic. These readings have been prepared with great care. The questions at the end of each selection can be used as a point of departure for conversation; and the selections themselves, in whole or in part, may be committed to memory. The length of time to be devoted to each unit is not fixed.

"The text assumes that the class will be conducted chiefly in Russian. Students read, write, and pronounce the Russian words and sentences without translating them. They answer the questions in Russian, in complete sentences; or they listen while the instructor answers, and

then they repeat what he says. In preparation for class, the students are required (1) to study the vocabulary of the next lesson as directed; (2) to read and reread the passage aloud, endeavouring to grasp as much of the meaning as possible; and (3) to read aloud the comprehension questions which follow, answering them both orally and in writing. Exercises drill the student on special difficulties. A section of questions on grammar in each lesson encourages the student to make his own generalisations about the forms and structure of the language he is observing in action. Thus the method is inductive.

"Part Two is a concise handbook of grammar, to which the student is repeatedly referred for answers—or for confirmation of his own answers—to the questions asked in each lesson in Part One. Here grammatical principles are so well explained as to need little further emphasis by the instructor. This fact, together with the grammatical index, makes it possible for the instructor to place the burden of grammatical investigation on the student's initiative."

Instructors in Russian will find this co-ordination of Parts One (25 lessons) and Two an excellent arrangement based on the association of ideas. The learning of words is greatly facilitated by their division into syllables. The printing and illustrations are faultless, only a few minor misprints have been noted, which need not be pointed out here. The text is enlivened by typical proverbs, verses from well-known poems, and folk songs with musical notations.

The synopsis of the Russian sounds on pp. 2-3 is given in a manner which helps to visualise their similarity and dissimilarity with the English without too many minute phonetic nuances. Phoneticians might find the equation of *l* with that in *law* too simple, because of the omission of the hard *l*, which might be illustrated by *wall*. The *shch* sound can be found in the combination *parish church* (or *fresh cheese*, as given in some grammars), when pronounced as a single word.

Among the useful verbs *brósiť*, *výbrosiť* and *výigrat'* might have been included, as well as the words contained in the captions of illustrations. Slight revision of wording in paragraphs 32, 75, 79, and 227 might add to clearness.

On p. 134, par. 59, the author gives a rule illustrated by the verb *byl*, which is not in harmony with the examples on pp. 38, 88, 92 and 93, about Lomonósov and Pushkin. This is of course, a matter of detail, rather fully treated by Fiódor Ivánovitch Busláev (1818-1897) in his *Historical Grammar of the Russian Language*, 5th ed., Moscow, 1881, II, pp. 262-65. The idea of a "permanent" or "temporary" condition is not at the root of the construction, as in Spanish and Portuguese where two different verbs, *ser* and *estar*, are used. It is rather the idea of *definition* (of something *considered as* intrinsic or inherent), i.e. *opredélénie*, when the Nominative case is used, and that of an *occupation, condition*, (i.e. having become something), when the Instrumental case is used.¹

¹ Cf. A. Potebnia, *Iz zapisoĭ po rússkoi grammatikě*, Kharkov, 1889, pp. 495-99.

Busláev, II, p 264, says : " From the aforesaid examples it is obvious that the two cases, the Nominative and the Instrumental, in the case of the verb *byt'*, in all moods and still in many instances, are used interchangeably without any perceptible (*vidimoi*) cause. However, for the purpose of practical guidance, it ought to be pointed out that the Instrumental case of a substantive, in most cases, indicates a non-inherent characteristic, where the verb *byt'* can be substituted by *sdělat'sja*, *stat'*, *kazat'sja*, for ex., Lomonósov *byl rybakóm* (i.e. for some time) ; Karamzin *byl istoriógrafom* (i.e. appointed). By the Nominative case of the substantive an inherent characteristic is indicated, for ex. Lomonósov *byl velikii čelovek*."

This last statement is not quite exact. In the little book for children, *Syn rybáká* [Mikhail Vasilievitch Lomonósov], 3rd ed., Skt. Petersburg, 1851, we find the following sentences which illustrate what we said above : *rebiónok byl krasávčik* ; *on búdět slávnyi rybak* ; (our ancestors) *vsě byli rybákí* ; *da čem že iemu i byt', kak ně rybakóm?* ; *búduť slávnymi prússkimi soldátami*. In Czech, and especially in Polish, however, the Instrumental case alone is considered, at least by the purists, to be the correct one in both instances, though in Czech one might well say : *Byl mým dobrým přítelem, ale byl velký lenoch* (He was a good friend of mine, but was a great loafer) ; *byl Čech* (he was a Czech), but *byl dobrým Čechem* (he was a good, i.e. patriotic Czech). Similarly in Slovak : *bol platený agent* (he was a paid agent), but : *bol žiariacim majákom* (he was a shining beacon).

Professor Znamensky's grammar, as the title indicates, can also be used as a Beginner's Manual or reference book for all questions confronting the first year's student of Russian. It constitutes a distinct contribution to methodology and will undoubtedly meet with a fully deserved success.

A. R. NYKL.

Cambridge, Mass.

The Waggon of Life. Translations by Sir Cecil Kisch, K.C.I.E., C.B. ;
The Cresset Press, 1935

THIS attractively produced book contains sixty well-chosen lyrics by Pushkin, Lermontov, Tyutchev, A. K. Tolstoy, Turgenev, Nekrasov, Fet, Maikov, Nadson and Apukhtin, with Russian originals faced by English verse-translations. The Russian texts, which have been reproduced with extremely few misprints, form in themselves an agreeable though necessarily fragmentary anthology which any lover of Russian literature will look through with pleasure. His attitude to the English versions will depend on what he expects of a verse-translation, his understanding of the difficulties involved, and his sympathy with the translator. Anyone who has tried to translate Russian verse will know what Sir Cecil Kisch has taken on in his attempt to preserve the metre and rhyme-schemes of the originals and at the same time keep strictly to the meaning. It may be said that on the whole these objects have been achieved. There

appear to be a few misreadings of the original, one of which (from Nekrasov) is unfortunately quoted in the Introduction ; but generally speaking the original meaning appears in the English versions, though with a certain, perhaps unavoidable, "embroidering" and with some rather arbitrary handling of tenses. The rhyme-schemes and rhyme-types have for the most part been adhered to (and in the translation of Fet's *The Storm* even echoed : R. *shum—dummy*, E. *boom—gloomy*, etc.), except in the case of the three-syllable rhymes which, so easily manipulated in Russian, are practically impossible to reproduce in English save in assonantic approximations. But a heavy price has had to be paid for all this, and the price is the almost entire loss of the limpid simplicity, the "grazing the ground—but with wings," of the Russian. Here and there a line or a couplet or a whole verse preserves something of this simplicity, e.g.

"And so, I think, she has not died
But only set—as might a star

Do you remember, Mary,
The house built long ago . . . ?

High over us belated clouds are flying,
Whose last array will soon
Melt into flakes, transparent, softly dying
Beneath the sickle moon."

But too often the language of the translations is not simple but complicated ; clouded and cluttered with the traditional turns of third-rate 19th-century verse :

"And drown our grim woes in its mirth . . .

'Mid letters heaped upon the floor
She sat, and having conned them, hasted . . .

Who tells, if I love you ? I know not ;
But somehow, methinks, I love you."

Amid all this an occasional colloquialism strikes a strange note, or an inappropriate word grates on the ear :

"The waves hustle forward, then backward they dash . . .
With grief the lonely soul to batter . . ."

To the question : Do the English versions sound at all poetical ; do they echo anything of the poetic *spirit* of the original ? the answer must, I think, for the most part be No. One must nevertheless pay tribute to the loving labour and verbal ingenuity of a translator who is clearly devoted to his subject.

W. A. M.

NOTES ON THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD "VAMPIRE"

ACCORDING to Skeat *vampire* is the only word in English derived from the Serbian. This is not accurate, for we have *waywode*, *hospodar* and perhaps others, and *vampir* is not in origin a Slavonic word.

The O E D maintains that it is of Slavonic origin, quoting several variants in the different Slavonic languages, including such forms as Ruthenian *vepyr*—which may have been influenced by *vepar*, a boar (Polish *wieprz*)—all more or less closely resembling the original *vampir*. Miklosich suggests the North Turkish *uber*, a witch, but this we can dismiss as a mere guess. The word is not given by Hony, nor is it known to any educated Turk whom I have asked. The boot is on the other leg, for *uber* must simply be a loan-word by the northern Turks from the already corrupt Russian form *upir* (Polish *upiór*). The Concise Oxford Dictionary gives also the Magyar form as *vampir*, but this is borrowed directly from the Serbian, like so many other Hungarian words.

But the word cannot be traced to any Slavonic root, nor does it "ring Slavonic." Whence, then, did the Serbs derive it?

The clue is given by yet another Slavonic dialect form which the O.E.D. does not give, the Bosnian *lampir*, recorded by Miss Durham (*Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*).

The change from *l* to *v* offers no difficulty in the Slavonic languages: for instance, the Russian *byl* and *byv-sh*, Serbian *bila*, *bilo* and *biva*, *bivo*. Further, in Serbian *l* and *o* are interchangeable, as in such forms as *talac*, *taoac*, and the Serbian *-o* is the equivalent of the Polish guttural *ɛ*, which is pronounced like the English *v*.

Approaching the problem from a different angle, we find that the second clue is entomological. When the South Slavs came down into the Balkans, for the first time they saw flying glow-worms. In central Europe they had known only the common glow-worm, *Lampyrus noctiluca*. The difference is important. With the central European species it is the female that shows the light but, as she is wingless, she sits on the grass motionless. In the southern species (*L. nervosa*, *L. maculicollis* and *L. tenenbaumi*) it is the winged male that shows the light, and he flies about.

Now even those accustomed to the fairylike scene in its strangeness and beauty are impressed by it, as these tiny lanterns entwine their silent, unending mazes on still dark nights. To the primitive Slavs, packed with superstition, the impression must have been terrifying. To them it meant some form of devil.

We have a record of an actual case, with another Slavonic people. When the Russian settlers first reached the Pacific coast of Eastern Siberia and for the first time saw this magic scene, they were terrified, fired their rifles at it and bolted, screaming that the devil was after them. The scene is vividly described in *Dersu the Trapper*, by Arseniev.

I submit, therefore, that the same thing happened in the Balkans.

Having no word for this startling and unfamiliar phenomenon, they naturally borrowed the Greek word, *lampyrus*, which they shortened, to suit their own lips, to *lampyr*, *lampir*, just as they borrowed numerous other Greek words, even apart from ecclesiastical phraseology, such as *kit*, a whale, *talas*, a wave. *Lampir*, surviving in Bosnia, quickly evolved into *vampir* and was readily incorporated into their existing superstitions of *vjeshitsa*, the blood-sucking witch, and *vukodlak*, werwolf, helped perhaps by the association with the initial *v*. In Serbian to-day the words *vampir* and *vukodlak* are confused and used almost indiscriminately. It is only the former that has penetrated to the neighbouring language, as in Rumania it survives under the form *vârcolac*. In modern Greek it also appears as *vrykolax*. There may possibly also be association with an Italian dialect word I have heard of, *vamma*, a variant of *flamma* and *flamma*, as there is close association with Italian on the Dalmatian coast and, too, Italian words came in through the penetration of the bilingual Ragusans into both Nemanich and Ottoman Serbia.

MALCOLM BURR.

Istanbul.

R. W. SETON-WATSON

THE Editorial Board of the *Slavonic and East European Review* announces with keen regret the retirement as an Editor of Professor R. W. Seton-Watson after twenty-seven years of active service. It does hope, however, that the readers of the *Review* will still from time to time be able to profit by contributions from his pen.

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THE PUPPET SHOW

Translated from the Russian of ALEXANDER BLOK
by MARY KRIGER *and* GLEB STRUVE

TRANSLATORS' NOTE.—*The Puppet Show* is the first of Alexander Blok's lyrical dramas. Like the others, it is closely connected with his poetry of that period. When the three dramas (*The Puppet Show*, *The King in the Square* and *The Stranger*) were published, in 1908, in book-form, Blok wrote an introduction to them in which he said :

" . . . These little dramas, offered here to the reader, are *lyrical* dramas, that is, dramas in which the experiences of an individual soul, its doubts, passions, failures, falls, merely happen to be presented in dramatic form. I draw here no ideological, moral or other conclusions.

" All three dramas are linked together by the unity of the principal character and his aspirations. The grotesquely luckless *Pierrot* in *The Puppet Show*, the morally weak *Poet* in *The King in the Square*, and the other *Poet* who, yielding to his fancies and tipsy, dreamed away his vision in *The Stranger*—all these are, as it were, different facets of one man's soul ; identical likewise are their aspirations : they are all seeking the *life* beautiful, free and bright, which alone can relieve their weak shoulders of the unendurable burden of *lyrical* doubts and contradictions, and dispel the importunate and phantasmagoric doubles. For all three of them the beautiful life is an incarnation of the image of the Eternal Feminine ; for the first it is *Colombina*, the radiant bride whom only the sickly and nasty imagination of *Pierrot* could turn into a 'cardboard bride' ; for the second—*Architect's Daughter*, a beauty who cherishes a biblical dream and perishes together with the *Poet* ; for the third—the *Stranger*, a star that fell from the sky and took on flesh, only to disappear again, making fools of the *Poet* and the *Astrologer*.

" Moreover, all these dramas are united by a mocking tone which perhaps makes them akin to *Romanticism*, to that 'transcendental irony' of which the *Romantics* spoke."

The Puppet Show was produced in St. Petersburg, soon after its publication, by the late Vsevolod Meyerhold, to whom it was subsequently dedicated. It is here translated into English for the first time.

* * *

Dedicated to Vsevolod Emilievich Meyerhold

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

COLOMBINA.	CHAIRMAN OF THE MYSTICAL
PIERROT.	GATHERING.
HARLEQUIN.	THREE PAIRS OF LOVERS.
MYSTICS of both sexes, in frock-coats and fashionable gowns, and	CLOWN.
later in masks and fancy-dress costumes.	AUTHOR.

* * *

An ordinary stage interior with three walls, a window and a door. At a table, with candles on it, sit, wearing preoccupied expressions, MYSTICS of both sexes—in frock-coats and fashionable gowns. A little to one side, by the window, sits PIERROT, dressed in a white smock—dreamy, dejected, pale, without moustache or eyebrows, like all Pierrots.

For a time the MYSTICS are silent.

FIRST MYSTIC.

You are listening ?

SECOND MYSTIC.

Yes.

THIRD MYSTIC.

The event is coming.

PIERROT.

Eternal horror, eternal dark !

FIRST MYSTIC.

You are waiting ?

SECOND MYSTIC.

I wait.

THIRD MYSTIC.

Oh, close is the coming :

Beyond the window the wind gives a sign.

PIERROT.

Unfaithful! Where are you? The streets are drowsy
 And through them stretches the street-lamps' chain.
 There, couple by couple, the lovers are passing:
 Warmed by the light of their love, the twain.
 Where are you? Why should we not also enter
 The fated round—follow the final pair?
 Cheerless, go I and strum my guitar 'neath the window
 Where, 'midst your friends, you dance, free of care.
 I will rouge up my face, the pallid, the moonlike,
 Glue on a moustache, and eyebrows paint.
 Can you hear my poor heart, can you hear, Colombina,
 How it drags on and on its sorrowful plaint?

(PIERROT, giving way to his fancies, becomes more animated. But from behind the curtain, at the side, appears the worried AUTHOR.)

AUTHOR.

What is he saying? My esteemed audience! I hasten to assure you that this actor is making cruel fun of my author's rights. The action is supposed to be taking place in winter, in Petersburg. Where did he get the window and the guitar? I didn't write my drama for a puppet show . . . I assure you. . . .

(Suddenly, ashamed of his unexpected appearance, he hides again behind the curtain.)

PIERROT

(he has paid no attention to the AUTHOR. Sitting and dreamily sighing.)

Colombina!

FIRST MYSTIC.

You're listening?

SECOND MYSTIC.

Yes.

THIRD MYSTIC.

A maiden draws near from a distant land.

FIRST MYSTIC.

Oh, like marble—her features!

SECOND MYSTIC.

In her eyes—emptiness !

THIRD MYSTIC.

Oh, of what purity, oh, of what whiteness !

FIRST MYSTIC.

She'll approach, and all voices will instantly hush.

SECOND MYSTIC.

Yes. Silence will come upon us.

THIRD MYSTIC.

But for long ?

FIRST MYSTIC.

Yes.

SECOND MYSTIC.

She'll be white as the snows.

THIRD MYSTIC.

O'er her shoulders a scythe.

FIRST MYSTIC.

Who is she ?

(The SECOND bends over and whispers something in the ear of the FIRST.)

SECOND MYSTIC.

You won't give me away ?

FIRST MYSTIC *(genuinely horrified)*.

No, not I.

(The AUTHOR again pops out in alarm but quickly disappears again as though someone has pulled him back by his coat-tails.)

PIERROT *(in the same dreamy way)*.

Colombina ! Oh come !

FIRST MYSTIC.

Hush there ! Can't you hear steps ?

SECOND MYSTIC.

I hear rustling and sighs.

THIRD MYSTIC.

Oh, who is among us ?

FIRST MYSTIC.

Who's at the window ?

SECOND MYSTIC.

Who's at the door ?

THIRD MYSTIC.

Not a thing to be seen

FIRST MYSTIC.

Bring a light. Is it not she, who comes at this hour ?

(SECOND MYSTIC holds up a candle.

*Quite unexpectedly, and no one knows whence, there appears by the table an extraordinarily beautiful young girl with a simple and quiet face of opaque whiteness. She is in white. Indifferent is the gaze of her calm eyes. Over her shoulder lies her braided hair.**

She stands motionless. PIERROT kneels in prayerful ecstasy. One can see that he is choking with tears. For him, everything is ineffable. The MYSTICS, terror-stricken, sit back in their chairs. The leg of one of them dangles helplessly. Another makes strange gestures with his hand. A third goggles his eyes. Recovering after a while, they whisper loudly :)

- She has come !
- How white are her garments !
- Emptiness in her eyes !
- Features pale as marble !
- Over her shoulder, a scythe !
- It is she, Death !

(PIERROT hears this. Slowly rising, he goes up to the girl, takes her by the hand and leads her to the middle of the stage. He speaks in a voice, ringing and joyous, like the first peal of a bell.)

Ladies and gentlemen ! You are mistaken ! This is Colombina. This is my bride !

* In the original there is here an untranslatable pun on the word *kosa*, which means both " braid (of hair) " and " scythe."—TRANS.

(All are terror-stricken. Arms are outflung. Coat-tails sway. The
CHAIRMAN OF THE GATHERING *solemnly goes up to PIERROT.)*

CHAIRMAN.

You've gone out of your mind. All evening we have been awaiting an event. It is here. She has come to us—the quiet deliverer. We are visited by Death.

PIERROT *(in a ringing, childlike voice).*

I don't listen to fairy tales. I am a simple man. You can't deceive me. This is Colombina. This is my bride.

CHAIRMAN.

Ladies and gentlemen! Our poor friend has gone out of his mind from fear. He has never given a thought to that for which we have been preparing all our lives. He has not plumbed the depths nor prepared to meet submissively the Pale Friend in the last hour. Let us magnanimously forgive the simpleton. *(Addresses himself to PIERROT.)* Brother, you must not remain here. You will interfere with our last supper. But I beg of you, gaze once more at her features: you see how white her garments are; what pallor in her features; oh, she is white like the snow on the mountain tops. Her eyes reflect mirror-like emptiness. Can't you see the scythe over her shoulder? Can't you recognise Death?

PIERROT *(a confused smile straying over his pale face).*

I go. Either you are right, and I am a wretched madman. Or all of you have gone out of your minds, and I am a lonely, misunderstood lover. Sweep me, blizzard, along the streets! Oh, eternal horror! Eternal dark!

COLOMBINA *(following PIERROT to the exit).*

I shall not leave you.

(PIERROT pauses, confused. The CHAIRMAN clasps his hands beseechingly.)

CHAIRMAN.

Light spectre! All our lives we have been waiting for you! Do not leave us!

(Enter a lithe youth dressed as a HARLEQUIN. All over him, with silvery voices, ring little bells.)

HARLEQUIN (*going up to COLOMBINA*).

At the crossroads I wait, my beloved,
In the dusk of a grey winter day!
Can you hear, o'er your head sings my blizzard,
For you jingles my bells' roundelay!

(*He puts his hand on PIERROT's shoulder. PIERROT falls flat on his back and lies motionless in his white smock. HARLEQUIN leads COLOMBINA away by the hand. She gives him a smile. General dejection. All hang lifeless in their chairs. Coats' sleeves stretch out and cover hands as though the latter had never been there. Heads sink into collars. It looks as if empty frock-coats were hanging on the chairs.*

Suddenly PIERROT jumps up and runs away. The curtain is drawn. At this moment on to the stage in front of the curtain leaps out the dishevelled and excited AUTHOR.)

AUTHOR.

Ladies and gentlemen! I humbly apologise to you but I decline all responsibility! I am being mocked! I was writing a most realistic play the substance of which I deem it my duty to explain to you in a few words: it concerns the mutual love of two young hearts! Their path is crossed by a third party; but the obstacles are finally removed, and the lovers forever joined in lawful wedlock! I never decked out my heroes as buffoons! It is without my knowledge that they act out some sort of old legend! I have no use for any legends, any myths or other such cheap trash! Still less, allegorical punning: it's improper to call a woman's braid the scythe of Death. This casts a slur upon the fair sex! Ladies and gentlemen . . .

(*A hand thrust out from behind the curtain seizes the AUTHOR by the scruff of his neck. With a cry he disappears in the wings. The curtain is quickly drawn apart.*

A ball. MASKS whirl to the soft strains of a dance. Among them stroll other masks, knights, ladies, clowns.

The mournful PIERROT is sitting in the middle of the stage on the bench where Venus and Tannhäuser usually kiss.)

PIERROT.

Alone, 'twixt two street-lights standing,
I heard their voices and sighs,
How wrapped in their cloaks they whispered,
And night was kissing their eyes.

And for them a wedding circlet
The silvery blizzard did chase.
And I saw through the night—my beloved,
She was smiling into his face.

Then into a sleigh that was passing,
My beloved I saw him assist.
I watched and I followed after,
Roaming through frosty mist.

Ah, she was caught in his meshes,
As, laughing, he jingled his bell.
But as into the sleigh he tucked her,
My beloved collapsed and fell.

He did not harm my beloved,
But she fell in the snow so cold.
She just could not hold her position!
Nor could I my laughter withhold!

Mid the dancing of frosty needles,
My cardboard beloved around—
He leapt high in the air, the bells jingling,
And I danced on the snow-covered ground.

In the drowsy street we were singing:
“Who’s ever seen such a sight?”
And above, o’er my cardboard beloved,
A star shone green in the height.

Harlequin and Pierrot, we wandered
Through the streets, all night, o’er the snows.
He pressed to my side, so tender,
And his feather tickled my nose.

And he whispered: “My brother, together
We shall wander on, side by side.
Let us grieve o’er your lost beloved,
Let us grieve o’er your cardboard bride!”

(PIERROT sadly goes away.

A little later, a PAIR OF LOVERS is revealed on the same bench. HE is in blue, SHE in pink, their masks the colour of their costumes. They imagine themselves in church and look up to the dome.)

SHE.

Dearest, you whisper : " Bow down . . ."
My face upturned, at the dome I gaze.

HE.

I gaze into unfathomed height—
Where the dome has enfolded the sunset blaze.

SHE.

How ancient the gilding, behold !
How the images, glimmering, rise.

HE.

Our tale is drowsily told.
Sinless, you close your eyes.

(*A kiss.*)

SHE.

. . . Someone dark stands by the pillar,
Winking at us with a leer.
I'm afraid of you, my beloved !
Let me hide in your cloak, my dear !

(*Silence.*)

HE.

In the dome, see the sunset glisten.
See how quiet the candles' hue.

SHE.

Sweet are our meetings. Listen,
Of my own I surrender to you.

(*SHE presses to HIM.*)

The FIRST PAIR is hidden from the onlookers by the quiet dance of masks and clowns.

In the midst of the dancers pushes a SECOND PAIR OF LOVERS. First, SHE in a black mask and a swirling red cloak. HE follows all in black, lithe, in a red mask and a black cloak. His movements are precipitate. He pursues her, now catching up with her, now overtaking her. A whirlwind of cloaks.)

HE.

Leave me ! Don't torture, don't pursue me !
Don't prophesy me a tragic plight !
Triumphant, you rejoice in your conquest !
Will you take off your mask ? Vanish into the night ?

SHE.

Follow me ! Win the chase !
More ardent am I than your bride, more sad !
Seize me, hold me in your embrace !
Empty my goblet of passion mad !

HE.

To another my passionate love I vowed !
Your flaming glances at me flashing,
You led me here, away from the crowd,
You poisoned me with your fatal passion !

SHE.

I did not beckon—my cloak swished
Like a whirlwind behind me—my flaming friend !
Enter yourself you wished
My magic ring without end !

HE.

Behold, witch ! My mask off I'll tear !
And you will see that I have no face !
Wiping out my features, you led me where
I saw my black double nod and grimace !

SHE.

A free maiden—I ! To triumphs my way !
Oh, follow me wherever I dare !
Oh, follow my flaming traces ! Obey,
And with me my delirium share !

HE.

Obeying my fate, I stay at your side,
Oh, swirl, cloak, my fiery guide !
But three will follow the sinister track :
You—and I—and my double black !

(They disappear in a whirl of cloaks. Someone else seems to follow them out of the crowd—a third, exactly identical with the lover, writhing like a tongue of black flame.)

In the midst of the dancers, a THIRD PAIR OF LOVERS is revealed. They are sitting in the middle of the stage

The Middle Ages. Pensively bowed, SHE watches his movements. HE—all severe lines, bulky and pensive, in a cardboard helmet—is tracing a circle on the floor before her with a huge sword.)

HE.

Do you understand the play, in which ours is not the smallest part ?

SHE *(like a soft but audible echo)*.

Part.

HE.

You know that the masks have rendered our meeting tonight wonderful ?

SHE.

Wonderful.

HE.

You believe me, then ? Oh, tonight you are more beautiful than ever.

SHE.

Ever.

HE.

You know all that was, and will be. You have understood the meaning of that circle.

SHE.

Circle.

HE.

Oh, how captivating your words ! Diviner of my soul ! How much your words say to my heart !

SHE.

Heart.

HE.

Oh, Eternal Happiness ! Eternal Happiness !

SHE.

Happiness.

HE (*with a sigh of relief and triumph*).

Near is the day. It is nearly gone—this sinister night.

SHE.

Night.

(At this moment it occurs to one of the clowns to play a trick. He runs up to the lover and sticks out his long tongue at him.)

The lover swings his heavy wooden sword and strikes the CLOWN on the head. The CLOWN doubles over the footlights and hangs there. Out of his head pours a stream of cranberry-juice.)

CLOWN (*screaming piercingly*).

Help ! I am cranberry-juicing to death !

(After dangling there awhile, goes off. Hubbub. Commotion Gay shouts : "Torches ! Torches ! A torch-procession !" Enter a chorus with torches. The Masks throng, laugh, skip.)

CHORUS.

Into dusk—drop after drop of pitch
Falls with a light crackle !
Faces shrouded with clouds of haze,
Lit by a faint sparkle !
Drop by drop, sparklet by sparklet !
Pure, resinous rain !
Where are you, swift and sparkling
Leader of flame ?

(HARLEQUIN steps out of the chorus, as its leader.)

HARLEQUIN.

Through streets drowsy, snow-laden,
The fool after me I led !
The world lay open before me,
The snowy wind sang overhead !

Oh, how I longed to breathe in freely
 The world with my youthful breast !
 Celebrate in the empty spaces
 My merry, my springtide feast !
 Here no one will dare to fathom
 That spring is floating above !
 Here they live amidst mournful visions,
 Here no one knows how to love !
 Hail, oh world ! Again thou art with me !
 Thy soul close to mine as of old !
 I go to breathe thy springtide
 Through thy window of gold !

(Jumps through the window. The vista, seen through the window, turns out to be painted on paper. The paper bursts. HARLEQUIN falls head foremost into empty space.)

Through the hole in the paper can be seen only the sky now growing lighter. Night is fading, morning stirs. Against the background of breaking dawn stands, barely swayed by the early morning breeze, DEATH in a long white shroud, with a lustreless womanly face and a scythe over Her shoulder. Its blade is silvery, like an upturned crescent of the waning moon before morning.

Everyone scatters in terror. The knight trips over his wooden sword. The ladies drop their flowers all over the stage. The masks, pressing motionless, as though crucified, to the walls, look like dummies from an ethnographical museum. The lovers hide the faces of their beloveds in their cloaks. The profile of the blue mask is etched sharply against the morning sky. At his feet the frightened pink mask, kneeling, presses her lips to his hand.

PIERROT, as though arisen out of the ground, slowly walks across the stage, stretching his hands towards DEATH. As he approaches, Her features begin to come to life. Colour appears in Her lustreless cheeks. The silvery scythe is lost in the spreading morning mist. Against the dawn, in a window niche, stands, a quiet smile on her calm face, a beautiful girl—COLOMBINA.

The moment PIERROT approaches and wants to touch her hand with his, between him and COLOMBINA is thrust out the triumphant head of the AUTHOR.)

AUTHOR.

My esteemed audience ! My case is not lost ! My rights are restored ! You see, the obstacles have crumbled ! That gentleman fell through the window ! Now it remains for you to witness the happy reunion of two lovers after a long separation ! They may have expended a lot of strength to overcome the obstacles, but now they are going to be united forever.

(The AUTHOR is about to join the hands of COLOMBINA and PIERROT. But suddenly all the stage settings whirl and fly up. The masks flee in all directions.

The AUTHOR remains bent over PIERROT who is lying helplessly on the empty stage in his white smock with red buttons.

Noticing his plight, the AUTHOR dashes away.)

PIERROT *(sits up and speaks piteously and dreamily).*

Where have you led me ? How can I know ?

I am betrayed to a fate unkind.

Poor old Pierrot, don't lie there ; go,

Now another bride you must find.

(After a short silence.)

Ah, how bright—she who went away

(My jingling companion led her off)

She fell there *(of cardboard she was)* and lay

And I came to stand over her and scoff.

White, she lay there after her fall.

Ah, how gay was our dance beside !

And she ? She couldn't get up at all.

She, you see, was my cardboard bride.

And here I stand. How pale is my face !

But for you to laugh at me is a sin . . .

What can I do ? She fell from her place . . .

I feel very sad. And you can grin ?

(PIERROT pensively takes a reedpipe out of his pocket and begins to play a song about his pale face, his hard life, and his bride COLOMBINA.)

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THE COLONEL'S LADY'S WOUND

Translated from the Hungarian of DEZSŐ KOSZTOLÁNYI

by P. MARCZALI

DURING the war, when men were flinging their limbs all about the place as disorderly people fling about their coats and shoes when undressing—a head here, an arm, a thigh there—the Colonel's wife too was wounded.

This happened behind the firing line.

The soldiers caught a couple of trout in the mountain stream, and presented them to the Colonel.

In the morning the Colonel's wife was cleaning the fish and the kitchen knife ran into her ring finger, ploughing a deep wound into the flesh.

At the midday meal the Regimental Surgeon noticed that the lily hand of the Colonel's wife was disfigured by a nasty rag bandage and that blood was already oozing through it.

Straightaway he took the light, almost weightless, hand into his. He opened the bandage. He had a look at the wound and said, "It needs treatment, it must be bandaged decently. Come across to my place after the meal."

The improvised military hospital, which resided in the earthen-floored rafterwork of a peasant's hut, was awaiting the distinguished wounded with full assistance. Nurses, doctors were lined up "at attention." Between their lines the Colonel's lady sailed in. She was a tall young woman with coal-black hair and dark blue eyes.

The Regimental Doctor examined the wound once more. Before all else he drew the wedding ring off the lady's finger, since it might cause trouble as regards circulation, delaying the healing of the wound thereby. He also forbade her to wear the ring for a while. The Colonel's wife slipped the ring into her reticule.

After this the doctor set himself to the treatment of the wound in due form. He bathed the finger in ether, as some babe, then he prepared a swathe out of muslin and cotton wool and dressed it tenderly, finishing it off with pink ribbons of plaster. "Come again tomorrow," he said to the Colonel's lady, "at noon." And she came diligently for treatment every blessed day.

One day, after a battle, severely wounded soldiers were brought from the firing line. The Regimental Surgeon was performing

operations from morning till night. In the evening the Medical Officer reported to the Colonel's lady. "If Madame kindly permits, tonight it is I who will give the treatment."

On another occasion the Medical Officer, a dark-skinned young fellow, clicked his heels together in a dashing military salute. "I report, with humble respect, for the treatment, since we are going to advance at ten o'clock."

On later days the wound was being bandaged regularly three times a day—by the Medical Officer in the morning, by the Regimental Surgeon at noon, and by another Medical Assistant in the evening. A fourth officer offered his services too, a shy fair-haired boy of hardly twenty-three. This latter placed the bandage on the wound usually after supper, at ten o'clock.

Each of them stuck to his acquired right, and the Colonel's lady was of a far too kindly nature to repudiate their attentions.

Weeks passed—three weeks, four weeks. The soldiers who had received breast wounds a month ago had recovered and reported to the regiment again. Many of them fell in battle, but the Colonel's lady was still wearing a bandage on her ring finger, an immaculate, pure white medical bandage.

Her husband, a greying gaunt man, in his late forties, was taciturn and absent-minded. Once his look happened to fall on his wife's finger. "What is it," he said, "your finger not healed yet after all this time?"

"The wound is on a nasty spot," explained his lady; "it is in the muscle, at the cartilage of the upper joint. This type of wound heals more slowly."

"But it is now more than a month," mused the Colonel. He glanced at the Regimental Surgeon—"Tell me, is there no infection? Should she not be injected against tetanus?"

The Regimental Surgeon took the finger out of the bandage so that the husband too should see it; the wound was clean, rose-coloured and fresh, but the process of granulation had not even started.

The Colonel, however, felt uneasy about the matter. When there was quiet on the firing line he had them driven over to a little nearby town to a regular Military Hospital, a building of stone. There he presented his wife's wound to the Head Surgeon. The Head Surgeon, who in time of peace was at the head of a university Hospital of Surgery, was an elderly man, over sixty. In his dry hand he held the Colonel's lady's finger with such objective indifference as though it were a finger of any common soldier. "Oh,

well," he said, "there's nothing the matter. It will get well again. Was it being bandaged?"

"Of course," replied the woman eagerly; "even several times a day."

"How often?"

"Three times, occasionally four times," she stammered.

"Oh, is that it," said the Head Surgeon. "Throw off the bandage and leave it without any—free. The best thing is not to bother about it; best not to touch it. Allow this poor wound to get healed up because, Madame, the human organism is wonderfully hardy and resistant; it can stand anything—shrapnel splinters, infection, even the dum-dum ball, but so much treatment, so much—how can I express it—so much attention it is unable to bear."

The Head Surgeon was smiling and glanced at the husband. He stood with downcast eyes.

They drove homewards in the September twilight. An old militia reservist sat on the driver's seat, they at the back next to each other, wrapped in an officer's greatcoat. They did not utter a word.

When they were half-way back, when it had got quite dark, the Colonel said—"The best thing is not to bother about it, my dear. Best not touch it."

"Yes," said the woman after a slight pause, and gazed away somewhere vaguely.

She was gazing at the autumn stars that were gleaming far, far away, in unreachable heights above her head.

In the evening at supper the bandage was no longer there on her finger. All of them noticed this—the Regimental Surgeon, the Medical Officer and the Medical Assistant, and even the fourth young officer. But they did not talk about it. The Colonel and his lady too were silent. After supper the young officer played the mandolin.

On the third day the wound had healed up, and on the fourth day there appeared on the finger of the Colonel's lady—with its sad sheen of gold—the wedding ring.

THE MYSTERY

*Translated from the Roumanian of IOAN AL. BRĂTESCU-VOINEȘTI
by MABEL NANDRIȘ*

ONE Friday towards the end of August, good old Iorgu came to my house to suggest that we should go shooting next day.

"I agree gladly, old chap," I said; "I was just going out to look for you in the town to make the same proposal; but not to-morrow morning, for I have a little bit of business to do."

"When then?"

"Let us set out to-morrow afternoon and return on Sunday evening. It's useless to try in this neighbourhood; there are no quails. If you want to bring back any game, we must go right to Milești."

"I won't go to Milești," said Iorgu, with a gesture of protest.

"But why?"

"Since the incident with poor Virgil, I have never been there."

The incident to which Iorgu was alluding was the death of poor Colonel Steriu, accidentally shot by a peasant, a huntsman who had once been his orderly. Yes, it was heartrending, the memory of the mishap which had happened two years before, and which the sight of the spot where it happened must recall; but, thinking that we had combed out all the places nearer the town during recent days, without seeing any game, and recollecting the numbers of quails shot formerly in the millet and the maize full of panic-grass on the peasants' lands, I uttered a crude remark:

"Well! That's it! Let the dead remain with the dead and the living with the living!"

Then, ashamed of the look of kind reproach on old Iorgu's face, I added:

"There's no need to enter the village of Milești. Let us take food with us and sleep, as you remember we slept once before, in hay-stacks belonging to the peasants. I can't think of anywhere else we could go."

"To Produlești."

"Wasn't I there on Tuesday? There's nothing there. Maize-fields only a few yards wide; stubble partly ploughed, partly trampled by the sheep. At Milești the peasants have millet-fields. Do you remember how many we used to kill there?"

Iorgu yielded to the temptation of a good bag and it was arranged that we should set out the next afternoon ; also, as he was going into the town anyway, he would arrange with Pitiş for a cart.

Old Iorgu was a splendid shooting companion ! Punctual for all engagements, no dallying behind despite his sixty-five years, not easily offended, and steady—" a good shot," as poor Colonel Steriu used to say. I have gone shooting with many men, but I have never seen such a well-equipped sportsman as Iorgu, though he was far from being a rich man. Not to mention his dog, who could do everything but speak ; and there was no piece of equipment necessary to a sportsman, which could not be found in his bag, without which he never set out shooting. Lately, he had even bought a thermos. He filled it with hot coffee and rum and it kept hot for twenty-four hours. A miracle !

Next day the cart was at the door punctually at half-past three, as we had arranged. I lifted my dog up on to the driver's seat, then climbed up myself with my small bag of provisions beside old Iorgu and we set off. We had calculated that we could cover the forty kilometres to Mileşti in three hours and that we could shoot something that very evening ; but the horses were not fresh—they had been to Ploeşti the day before, so it was already growing dark when we reached the hay-stacks where we were to sleep.

In view of our early rising the next day, we arranged our beds and stretched out soon after we had eaten, wrapping ourselves up in the straw and putting our rubber mackintoshes on top of that.

It was a moonless August night, of a beauty which cannot be painted in words. How can one describe and to what can one compare the dome of the sky and the bright sparkle of thousands and thousands of stars ? I know that the magnificence and grandeur filled my soul with a feeling of piety and admiration which took away my breath. Old Iorgu, awed like myself, lay on his back, his eyes fixed on the stars.

Now and then we heard the horses snort, as they grazed near-by ; after a while, far away in the distance, right on the southern horizon, the rumbling and whistling of the train to Bucharest could be heard ; then every sound died away and there was only the chirp of the crickets, chirrr-chirrr, chirrr-chirrr—the same two long quavering notes, here, there, everywhere ; as if it were the very breath of the sleeping earth. . . .

Suddenly a powerful voice broke into that silence : " Who are you, eh ? "

It was the night watchman.

"Good people," replied old Iorgu. . . .

"What people? What are you doing there?"

The driver, in order to calm him, said:

"It is Mr. Victor Miculescu and Mr. Iorgu Petrescu; they have come here to shoot."

"Ah!" replied the enlightened man, and approaching us: "Good evening! So it's you, sirs?"

There was not the slightest resemblance between the now gentle voice and the former harsh one. We knew each other. It was Thomas Sităruş, a sportsman himself, always one of the party when we used to hunt wolves and wild boars here in winter, when poor Colonel Steriu was alive.

"How are you, Tom?"

"Thank you. Well, Mr. Iorgu."

"Are there any quails about?"

"Hundreds of them, especially in the small grove."

"And how are the others? Vasile, Lazăr and Alecu?"

"They're well. Busy with all kinds of work."

"And Marin Dorobanţu?" I asked.

"He died two weeks ago."

"Good Lord! Is he dead?" asked old Iorgu in great amazement.

"He went to the dogs, Mr. Iorgu. Since the mishap to the poor Colonel, he took to drink after he had done a month. You couldn't get him out of the inn. As if he wanted to kill himself! I believe he set fire to his intestines!"

After a short silence, Tom continued:

"Well! Good night. It's late, and to-morrow you'll be up early," and he went off, disappearing in the darkness.

The news of Marin's death reminded me of the death of the Colonel. As I lay with my eyes closed, I saw clearly all the circumstances in which it happened. The evening before, he had had a gay time with Alecu; in the morning he had risen to find hard frost; the journey to the grove was made on a sleigh. I could see the place where we were spaced out to shoot. I could hear the voices of the beaters, the sound of the guns and then shouts of "hip-hip, hip-hip!" and Tom himself calling out desperately to me: "Mr. Victor, the Colonel has been shot!" How clearly I can see it in my mind! The Colonel lay there stretched out in the snow in a pool of blood, his clothes torn, a great wound in his right side; old Iorgu and Mişu Palada kneeling by him, trying to bind his wound.

Beside him, surrounded by a group of men, Marin Dorobanțu, leaning against a tree, with a heavy expression on his face, panting and wheezing "hhh! hhh! hhh!" Even now I begin to shudder when I think of the return journey to the house with poor Virgil lying on a stretcher; the crowd of people gathered together by our passage through the town; the despair of his wife and daughter . . . and his death there in the yard of his house, wearing a last smile on his lips. . . .

All these memories passed through my mind when I heard old Iorgu beside me saying, softly and gravely:

"Hm! God forgive him."

"Whom?" I asked.

"Marin Dorobanțu."

I was about to drop off to sleep, when I heard him whispering again as if to himself:

"Hm! God forgive him."

"Are you not asleep, Iorgu?"

Old Iorgu, instead of answering me, turned his head towards the cart and called out softly, but distinctly: "Ionitza, Ionitza"—then, believing the driver to be asleep, leant over quite close to me and said:

"Victor, I have never told anyone the secret which I want to tell you now: but swear that you will always keep it to yourself."

"I swear."

"Listen . . . do you remember that night how you, that is, you, Constantiniu, State and Mișu Palada spent the night with Alecu, while Virgil and I went to Marin Dorobanțu's. Isn't that so? . . . You know Marin's wife?"

"Of course I know her. Voichitza, who was the target of all our eyes."

"Well! You know Marin's house. It had a large room on the right (looking on to the road) where we slept, and another on the left, unoccupied; then there was another small room in front where they slept, beside the store-room. Sometime after I entered the house—I was sitting rolling cigarettes—I saw Virgil go out and heard him call Marin to tell him that it would be a good idea for the Vintilescu brothers from Suseni also to come next day, as there were too few guns, and to ask him how they could be notified. Marin said: 'They have a brother-in-law here; he lives right at the end of the village. I'll go and tell him to take them a message.' About a quarter of an hour passed and Virgil had not come back, when I heard the gate open and at the same time, I saw Virgil

come quickly into the room and bolt the door. Someone tried the latch and I heard a voice muttering 'hm!' I wanted to ask him where he had been, but he signed to me with his hand to be quiet.

"As we remained in silence, I heard a groan from the little room in front. Virgil said: 'You'll see he will try to kill her.' I understood. I went out. From the verandah, the choking voice of Marin could be heard: 'So, you bitch, there! So! There!' I called out to him. When he opened the door, I saw his face frowning and furious in the lamplight. When his eyes fell on me, he at once calmed down, took off his hat and asked me, breathing heavily: 'What do you want, Mr. Iorgu?' I said: 'What did you arrange with the Vintilescu?' He said: 'I found their brother-in-law at the inn. He told me he would go early to-morrow morning to take them a message.' I pretended to enter our room and listened. Nothing could be heard. When I came back to our room, I said: 'Listen, Virgil, is it not a shame? That man has been your good and faithful servant for a long time; every time we come here to shoot or hunt, he leaves his work and follows us like a dog, and everything he shoots, we take away—and you reward him by dishonouring his house. Why? If you were a bachelor I might see some explanation of it, but a married man with a marriageable daughter!' He said: 'Well! As if you, when you were young . . .' I said: 'No! By God! I am a man of over sixty and I have had many opportunities, but I never took any other man's wife.' And I added: 'If he had wounded you, or split your head with something, which God forbid!—in such cases a man does not stop to reason—what would you have done? How would you have explained the affair? Whom would you have accused of having cut or struck you? Marin! How? Why? . . . Do you see?'

"Next day when I went out to the yard, Marin was harnessing the horses to the sleigh, as if nothing had happened, but I didn't see his wife again. . . . When we got to the grove, do you remember how I said that we had chosen a bad place to stop: a hillock which was too narrow. You and Constantiniu and the others were on the left flank. Here, on the right flank, were Mișu Palada; then I came, then Marin and on his left, Virgil. He had chosen a place beside the stump of a tree. It was his custom to sit down, for if he had stood, he might have been hit in the hip or the feet and not just in the side. . . . The wild boar came within my range first, then turned off to the left. I pulled the

trigger only from a sense of duty, as it was a long way off. It came out just between Marin and Virgil. . . .

“ ‘Well!’ you say now—‘did he kill him purposely or by mistake?’ When I heard that the Colonel was wounded and who had shot him, I turned cold, but did not lose my head. Going over there, I saw the place from which he fired, the place where the boar had passed, the place where Virgil was standing. . . . The narrow hillock, the slope . . . and a doubt entered my mind. Supposing it were only an accident? With one word, I might send an innocent man to forced labour. And when he said to the men who were stretching Virgil out, ‘I didn’t *mean* to shoot him’; and the men swore at him: ‘Who said you meant to, you fool!’ I felt that those words were directed at me—the only person who could say that he *meant* to kill him. But I said nothing, for I believed that Virgil was not going to die. . . . On the way back to the town, I decided that if by chance he should die, I would speak up. But after his death, in face of the despair of his wife and daughter, it seemed to me that I would kill him a second time before their loving eyes, were I to speak: so I have kept silent till now, saying to myself that if he has been purposely killed, God knows the truth. And you heard how Marin Dorobanțu died.”

“You mean to tell me, Iorgu,” said I, “that you believe it?”

“I don’t know,” replied old Iorgu, and both of us fell to thinking. . . .

It must have been very late, for the silence was complete; even the crickets no longer chirped when I fell asleep, whispering in one voice with old Iorgu:

“Hm! May God forgive him!”

JAN MASARYK

JAN MASARYK's untimely death came as a great shock to the whole Western world. Few men were as popular as the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia—either inside his own country or outside it. Few statesmen have lived to see their country pass through such tremendous changes during their lifetime. Reinstated after three centuries, split up by German aggression and later occupied or controlled by the Third Reich, Czechoslovakia was restored after World War II, except for Podkarpatská Ruś (Ruthenia), which was ceded to the Ukrainian S.S.R. Less than three years later, through the "revolution" of February 1948, it was turned into a satellite state of the Soviet Union. In all but the first of these developments, Masaryk played an active part. In fact, it was the last change which determined his end.

Jan Garrigue Masaryk had the advantages and disadvantages of being the son of a famous father—Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, the founder of the Czechoslovak state, and one of the outstanding men of his age. A story used to be told in Prague, in the early twenties, of how Jan and the son of another distinguished Czech were together on a ship bound for the U.S.A. After a merry time together, Jan turned to his companion and said, "Isn't it a good thing that we can leave matters to our distinguished fathers?" During his early years as a diplomat, even some of his best friends used to complain that he lacked seriousness. Life was, however, to hand out some bitter experiences which were to develop the serious side of his nature.

* * *

Born in Prague, in 1886, Masaryk received his early education there. His grandparents on his father's side were of Czech and Slovak origin: on his mother's, American. It was therefore not surprising that he should have had a cosmopolitan outlook from his youth. Especially since his father, even during his years as a professor at the Charles University, was a man whose patriotism did not limit his vision to the Vltava and the Danube. Because of his American mother, it was also natural that he should go to the United States at the age of twenty-one years. There he worked, first in an insurance office, and later as a labourer in a steel foundry. These experiences, together with his Czech upbringing, he used to

say, never allowed him to forget his connection with the common people.

The end of World War I brought a complete change in his life. When his father returned as President of the new Republic, Jan came back also.* He entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, in 1919, was sent as Chargé d'Affaires to the Czechoslovak Legation in Washington. During the next two years he was Counsellor of Legation in London, and later Secretary to Dr. Beneš (then Foreign Minister) in Prague. In 1925, he returned to London as Minister to the Court of St. James, and this post he held until the end of 1938. This closed the second period of his life. The next seven years were to be spent in exile, until he returned, in 1945, to serve his country at home.

Masaryk spent all of his foreign service in Anglo-American capitals. He was at home in them. He understood the British and American peoples. No better intermediary could have been found for his country, especially as far as the U.S.A. was concerned.

He was the most unconventional of diplomats. None was less tied to protocol. Witty, shrewd, with an abundance of common sense, he often triumphed over circumstances which baffled others intellectually cleverer, but lacking his psychological insight. Indicative of his personal popularity was the fact that he was known everywhere by his Christian name. He could at times be disconcertingly direct in his conversation, and he considerably embarrassed certain types of English people. His manner was American rather than English, his racy language often shocking people who had not the wit or the patience to look beyond the actual expressions used. Many a dour Czech also argued that he was not fit to uphold the dignity of Czechoslovakia in the early thirties.

The contrasts in Masaryk were typified by the juxtaposition on his shelves at Grosvenor Place, in London, of such different books as Oppenheim's *International Law*, and a *Dictionary of American Slang*. "Some people think I need only this," he would say, as he pointed to the legal treatise. "But I need both," he would add smilingly.

Some of Masaryk's greatest but saddest hours (before the final catastrophe) came during the Munich crisis. The fateful develop-

* ED. NOTE.—The author is guilty of a minor slip here. Jan Masaryk was back in Prague at least six months before the outbreak of war. In consequence he had to serve during the whole period of hostilities in the Austro-Hungarian Imperial Army. A good part of this was spent in Poland, so that Masaryk understood the Poles as few of his Czech contemporaries.

ments of 1938 took heavy toll of him, even though he was physically a strong man. It is not necessary here to enter into the details of that tragedy. Official publications have revealed in its nakedness this sacrifice of Czechoslovakia. Whether Hitler would have dared go so far had he been convinced that the French and British would resist his aggressive plans ; whether Hitler's armies could have been checked had they attempted to invade Bohemia in the face of strong Anglo-French opposition, etc.—these are questions which must be left to the historian and the strategist. Few people, however, would today quarrel with Masaryk's description of what happened. In his farewell message, when leaving as Czechoslovak Minister in London, on 30 December of that year, he wrote of the "prophylactic measure towards establishing permanent peace in Europe," when "my country was subjected to surgical appeasement with unprecedented vigour, and with not the slightest trace of an anæsthetic."

During that crisis Masaryk was busy presenting his country's case to Cabinet Ministers, indeed to anybody who would listen to him in Britain, as well as constantly travelling between London and Prague. He attended almost all the meetings of the Czechoslovak Cabinet during the summer. It says much for his breadth of outlook that even when the temporary end of an independent Czechoslovakia was in sight, he was almost as much concerned with the effects of Third Reich militarism upon the rest of Europe, as upon his own country. In the first of a series of lectures given in the United States early in 1939 he declared that the partitioning of his country would be worth while *if it brought peace*. But he strongly doubted this. He also said in the same lecture that henceforth he was interested not in saving frontiers but in saving Europe.

The German occupation of Prague (15 March 1939) occurred when he was in the U.S.A. In a broadcast from New York to the American people, the next day, Masaryk asked : "Can I hope that this last blow to my homeland should dispel all doubts as to the future policy of the masters of central Europe?—The rape of Bohemia in all its vulgarity is more than I can describe. Forgive me . . ." He concluded his appeal with these words : "I do not envy those who are perpetrating this horrible drama, either by vandal force or by turning their faces to the wall. They have committed sins against God."

When he returned to London, in July 1939, he went not to Grosvenor Place, but to a modest flat in Westminster. Immediately on resigning as Minister he had been invited to join a number of

business firms, but he declined all such offers. He said he was going to do voluntary work for the "good of the soul of Europe." Earlier, at the announcement of his resignation as Minister, he had said that this did not mean that he had a comfortable income. "It looks as if I shall have £10 a month for years to come . . . but I'll manage somehow."

One significant incident during the last months of his period as Minister in London is little known. After the changeover in the Czechoslovak Government, following the Munich crisis, orders had come from Prague for the removal of President Beneš's portrait from the Legation. It was done. Later came another order—President Masaryk's portrait should also be removed. Nobody was willing to do this. Masaryk volunteered. He took the portrait from the wall, placed it on the floor, bowed and walked out—without a word.

* * *

World War II broke out on 3 September 1939, and Masaryk was at once back at work for his country. Five days afterwards, he introduced the first News Bulletin in the Czech language, over the B.B.C. This was to be followed by many other broadcasts in the programme of "a free Czechoslovakia in a free Europe." He became the most popular speaker among the exiles, and none was so much hated by the Germans because of the effect of his broadcasts on the Czechs at home.

Events moved quickly. A provisional Government was formed under President Beneš, and Masaryk became Minister of Foreign Affairs in July 1940. The next year he was also Deputy Prime Minister. During the rest of his period of exile he co-operated closely with representatives of the other Allied Governments in London. He also made trips to the U.S.A., where he attended a number of international conferences. Overwork impaired his health and he was forced to take a long rest in 1943. In the spring of 1945, he went with Beneš to Moscow, for talks with Stalin and Molotov.

It is unnecessary to trace in detail Masaryk's work with the President during these war years.* It is only interesting to note how much he was able to contribute to the success of this co-operation. His knowledge of British and American conditions was invaluable. Beneš understood France, where he had spent his first exile during World War I. The British, however, seemed to the end a mystery

* See Sir R. Bruce-Lockhart's paper in the Nov. 1949 number of this *Review*.

to him. An understanding of human psychology was not one of the President's outstanding achievements, nor was his knowledge of languages. Masaryk made up for these deficiencies. He was popular : he could go almost anywhere, and meet almost anybody. He could make a first-class speech in English. He was witty and brief. He was probably the only man who could get Beneš to make cuts in long speeches, so that they were adapted to British audiences. Often, it is true, Masaryk's suggestions were accepted, but other new insertions made the speech as long as before, or even longer !

People who saw Beneš immediately before he left for Moscow in April 1945 knew that he was not happy about that journey. They knew he was going because he felt that otherwise his Provisional Government would suffer the same fate as had the Polish Government. Gottwald, Fierlinger and other Czechs were being encouraged by the Soviet authorities as a possible counter to the London Government, in case Beneš would not be sufficiently amenable. On his return home, the President appeared optimistic and declared that the difficulties with the Kremlin had been overcome. Masaryk was not so sanguine ; yet even he thought that the visit was inevitable and had done a great deal of good. Neither of them anticipated that in three years the U.S.S.R. would oust them, and apply a policy which was to destroy the last vestiges of freedom in their country.

In July 1945, Masaryk returned to Czechoslovakia for the first time since the German occupation of Prague. As Foreign Minister, he attended most of the international conferences to which his country was invited during the next three years : but with every new conference, it was becoming increasingly obvious that his independence of action was being curtailed. For few representatives was there more general sympathy than for this man, who was being forced to surrender his international attitude and to support the narrow policy of the U.S.S.R. No longer was he the jovial, joke-cracking " Jan " during the social functions held in connection with such meetings. He kept to himself. It was almost impossible to get to see him at his hotel, except after arrangements had been made in devious ways. Some of his intimate friends hinted that he was weary of his job, and that he continued in office only out of a sense of duty and friendship to the President. The manner in which the Soviets compelled his new chief to withdraw Czechoslovakia's support for the Marshall Plan showed the whole world that Moscow now had the last word as far as the foreign policy " made " in the Czernin Palace was concerned.

The "revolution" of February 1948, one may conclude, came as a disagreeable surprise to the bourgeois political parties in Czechoslovakia. Most of their Ministers expected that President Beneš would use his prerogative and dissolve parliament. This act, they assumed, would be followed by a general election, in which the Communists and their associates among the Social Democrats would be defeated and a new Coalition would come to power. They calculated, however, without the deep-laid schemes of Moscow, the treachery of Czechs like the ambitious Fierlinger, and the speed with which Communists can work when they consider conditions are ripe and the order to advance is given from the Kremlin. That the Czech Communists were planning some such *coup d'état* had long been whispered in Prague; but even Beneš and Masaryk appeared to have estimated that it would take at least another six months before the Communists would be ready. In the meantime, something might be done to ease the situation. There is also little doubt of their assumption that the nationalist element in Czechoslovak democracy would be strong enough to prevent the workers from supporting such a plot.

Whether anything could have been done to defeat these deeply-laid plans of Moscow is a matter of conjecture. What is certain, however, is that nobody in Prague was left in doubt as to what was going to happen after the Soviet Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs, M. Zorin, had been in the capital for a day. He came ostensibly to supervise the deliveries of food-stuffs from the U.S.S.R. then being made there. Masaryk was not at the airfield to meet him; but Zorin soon visited him in his office, and he did not take long to get down to business. He expressed the hope that Masaryk would be a member of the new government. When the latter asked for an explanation of the term "new government," since the existing one had not been dissolved, Zorin replied, "Gottwald is our only guarantee. The government must be cleaned up. We are determined to build a new one, which is more friendly to us, and we shall support Gottwald." Zorin added only one more sentence before striding briskly out of the office: "Think it over carefully!"

On 24 February Gottwald and Nosek, Minister of the Interior, visited Beneš. Masaryk also visited the President the same day. Both Beneš and he wished to resign their offices. Gottwald, however, warned the President that the Communists were prepared for such an eventuality. It would mean civil war. He added: "Soviet troops are at the frontiers. The Soviet Union cannot tolerate a victory of reaction." The President must realise the position: if

he did not believe what Gottwald said, then M. Zorin should be called in. To this, Beneš would not agree. He could not, he said, receive a person who had not had the courtesy to pay his respects to the Head of the state he was then visiting.

The President and his Foreign Minister were on the horns of a dilemma. At all costs civil war had to be avoided. The Communists controlled the police (through Nosek) and the major part of the armed forces. Masaryk determined to stand by Beneš "as I had promised my dying father." He remained in office, and thus had to bear some part of the responsibility for the totalitarian move which soon took place.

During and after the crisis, Masaryk helped many persons whose lives were in danger to escape abroad. Finally, Nosek informed him that further efforts of this sort would be useless. His recommendations and his signature would be disregarded.

* * *

On 7 March, the birthday of his father, Masaryk went alone to the grave of the first President at Lany. The next day he received a notice from Gottwald, requesting him to appear in parliament half an hour before the scheduled time for the opening ceremony two days later. The new government was to be filmed, and the Ministers informed about the programme to be announced. According to a reliable report, Masaryk had heard that this would contain some attacks on his father, and he had no desire to be present. (It is interesting to record that, years before this, Gottwald had fled to the U.S.S.R., when the Czechoslovak police were trying to arrest him for a scurrilous pamphlet he had written against President Masaryk, and which was being secretly distributed by the Communists.)

In the morning of 9 March he paid a visit to Beneš, but what passed between them has not been disclosed. The rest of the day he spent receiving visitors. In the evening he wrote two letters, the one to his family, and the other to the Czechoslovak people. He had always been a heavy smoker, but on this day he appears to have smoked only four or five cigarettes, and not the usual forty to fifty. What is more, the sleeping tablets which the doctor had prescribed for him also lay untaken on his bedside table.

At 12.30 a.m., on 10 March, Masaryk sprang from the window of his room into the courtyard below. There his body was found some hours later by the guards. His two letters disappeared. Nosek and Clementis (who was later to become Foreign Minister)

visited his room on the morning of that day, immediately after the news of the tragedy had been told to them. Unless those letters are already destroyed, they may one day be known to the world—when the Comintern has no further use for the services of Nosek or Clementis, and the latter is lucky enough to get away!

These two Communists did not, however, pay much attention to another message Masaryk had left to the world. His Bible lay open at the Epistle to the Galatians, Chapter V. He had underlined every word in the two verses, 22 and 23: "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance; against such there is no law." In verse 24, he had also underlined the words "crucified the flesh." Sensation-mongers and friends who imagined they were thereby protecting the honour of their dead friend have sought to prove that Masaryk was murdered. The information which has been given here is based upon information from Czechs who were in Prague at the time, had the opportunity of knowing what actually occurred, and who have since escaped abroad: and there is no reason to doubt its accuracy in general lines, if not in every detail.

Gottwald's funeral oration at the Pantheon repeated the old theory that the dead leader had been the victim of an "organised campaign against him from the West." Clementis, at the grave in Lany, did at least have the decency to admit that "as a fighter for a better understanding between nations, Masaryk was not happy about what was going on." This naturally could be taken to mean either what was going on in Prague or among the "monopoly capitalists" of the West. Clementis also praised the late Foreign Minister for his untiring efforts to smooth out difficulties in the international situation.

Masaryk had long known that he would soon come to the parting of the ways. For months he had had little to say in the policy which was supposed to be fashioned in the Czernin Palace. He was not allowed to see visitors alone, and his public statements had first to be approved by Nosek before they appeared in print. Even the staff of the Foreign Office had been appointed by Nosek, not by the Minister, ever since the Communists had decided that it was safe to eradicate all those men who had served in the Provisional Government in London during the war, who were "west-orientated," or who had western connections. In this context it is interesting to note how Czechoslovak delegations to any international conference could be sharply divided in early 1947 into nominees of the Communists and career civil servants, and how great was the distrust

between them ! Less than a year later, the latter had almost disappeared from delegations sent abroad.

People will judge differently as to the ethics of the suicide of a defeated statesman. Under a modern totalitarian system, however, one fact is obvious. It is almost impossible for a Minister to resign ; that would be defying the "system." What is more, he could expect no legal rights and no appeal against arbitrary and ruthless vengeance. The Communists wanted Masaryk because of the great name he bore. He would have been expected to talk "democracy" while supporting an anti-democratic regime with his prestige. This he could not do. He had faced triumph and disaster in his career—and won through : but such a denial of his better self was too much for him.

* * *

Jan Masaryk will long be remembered wherever there is true democracy. It is difficult to estimate his abilities as a statesman, because of the abnormal conditions under which he worked during a great part of his period of office. Further, President Beneš, who had himself been Foreign Minister for so many years, liked to keep his hands on the control of foreign policy right to the end. It is therefore almost impossible to talk of a "Masaryk policy."

He won respect and popularity because of what he was as a man. He stood for decency, he hated injustice. Behind a mask of witty cynicism lay extreme tolerance. He was a great liberal in the best Czech tradition. He had hoped his country could be a bridge between East and West ; but, as he bitterly confessed in 1947, it had become a "bridgehead." High-sounding language did not appeal to him. What he had to say he said simply, and everybody could understand. Typical of this was his statement to a group in London during the war, at a time when the Germans were occupying Bohemia-Moravia : "My aim is simple . . . I want to go home. And I want to be able to ride in a tramcar down the Wenceslas Square in Prague, and be free to say I don't think much of our present government."

A Czech patriot, he was at home wherever there was freedom. Characteristic is the story of how, when entering the U.S.A. on one occasion, he answered the question on the entry paper, "What race?" with the word "Human." He preferred to be a citizen of a humble state rather than "a subject of a superb autocracy that overshadows half of Asia and Europe." None was better fitted to be President of the World Federation of United Nations Associations.

His vision of his own country in the post-war world he gave in an article in the *Central European Observer* (1 February 1940): "My conviction is that our little country is not going to be saved by any grand 'isms'—neither Fascism nor Bolshevism, Pan-Germanism nor Pan-Slavism . . . I am definitely a Slav, but—I hope—a European first. I am convinced that the fate of our people cannot be separated from that of the other Central European and Danubian peoples, whether they are Slavs or not . . . Narrow nationalism should disappear . . . An equal partnership in the cause of a European *risorgimento*, a breakaway from overwhelming 'isms' of every kind . . . A Free Germany in a Free Europe; and beside her the Czechoslovakia of St. Wenceslas, Hus, Comenius, Palacký, Smetana, Masaryk and Čapek . . . A Free Czechoslovakia in a Free Europe." Is not this the policy outlined by Palacký in his "Letter to Frankfurt," in 1848, brought up to date? It is certainly not that of the new Czechoslovak Government he was expected to support on 10 March 1948!

Within one month of D-Day, he could talk publicly of looking forward to the time when there would be a rebirth of Goethe, Kant, Herder and Beethoven in Germany—though he had not yet ended his years of exile because of German aggression. He struggled hard to reconcile the harsh realities of everyday life in a small state in central Europe with his ideals. He failed, as so many great men before him. But this does not alter the fact that, as Prime Minister Attlee said in a message, shortly after the news of his death was known: "The name of Masaryk is one that free men will always honour. He was essentially a lover of freedom."

ROBERT POWELL.

LENIN AND SELF-DETERMINATION

WHEN Lenin returned to Russia in 1917, he advocated the idea that each subject nation of the Empire be given the free choice to separate from or to remain united with the Great-Russian people. The manner in which, subsequently, the Bolshevik Government practised what Lenin preached has, like so many other phases of Soviet history, been the victim of reportorial bias, or blindness, or a combination of the two. Thus, the violent conquests and attachment of the Ukraine and Georgia to the Soviet State tended to go unnoticed as did the unsuccessful attempts on the part of Lenin's Government to prevent Finland, Lithuania and Estonia from forming independent states.¹ What was noticed, however, and widely publicised, was the fact that after the Red forces were defeated in their attempts to make soviet republics of the three above-mentioned nations and of Poland,² the Soviet Government, in conformity with its principle of the right of nations to self-determination, fully recognised their right to independent statehood.³ Thus even to the present day there has lingered the notion that in Lenin's doctrine of self-determination there was implied a kind of democratic choice, whereby, as in Wilson's scheme of the same title, by a majority vote of the entire population, peoples could determine their future destinies.

In essence, Lenin's ideas about self-determination were Marxian which, of course, Wilson's ideas were not. More than Marxian, Lenin's ideas were Bolshevik. What this means is best explained by reference to the origins and the development of, and Lenin's attitude toward, the so-called National Question in the history of Russian Social Democracy.

When industrialism and, hence, social democracy, made its late 19th-century appearance in the multi-national states of Austria and Russia, it was at once faced with a complex problem. Supposedly the most advanced form of democracy, it could not deny national rights to peoples so long oppressed and fighting for national independence. However, national independence was the antithesis to socialist internationalism. Therefore, in Austria as in Russia, Social Democrats had to ask themselves: "Which revolution first for the oppressed peoples?" If the socialist revolution was placed first on the agenda it would deprive peoples of their national rights. Furthermore, propaganda for internationalism might well alienate

nationally oppressed proletarians from the Socialist cause. On the other hand, Social Democrats, expounding the right to nationalism, might become inadvertent sponsors of future *bourgeois* states. This would tend to separate by national boundaries an Austrian- or Russian-wide proletariat already linked through history and through Social Democracy and constitute a distinct setback to the basic Marxian idea—"Proletarians of the world, unite!"

Marx had thought of revolution as taking place in the industrial West of Europe. But in the West, the national state by Marx's time was either perfectly formed or, as in Germany's case, in the formative process. The problem, therefore, of the democratic right of nationalities barely existed and Marxist scripture, besides some highly opportunistic comment on the Polish and Irish Questions,⁴ was to offer no important guidance for the day when the problem was to arise in Central and Eastern Europe.

The Austrian Social Democrats, headed by Otto Bauer and Karl Renner, attempted to solve the problem by a kind of compromise whereby they theorised that a nation was determined by its culture rather than by its political boundaries. Instead, therefore, of advocating division of the Austrian State along national lines they proposed for the future socialist state a continuing political and economic unity, wherein, however, the cultural rights of each nation would be carefully guarded. Within the Austrian Social Democratic Party this naturally meant that each national socialist group be organised on a basis of intra-party autonomy in preparation, as it were, for their later cultural autonomy.

The Russian Social Democrats did not consider it possible to solve the problem in this manner. Unlike the Austrian minority in the Hapsburg Empire, the Great-Russian nation was in area and population vastly preponderant among the subject nations of the Romanov Empire. Also, the bloody record of Tsarist persecution was the last thing that Russian socialists wanted any association with, lest they become suspect, among the minority peoples, of desiring a continuation of that policy. The Russians, therefore, felt themselves constrained to stand for unequivocal freedom for subject nationalities and it is no coincidence that the congress of the Second International, first to declare the right of nations to self-determination (London, 1896), was also the first to be attended officially by a Russian delegation.⁵ The very first congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party, held in Minsk in 1898, carried this tradition along, also recognising the right of nations to self-determination.⁶ This First Congress was to have mainly

legendary significance, since it was only after 1901 that the Social Democratic movement really took hold in the Russian Empire. It was therefore as a congress of "founding fathers" that the so-called Second Congress of the R.S.D.W.P. met in 1903.⁷

The famous Congress of 1903 split along two distinct lines, without however producing the definite schism which was to materialise some ten years later. The best known of the splits is the one which occurred between the Bolshevik and the Menshevik factions. Lenin and the Bolsheviks desired a rigidly centralised illegal party consisting of professional revolutionaries, while the Mensheviks, thinking more in terms of western social democracy, wanted a broad mass movement demanding no special qualifications of party members. The Menshevik approach to revolutionary effort, in spiritual accord with their long-range idea of gradually educating the proletariat of Russia toward socialism while a *bourgeois* government, revolutionary successor to autocracy, held power, had in time to lead to a legal programme. This tendency, when logically developed, Lenin was to describe around 1912 as liquidationism—i.e. the attempt to "liquidate" the illegal party which Lenin considered the only real hope for successful achievement of a revolution in which he, unlike the Mensheviks, expected the proletariat to gain at least a share of the political power.

Despite their disagreements on party organisation and revolutionary programme, the Russian Social Democrats, Bolshevik and Menshevik, supported "national self-determination" as an essential part of the Party platform. Their insistence upon this plank and their interpretation of it as the right of each subject nation to separate from Russia produced the second split in 1903, the Polish and Jewish Social Democrats (the Jewish *Bund*) refusing at this time to join the Russians in one united Party. The paradox of national groups refusing the right to separation resolves itself when one understands what motivated these refusals.

The Poles, led by Rosa Luxemburg, objected to the provision because it placed them in the embarrassing position of having to fight on the side of the Polish petty *bourgeoisie*, the most rabid nationalists in Poland, and hence the sworn enemies to internationalism. The Polish working class, Luxemburg maintained, wanted to fight along with the Russian proletariat for socialism. A socialist revolution in Russia would *ipso facto* create working-class unity throughout the Empire. Hence, why confuse the working class of Poland with nationalistic ideas? Instead, the Polish Social

Democrats preferred the Austrian idea of cultural autonomy which, incidentally, would give the Polish S.D.s autonomy within the Russian S.D.W.P.⁸

The Jews objected to "self-determination" (as the right to separate) in the programme of a united all-Russian party, mainly because they wanted autonomous status within such a party. The Jewish *Bund*⁹ had been one of the original components of the Russian S.D.W.P. but had agreed to enter in 1898 only with the understanding that its already well-established organisation would continue to conduct its own affairs.¹⁰ During the period 1898-1901, while the Russian Social Democratic Party retained only a titular existence, the *Bund*'s effective strength increased¹¹ and by 1903 the *Bund* was one of the most powerful proletarian organisations in the Russian Empire. It was not easy, at this point, to hand over to Russian leadership the fruits of years of successful effort. To the Jews, who had no thoughts of forming a political unit on Russian soil, self-determination could have no practical significance; but the concept of self-determination in the all-Russian programme threatened their intra-party autonomy. Their only hope for such autonomy lay in the Russian Party's acceptance of the Austrian idea—cultural autonomy.¹² This idea the Jews were to cling to throughout the years, even though, as Lenin never tired of pointing out, the very inventor of the idea, Bauer, not considering the Jews a nation, had made no provision for Jews within his scheme of national-cultural autonomy for Austria.¹³ Lenin, incidentally, also refused to consider the Jews a nation and suggested that the Russian Jewish proletariat find its promised land in the haven of socialist assimilation.¹⁴

On this issue of self-determination for oppressed Russian minorities, Mensheviks and Lenin were agreed in 1903, but for different reasons. Both were, of course, aware of what the Jewish *Bund* was up to and both wanted to prevent it from acquiring independence of action within the Russian Party.¹⁵ The Mensheviks were particularly concerned because the *Bund*, besides demanding autonomy, desired to extend its jurisdiction over all the Jewish workers of Russia, i.e. even over those who had hitherto regarded themselves as Russians and had enrolled themselves in the ranks of Russian Social Democracy, which, in the South of Russia where such russified Jews lived, was mainly under Menshevik control.¹⁶ Aside from this special problem, in advocating self-determination the Mensheviks thought of it principally as a democratic right which should not be denied. Lenin, from the start, was concerned not with democracy

but with centralisation of the envisaged Russian Party, the very thing feared by the Jews. Lenin opposed cultural autonomy (Austrian style) because whatever it might mean in terms of future socialist harmony (it is presently practised in the Soviet Union), it would have led either to a federal organisation of the Party or to decentralisation—in short, the antithesis to Bolshevism and the destruction of all his plans.

Lenin said nothing in 1903 about party centralisation as his main reason for opposing the demands of the Polish and Jewish comrades. However, he hinted at it in the following, written in July 1903:

In the project of the party programme we set up a demand for a republic with a democratic constitution, which guaranteed, among other things, the recognition of the right of self-determination for all nations entering into the form of a state. This programme demand seemed insufficiently clear to many and in [*Iskra*] No. 33 . . . we explained its significance in the following manner. Social democracy will always struggle against any attempt to influence national self-determination by force or by any other unjust means. But unconditional recognition of the struggle for the freedom of self-determination in no way obligates us to support each demand for national self-determination. Social democracy, as the party of the proletariat, has as a positive and major task the achievement of self-determination not of peoples and nations, but of the proletariat within each nationality. We must always and unconditionally strive for the closest unity of the proletariat of all nationalities, and only in separate and exceptional cases can we express and actively support the demand leading toward the creation of a new class (i.e. bourgeois) state or to substitute for the full political unity of the state the weaker federal unity.¹⁷

In answer specifically to the Polish arguments, Lenin pointed out that “no Marxian slogan must ever be doctrinaire and out of context of historical relativity . . .” The Russian Party was under political obligation “not to tie its own hands, but to reckon with all conceivable combinations (of circumstances).” The most important hypothetical task for the Polish proletariat was to raise the slogan of a free and independent Polish Republic—leaving the removal of such a slogan a possibility—so that even under such an interpretation of the right of nations to national self-determination, the party of the proletariat “would not deprave the proletarian consciousness, would not darken the class struggle, would not delude the working class with bourgeois democratic phrases, would not destroy the unity of the contemporary struggle of the proletariat.”¹⁸

By such "metaphysics," as Luxemburg was later to term them, did Lenin attempt to brush aside the problems of Polish Social Democracy. However, he did not trouble to explain to the Poles how they could possibly get their proletariat to follow such subtle reasoning, how they could ever explain to the working class that though the programme of the Social Democratic Party sounded identical to that of the petty *bourgeoisie* on the national question, it was really different from it in that it could be changed at a moment's notice, depending on the dictates of history and the position of the international proletariat. Lenin, in 1903, had not yet found the way of justifying his stand without coming right out and admitting that his real aim was party unity and that his insistence upon the right of self-determination was merely propaganda of an intra-party nature and was not intended for much use among the masses of the border provinces; that the existence of independent nations had no real meaning anyway in a socialist world—which was essentially Luxemburg's position—and that he was, in a sense, stalling for time. Such honesty would have defeated his entire purpose. Lenin's real designs as of 1903 emerge only later and then more out of his deeds than his words.

Though Polish and *Bund* delegates abandoned the Congress of 1903, one minority sector of the Social Democratic movement did agree to accept the Russian point of view at that time. In the Transcaucasus, a complex of multi-nationality, the Social Democrats prior to 1903 had found organisational progress possible only through genuine internationalism. Hence they agreed with the Russians that the recognition of national sections within the Party was wrong. Though they required a certain amount of autonomy in local affairs because of the multiplicity of languages, etc., they were content to accept the final jurisdiction of the Russian Party. This type of local or "regional" autonomy had been offered to the Jewish *Bund*, but they had refused it. The acceptance of it by the Transcaucasian delegation meant a triumph for the idea of party centralism which Lenin was not to forget.

Between 1903 and 1912, the national question was pretty much ignored by polemicists of the various factions of Russian Social Democracy. The growing split in the Party as a whole, as Lenin clung to Party centralism and illegality while the Mensheviks tended ever more toward revisionism, overshadowed the fringe type problem of whether one or another national group was to go the way of the Russian Party. Apart from the national issue, the national groups

during this period took no special sides in the Bolshevik-Menshevik argument. The Letts split within themselves into Bolshevik and Menshevik sides. Among the others, some agreed with the Mensheviks on one issue, with the Bolsheviks on another. On the whole one can say that the national groups, in elections to the Central Committee,¹⁹ jockeyed their strength about in such a way as to maintain Party parity so that neither Bolshevik nor Menshevik ideas could predominate. In 1912, however, the national question once again came to the forefront of attention as Lenin began to write article after article reiterating his 1903 stand on self-determination, and denouncing those who disagreed with him in no uncertain terms.

Various Bolshevik writers, among them Stalin, attribute the revival of Lenin's interest in the national question at this time to causes such as the intensification of Great-Russian nationalism, accompanied by persecutions, pogroms, etc., the impetus to nationalism given by national representations in the Duma, and the imminent European war which would change from academic to real problem the question of Polish liberation.²⁰

Of whatever importance these factors may have been, the main cause for the revival by Lenin of the national question was the drift of the national groups away from their neutral positions in the Party toward unity with the Mensheviks.²¹ The reason for this development is clear. The Unification Congress of 1906 (Stockholm), while bringing the national groups into the Russian Party, had left unresolved the question of how self-determination was ultimately to be interpreted. Therefore, the autonomous status within the Party which Poles, *Bund* and Letts desired and continued to practise, while sending delegates to Party congresses, helping to elect Central Committees, etc., also remained hanging in the air.

However, as time went by, partly as a consequence of the inherent revisionist tendency of Menshevism, but partly as a result of the police measures of the Government, which had effectively severed the links between the Social Democratic leadership and the Russian proletariat, there was developing in the Menshevik movement, in the hopes thereby of re-establishing contact with the working class, an ever-growing trend towards legal and open existence. By definition, this implied "liquidation" of the illegal Party centre which, put into effective practice, would have destroyed Lenin's hope for the centralised party. But a legal party, not being unitary, could have no special complaint against federalism. Thus the Mensheviks, at first perhaps inadvertently, were opening

the gates to unity with the national parties who, though willing enough in some instances to follow Lenin on organisational and other Bolshevik principles, could not sufficiently lose their national identities to become part of a monolithic Russian-dominated party. Already, by 1910, the *Bund*, the Lettish S.D.s and some elements of the Polish Party had joined forces with the Mensheviks. The bulk of the Polish Party remained neutral, supporting the Bolshevik formula on organisation but continuing to insist upon autonomy within the Party.

The climax to this process of fusion came about in 1912. By this time, after years of exile and underground for most revolutionary leaders, it once again became possible for them to engage in open organisational activity. The Mensheviks, hoping for mass response to their newly conceived but thus far untried legal programme, found instead that Bolshevism, emphasising conspiracy and violence, was far more attractive to the proletariat. Lenin's appeal to what Menshevik Dan calls the "mass instinct of vengeance" was cutting the ground of working-class support from under the feet of Menshevism. Adding insult to injury, as it were, Lenin secretly called for an "All-Russian Party Conference" to meet at Prague in January 1912. Inviting only Bolsheviks to attend, Lenin had this conference designate itself the "Sixth Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party." This bold stroke immediately placed all those in opposition to Lenin on the defensive and forced them to action designed to convince the Russian proletariat that they were still in the Party. Reconciling their differences, then, the various non-Bolshevik social democratic factions decided to unite for self-preservation against Lenin and his tactics. This unity was theoretically achieved at a conference held in Vienna in August 1912 and the groups participating became known as the August Bloc—"the August Bloc of liquidators"—as Lenin and Bolshevik, writing in general, were ever after to term them.

Lenin did not fail to note the non-Russian delegates in the August Bloc. And though, for the moment, he held the upper hand, this still meant that the exponents of organisational decentralisation²² had combined with elements favouring national decentralisation to constitute a serious threat to the "centralised party." And the menace to Lenin's *leitmotif* became even further marked when, unkindest cut of all, within Transcaucasian Social Democracy, since 1903 the "national" model of Bolshevik perfection, a rift began to develop as the Menshevik faction, led by the Georgian Jordania, rejected "regional autonomy" and demanded

cultural autonomy for each Transcaucasian nationality in the best traditions of the *Bund*, Poles, etc.

Lenin's revival of the national question in 1912-1913 was his counter-attack to the double-barrelled offensive of liquidationism and federationism upon party centralism. Sizing up the enemy coalition, Lenin decided to strike at its weakest link—the newly wavering Caucasian “liquidators.” It was at this point that Lenin suddenly discovered that “amazing Georgian,”²³ Stalin, who, though possessed of no hitherto recognised theoretical, literary or linguistic talents, was put to work by Lenin to write an article on the national question. Lenin might have written the article himself instead of, as it seems, dictating its ideas for Stalin to write down,²⁴ except that this Georgian, or any other Transcaucasian of Bolshevik persuasions²⁵ who might have come to Lenin's attention at this time, was regarded as useful for proving that the Caucasus was still in the centralist camp where the national question was concerned. Also, this representative of exemplary Transcaucasian Social Democracy might serve to show the path of salvation to Jewish, Lettish, Polish and other recalcitrants. Stalin's article, as most of Lenin's on the national question during 1912-1913, attacked the virus which had infected Jews, Georgians and Letts and had prompted them to take the nationalist road to liquidationism (or vice versa) via the Austrian scheme of cultural autonomy. Cultural autonomy was berated as inevitably leading the working class to nationalism. It was bringing about national antagonisms even within the socialist movement. Thus, in Austria, as Lenin pointed out, the Czech Social Democrats had broken with the Austrians,²⁶ and in Russia the *Bund* battled the Polish, Lettish and Russian Social Democrats.²⁷ In the elections to the 4th Duma, the *Bund* had voted against the Polish S.D.s, etc.²⁸ In the Caucasus, Stalin wrote, cultural autonomy was an especial evil—as it had to be wherever culture was an upper-class monopoly. Instead of the backward Caucasian peoples being drawn into the “common stream of a higher culture” (proletarian culture), the concept of cultural autonomy would “shut up the nations within their own shells” and allow the “separate national groups to be exploited by their few literates”²⁹ (religious and *bourgeois*).

On the other hand, self-determination was the only honest socialist programme. This slogan, in accord with the economic plan of history, would break up the composites of Russia, Austria and Turkey, enabling the working class in each country, no longer confused by national strivings in common with their *bourgeoisie*,

to recognise its real enemy—its own *bourgeoisie*—and overthrow it. Then, acting upon the principles of working-class democracy, such a proletariat could fuse with the other nations into a united world proletariat.

It is clear that what Lenin meant in 1913 by the right of self-determination was something that would lead to unity and not to separation. To Rosa Luxemburg, this approach to the problem seemed quite Utopian. To preach separation, and yet expect independent nations, once come into existence, to unite again with their former oppressor—this seemed to be trusting entirely to a mystical Marxian dynamics which would infallibly lead from oppressed minority to *bourgeois* nation, to proletarian revolution within that *bourgeois* nation and thence quite naturally to internationalism. Just as it was writ in *The Communist Manifesto*. To the Polish Social Democrats this seemed particularly naïve in view of the rabid nationalism of the Poles. Once free from Russian dominance, the idea of Poland willingly reuniting with Russia seemed fantastic.³⁰ Utopian as Lenin's scheme may have appeared, his critics overlooked the trifling fact that it was not designed to cope with a situation of the future. In 1913, when possibilities for separation did not yet exist either for Poland or for other oppressed nations, Lenin could freely grant these countries their national status. He had nothing to lose. What he had to gain was the argument for party unity, his real concern in 1913.

When the World War broke out, Lenin, hitherto the leader of the anti-Menshevik front in Russia, became the leader of the anti-revisionist front throughout Europe. With him, on to the European scene, he brought various of his notions concocted for Russian conditions but gave them considerably broader scope. His Russian-made interpretation of national self-determination he used to good advantage in his attacks upon the Second International launched from Zimmerwald and Kienthal.

Lenin demanded that the Social Democrats of France, Germany, etc., turn their guns the other way and convert the imperialist war into civil war. Fighting the Fatherland's War on the grounds that the other fellow was the attacker, Lenin claimed, was hypocritical. Socialism was international. Hence, each socialist party must strike against its own government to bring about a democratic peace. Merely to demand "peace with no indemnities and no annexations" was also not the true socialist way, since France, Germany, etc., had been imperialistic, i.e. had oppressed other nations, even before the

outbreak of war. Therefore, socialists must not only rise against their own governments but must also proclaim the right of nations to self-determination. Neither Germany nor France had the right to claim Alsace-Lorraine, and by supporting such claims socialists on either side were supporting their country's imperialism. The Poles in Germany must also have the right to determine their own national destiny, etc.³¹

Among Lenin's fellow Bolsheviks, Piatakov and Bukharin particularly could not understand how "self-determination" fitted the rest of Lenin's Zimmerwald programme. He called for revolution to end the imperialist war but seemed perfectly content to see rise out of the flames new national *bourgeois* states, which were sure, in time, to become new foci for imperialism. Revolution, or civil war, they were agreed to, but not for the purpose of creating new national states and further Fatherland's Wars. Instead, once the revolution was moving in the West, they believed it might be used to overthrow the whole of capitalist economy at one blow and reconstruct all of Europe and thence the world on a socialist internationalist basis.³² Piatakov and Bukharin rightly perceived the contradiction between Lenin's demands for civil war in the West and the idea of self-determination. And against these two Lenin quite seriously defended "self-determination," though in abstract terms which enabled him to evade the admission of the contradiction. He accused the two of adopting the old Russian vice of "economism"³³ to the imperialist problem and pointed out that only by way of the political struggle inside the national state could the proletariat arrive at the proper level of revolutionary consciousness.³⁴ This was Lenin's theoretical argument concerning a situation which had not yet reached the stage when realistic decisions had to be made. In 1916, it seems, Lenin, as always, was using "self-determination" as a tactical weapon.

As indicated earlier, self-determination and, in fact, the national problem in general, was traditionally a minor issue in the West. Lenin might easily have ignored it instead of proposing it as a slogan for western social democracy. But he used it anyway, even to the extent of contradicting his major theme of Civil War. Rare is the dialectician who does not occasionally get tangled up in his own thesis. However, there is also such a thing as a deliberate error. In this instance, Lenin may have thought principally in terms of embarrassing the leadership of the Second International. In view of his well-advertised opinions regarding "renegade Kautsky" and other working-class leaders of the West, it hardly seems likely that

he should have expected these men to lead revolutions. But this made it certain that the above-mentioned contradiction would never come to life. In the meantime, Lenin might freely throw "self-determination" in the teeth of the hated revisionists, knowing they must reject the idea or confess themselves willing to fight their own governments. Rejection by them of this sacred right could then be chalked up by Lenin as added evidence to the revisionist betrayal of the socialist cause.

Lenin returned to Russia in April 1917, his old ideas sharpened in the struggle against revisionism in the West. His opposition to "annexations old or new," as directed against French and German Social Democrats for their unwillingness to grant the right of self-determination to pre-war holdings of their respective governments, he proceeded to turn against the war policies of the Provisional Government. He accused it of being imperialist if only in refusing to recognise that all non-Russian peoples of the former Empire who "(had) preserved (their national) peculiarities and (their) will for independence" ³⁵ were thereby to be considered as annexed peoples who must be granted the right of self-determination. ³⁶

In most quarters this position created the impression that Lenin desired to see the breaking off from Russia of the various peoples and their formation into independent states. But again "self-determination" was being used as a tactical device, a part of the same programme which freely offered to the peasants land, later to be taken away. In 1917, self-determination was offered to the peoples of the Russian State only by the Bolshevik Party. This became a powerful weapon against the Provisional Government and enabled the Bolsheviks to gain the confidence of various minority national groups and keep them neutral, indifferent or even helpful to the Bolsheviks during one or another phase of the Civil War period—this, despite the fact that the Bolsheviks, in common with all contemporary Russian political parties, hadn't the slightest intention of destroying the territorial integrity of the former Empire.

Naturally, Lenin was aware of the fact that his phrase "self-determination," useful in so many different ways in the past, was being misconstrued. And yet, it is not easy to accuse Lenin of outright hypocrisy, for to himself, and in terms of his Marxian approach, Lenin was remarkably consistent. If people misunderstood his terminology, Lenin might shrug his shoulders and let the fools delude themselves. At the same time, his intentions were

clearly and candidly stated and apparent to any using the correct ideological approach. Looking back upon his speeches and writings of 1917 this becomes quite obvious.

It is clear that though he spoke of the right to separate in 1917, his stress, as in 1913, was entirely on unity. The proletarian party (the Bolsheviks), he declared, must "insist on the promulgation and immediate realisation of full freedom of separation from Russia for all nations and peoples who were oppressed by Tsarism."³⁷ But, as he also said, "the proletarian party (must) strive to create as large a state as possible"³⁸ and the way to do this, according to Lenin, was to create a Russian republic so democratic that, even given the freedom to separate, the nations oppressed by Tsarism, having nothing to fear and having much to gain by fraternal unity with the workers' state, "would refuse to separate."³⁹

Taken thus far—and it was at this point that most of Lenin's contemporaries failed to follow his line of reasoning—Lenin and Wilson would seem by no means far apart in their concepts of self-determination. The real key to what Lenin meant lies in his interpretation of the two concepts, "nation" and "democracy," of which the broader idea, "national self-determination," is composed. The nation, to Lenin, was not the familiar historic outgrowth of capitalism. But speaking, as it were, for the proletariat, Lenin meant by "nation" the working class, i.e. the people minus the *bourgeoisie*, the latter presumably liquidated by the time the will of the proletariat had become the determining factor in the nation's destiny.⁴⁰ Thus, in 1917, when Lenin spoke of nations uniting, he invariably wrote of the "toiling masses" of the nations.

By democracy, and this is the heart of the problem, Lenin did not mean the will of the majority, nor even the majority of what remained of nation after the political emasculation of the *bourgeoisie*. In his own words:⁴¹

We ought to look forward, not backward; we ought to look away from the usual bourgeois type of democracy which has been strengthening the domination of the *bourgeoisie* by means of the old monarchistic organs of government—the police, the army, the bureaucracy. We must look forward to the advent of the newly born democracy, which will immediately cease to be a democracy, for democracy means the people's rule, while, obviously, an armed people could not rule over itself. The word democracy is not only not scientific when applied to the Communist Party, but, since March 1917, it has simply become a blinker placed upon the eyes of the revolutionary people, preventing the latter from establishing boldly, freely and on its own initiative a new form of

power : the Soviet of Workers, Soldiers, etc., Deputies, as the sole power in the state and as the harbinger of the "withering away" of the state as such.

The new democracy, then, is nothing less than a dictatorship. Adding Lenin's "democracy" to Lenin's "nation," it becomes clear that it is a Bolshevik dictatorship which determines the will of the nation over which it has established dominance. And since, by definition, Bolshevik organisations everywhere must unquestioningly obey the Central Committee, it becomes further clear that whether or not a "nation" joined the "workers' state" was determined by no part, not even by the dictatorship, of such a "nation"; it would be determined entirely by the Central Committee, i.e. the Bolshevik dictatorship of Russia. Such would be the case even where the majority of a nation approved of the "self-determining" action of the Russian-guided dictatorship, for the majority opinion would be incidental—pleasing to the dictatorship perhaps—but not necessarily affecting its decision.

In the final analysis, it was the will of the central or Russian dictatorship that Lenin had in mind when he spoke of self-determination by other nations in the Civil War period. And while Lenin lived, he had no qualms about putting this theory into practice, even to the extent of employing armed might. This explains the early military conquest of the Ukraine and of Georgia by Red forces and the unsuccessful attempts, during 1917-1920, to force the Estonian, Finnish and Polish nations into working-class unity with the Soviet State. As most of Lenin's ideas, that of self-determination by order of the Party centre, if necessary through the instrumentality of the Red Army, has lived on in the minds of Lenin's successors. Thus, in 1939 and 1940, the peoples of Eastern Poland, Bessarabia and the Baltic countries, having been invaded by Red forces, determined to join the U.S.S.R.

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¹ For further information on the last two mentioned, see S. W. Page, "Lenin, the National Question and the Baltic States, 1917-1919," *The American Slavic and East European Review*, February 1948, p. 22

² During the spring of 1920, the counter-attacking Red Army swept to the gates of Warsaw. Soviets were organised throughout the Red-held area and the proclamation of Soviet Poland awaited only the conquest of Warsaw. (L. Fisher, *The Soviets in World Affairs*, N.Y., 1930, 2 vols, Vol I, p 273) Interestingly enough, Feliks Kon, one of the triumvirate designated to head the Polish Soviet Republic in 1920, published a pamphlet in 1927 berating Poland for ingratitude to Soviet Russia. According to Kon, "the beginning of Poland's liberation" was the Soviet decree of 9 September 1918 which annulled all treaties on Poland among

the three Empires, on the grounds that such treaties contradicted the principles of self-determination. (Feliks Yakovlevich Kon, *Natsional'ny vopros v Pol'she*, Moscow, 1927, p. 4)

³ In the Peace of Tartu, for instance, signed on 2 February 1920, the Soviet Government "unreservedly recognised the independence and autonomy of the State of Estonia" (*Treaty of Peace between Russia and Estonia*, London, 1920, p. 2)

⁴ Where Polish liberation was concerned, Marx was interested only in the degree to which it would aid or hinder the unification of Germany. For a study of Marx and the Polish Question, see H. M. Macdonald, "Marx, Engels and the Polish National Movement," *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 13, Chicago, 1941, or see *Marx-Engels Gesamtausgabe*, V Adoratski, Ed., Moscow, 1935, Part I, Vol. VII, pp. 301-04; Part III, Vol. I, pp. 206, 207, see also *Deutsche Brusseler Zeitung*, 1847, No. 98, from *The Communist Manifesto* . . .; with an introduction and explanatory notes by D. Ryazanov, N.Y., 1930, p. 249. No objective study has yet been written on Marx and the Irish Question. But it seems clear, if only from the fact that Marx did not discover the Irish cause until 1868, after seventeen years of residence in England, that he was trying to blame the subjection of Ireland for the failure of the English proletariat to make his predictions of revolution come true. This on the theory that a nation (the proletariat of a nation) cannot be free while it enslaves another nation. Final proof to Marx and Engels of the abasement of the English proletariat was its support of the Tory ticket in 1868—the city workers' first chance to vote after the Reform Bill of the preceding year. See *Marx-Engels Correspondence*, 1846-1895, Marxist Library, Vol. XXIX, N.Y., 1936, pp. 253, 254. Engels to Marx, 18 November 1868: "What do you say to the elections in the factory districts? Once again the proletariat has discredited itself terribly . . ."

⁵ See *Der Londoner Kongress, Zur Beleuchtung der Vorgänge auf demselben*, Berlin, 1896 (offprint from *Sozialist*, p. 26.), also, *Bericht der Delegierten der russischen Sozialdemokratie an dem internationalen Sozialisten Kongress in London*, Zürich, 1896. Plekhanov headed the Russian delegation.

⁶ The inclusion of this resolution arose out of the Congress' concern not to alienate the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) See P. Lepeshinski, "Pervi S'yezd," *Istoria V K P (b) v S'yezdakh*, Ed., P. Lepeshinski, Kharkov, 1930, p. 20.

⁷ The Congress met at Brussels, later transferring to London when the Belgian Government got too nervous about having so many revolutionaries around.

⁸ For a more detailed account of the Polish argument see V. Leder, "Natsional'ny vopros v polskoi i russkoi Sotsial Demokratii," *Proletarskaya Revoliutsia*, 1927, 2-3 (61-62), pp. 151-58, for an account in English see O. Gankin and H. Fisher, *The Bolsheviks and the World War*, Stanford, 1940, pp. 501-04.

⁹ The *Bund*, or Jewish Workers' League of Poland and Lithuania, got its official start as a united Jewish proletarian organisation at a Vilna conference, 25-27 September 1897.

¹⁰ From the decisions of the First Congress " . . . The All-Jewish Workers' League in Russia and Poland enters the party as an autonomous organisation, independent only in questions especially concerning the Jewish proletariat," from, "Manifest Rossiyskoy Sotsial Demokraticheskoy Rabochey Partii," *Proletarskaya Revoliutsia*, 1921, No. 1, p. 98

¹¹ Around 1900, the Russian police organised special agencies for anti-*Bund* warfare. These came under the jurisdiction of Zubatov, famous leader of the so-called police socialism. (*Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*, Moscow, 1927, Vol. VIII, p. 106.)

¹² A resolution of the 1901 (Fourth) Congress of the *Bund* declared in part: "We accept the present borders of (Russia) as a non-alterable fact . . . We stand for complete . . . freedom and equality, and, as concerns national equality, we see the sole guarantee therefor in national (cultural) autonomy and not in territorial independence." (*IV-i S'yezd vseobshchego Evreiskago Rabochago Soyuzu v Litve, Pol'she i Rossii*, Geneva, 1901, p. 11.) A programme of cultural autonomy, incidentally, gave the *Bund* a leg to stand on against the powerful nationalistic appeal of Zionism then attracting a large following among the Jews of Russia.

¹³ V. I. Lenin, *Sochineniya*, 2nd Ed., 30 vols., Moscow, 1929, Vol. XVII, p. 63.

¹⁴ Lenin, "Polozheniye Bunda v Partii," *Sochineniya*, Vol. VI, pp. 78-86.

¹⁵ The question of "The Place of the *Bund* in the Party" was given first place in the official listings of the resolutions of the Second Party Congress. See Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 398.

¹⁶ L. Martov and T. Dan, *Geschichte der russischen Sozialdemokratie*, Berlin, 1926, p. 66.

¹⁷ From *Iskra*, No. 44, 15 July 1903.

¹⁸ *Id.*

¹⁹ In April 1906 the IVth or, so-called, Unification Congress of the Russian Social Democrat Workers' Party took place in Stockholm. On this occasion, the national groups, including those who had left the Congress of 1903, agreed to elect a common Central Committee. However, the irritating question of how to interpret self-determination was left unresolved. Polish, Lettish and Jewish Social Democrats were induced to enter the common Party after receiving assurances of great freedom of action in relation to the proletariat in their respective bailiwicks. (*Protokoly Ob'yedinitel'nogo C'yezda RSDRP Sostoyavshegosya v Stokgolme v 1906 g.*, Moscow, 1926, pp. 338-39.)

²⁰ J. Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question*, N.Y., 1942, pp. 8-9; also Leder, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

²¹ This factor is hinted at by Leder, who mentions that "the federalist inclinations of the various national groups were hurting the general party movement" Leder, however, makes no attempt to explain why these "inclinations," existent since 1903, became the source of special problems in 1912. (See Leder, *op. cit.*, p. 190.)

²² For the sake of unity, the August Congress, among other things, adopted a resolution conceding that the *Bund's* "demand for national cultural autonomy (was) not incompatible with the point in the Party programme concerning the right of nations to self-determination" (B. Wolfe, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, N.Y., 1948, p. 581.) Lenin was quick to denounce this Menshevik surrender of the position taken by the Congress of 1903. "The August Conference of liquidators," he wrote, "by the admission of even the neutral Menshevik Plekhanov, destroyed the programme of the RSDWP [in their] adaptation of socialism to nationalism." (Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. XVII, p. 63.)

²³ As Lenin, at this time, described him in a letter to Gorky.

²⁴ For very persuasive evidence on this score, see L. Trotsky, *Stalin*, N.Y., 1946, pp. 157-58; also B. Wolfe, *op. cit.*, pp. 581-83.

²⁵ After Stalin was arrested in 1913, Lenin tried to get other Transcaucasians to take his place as a vehicle for Lenin's propaganda on the national question. (Wolfe, *op. cit.*, pp. 583-87.)

²⁶ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. XVII, p. 63; also Vol. XVI, p. 508.

²⁷ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. XVI, p. 193. In an article of November 1912 and captioned "Bolnnye voprosy nashei partii" (Painful problems of our Party) Lenin attempts to tie the federalist desires of the Poles and of the *Bund* to the broader concept of liquidationism. "The complete isolation of the Lettish, Polish, Jewish S.D.s is a fact. Every Polish S.D. knows that there is no movement toward unity with the *Bund* in Poland and never has been. The same applies to the Russian S.D.s and the *Bund*. The 'nationalists' have their separate organisations, their central authorities, congresses, etc. The Russians do not have these, and their Central Committee can make no decisions without those of the *Bund*, Poles and Letts who know nothing of Russian affairs but are fighting with us. Let the serious thinking S.D.s consider the 'national question.' Federation or unity? Federation for 'nationalities' with separate centres but no separate centre for the Russians, or complete unity? Nominal unity with actual breach (or chopping off) of the *Bund* in local organisations or actual unity from top to bottom."

²⁸ Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. XVI, p. 234.

²⁹ Stalin, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

³⁰ For Lenin's dialectical reply to Luxemburg's calling his ideas metaphysical, abstract and impractical, see Lenin, *op. cit.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 427-74.

³¹ *Sotsial-Demokrat*, No. 54-55, 10 June 1916, pp. 1-3, cited by Gankin and Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-04.

³² According to article 7 of the Bukharin-Pratakov Theses of November 1915, "The deflection [by Lenin] of the proletariat's attention toward the settling of 'national problems' becomes extremely harmful, especially now when the question of mobilising the proletarian forces on an international scale for their international activities, and for the overthrow of capitalism has been raised in a practical manner." (From Gankin and Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-23.)

³³ "Economism" was the term applied to the Russian version of Bernstein's

revisionism. The Economists believed that the working class of Russia should stress economic rather than political struggle against the Tsarist order

³⁴ Gankin and Fisher, *op cit*, pp 219-36 In August or September 1916, Lenin wrote "We must proceed toward a socialist and consistently democratic organisation of the proletariat against the *bourgeoisie* and against opportunism through the utilisation of *bourgeois* democracy There is no other path . . . Marxism knows no other way out, just as real life knows none. We must include in this policy free secession and free union among nations, rather than brush them aside or fear that their inclusion might 'soil' the 'purely' economic tasks" (Gankin and Fisher, p 228.)

³⁵ V. I Lenin, *Collected Works*, N.Y., 1929, Vol. XX, Bk. I, p 91

³⁶ "Any man," wrote Lenin in 1917, "who has even the most rudimentary political education must recognise that Courland [part of Russia since 1795] *has always been annexed to Russia*" (Lenin's italics) (*Ibid.*, p. 112.)

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Bk II, p 144

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Bk I, p 144

³⁹ Speaking of the Finns on 12 May 1917, Lenin said "All the Finns want now is autonomy. We stand for complete freedom of Finland Only when this ideal is realised, will faith in Russian democracy be strengthened, will the Finns refuse to separate." (*Ibid.*, p 313)

⁴⁰ Lenin wrote in 1903: "Social democracy . . . has as its positive and major task the achievement of self-determination not of peoples and nations but of the proletariat within each nationality." (*Supra*, p. 7a.)

⁴¹ Lenin, *Collected Works*, Bk. I, p. 155.

SŁOWACKI'S PLACE IN POLISH DRAMA

THE creative career of Juliusz Słowacki gives undoubted proof of a dramaturgical calling that was both precocious and lasting. In sum, not only was that career, though cut off at forty, marked by some twenty dramatic conceptions—nine of them uncompleted—but this series of finished or sketched creations went further than offering the spectacle of one and the same formula, exploited to meet diverse situations and showing attempts more often than not very different in character. Moreover, these dramas did more than register their place in the customary categories of Romance; either by a special feature or by their very essence they frequently cut right through the current fashion of the period. Yet, while drawing attention to the originality and diversity of these works and the brief intervals between them, we must go on to do something else which, for our present purpose, is bound to be far more important, since it shows us at what point precisely in his dramas the writer linked up certain of his ambitions as artist, thinker and citizen.

When, as a young man, Słowacki naïvely aspired to win immediate glory with three small volumes of verse—all that his fervent adolescence had produced—he placed alongside the narratives, romances and exotic pieces *à la Byron*¹ to which he pinned high hopes, since he felt that they were in the fashion of the time, two dramas, *Mindowe* (1829)² and *Maria Stuart* (1830). And what matters is not so much that these dramas, above all the second, are first-rate—particularly if one considers the years of the author, *coups d'essai* which are *coups de maître*; but rather that from the literary standpoint *they are wholly different from the poems*. The latter concentrate on evoking violent and unusual situations, above all on suggesting a highly spiced and picturesque atmosphere, employing a descriptive ornament heavily charged and unyielding: the mentality of the characters is even more summary, if that is possible, and more conventional than with Byron. The dramas, by contrast, are written in a relatively chastened style, where no concession is made either to romantic *bel canto* or to the superimposed picturesque, and the problems have nothing in common with those the poet encounters. *Mindowe* sets out to reveal to us the shock of two civilizations meeting and to evoke, inside Lithuanian society, the hour of twilight when the primitive begins to

be mixed with protective camouflage and with tricks which would aim at foresightedness. In *Maria Stuart* all the effort is concentrated on the most intimate mentality of the *dramatis personæ* and on building up the plot.

All the same, what we meet from the outset is not the fairly common phenomenon of a poet who from time to time gets the notion of putting his conceptions into the dialogues, costumes, psychological traits and conflicts of figures borrowed from history, but the quite different spectacle of a *double vocation*. This, it is true, will not always live so drastically "de-doubled" as in these youthful efforts. Later on we meet signs of interpenetration where there is waged a subtle game of reciprocal distortions and influences between the two halves of this vocation, but where all the same each possesses its own autonomy and special history. We have a duality of the same order as that which later in Wyspiański was to unite, but also to oppose to each other, in the refinements of artistic expression, the dramatist and the painter.

I

If one sets out to get an idea of the importance attached by Słowacki to that half of himself which was the dramatist, and of the range of tasks which he entrusted to it, one need only recall a few facts.

When, in keeping with the notion that wishes the poets to be lofty judges of men and of the problems of national life and to provide the great words of command to society, Słowacki assumed for the first time this rôle of "holy soul" and of "leader of the people," it was to the drama *Kordian* (1833) that he entrusted this grave and significant message. Then, after a period of varying literary efforts, he ventured at last on the grand leap and tried out his own solution for the problems of artistic creation and expression; and once more in a drama, *Balladyna* (1834), he gave himself over to delicate and daring minglings of diverse æsthetic and psychological effects and of tones that seem discordant at first, but which will forever remain the distinguishing and captivating mark of his originality.

So likewise when, after the mystical enlightening experienced from his meeting with Towiański (1842), Słowacki decided quite naturally that his artistic work should serve henceforth to make known to men and to convince them of the supreme clarities by which he was overwhelmed and consumed, he used as medium two dramas *Ksiądz Marek* and *Sen srebrny Salomei* (1842-1843). One

cannot fail to be moved at seeing how, when the poet, gripped by the conviction that life and energy were fast running out, flung down on paper in gigantic outlines the works most truly his own and then was unable to complete any of them, he should nevertheless have taken the trouble to finish one excellent translation—that of *El principe constante* (1842–1843). It is also true that from the moment when, with astonishing artistic insight, he had divined that to express the state of his soul—at once mystical and epic—there already existed in the European heritage a perfectly adequate dramatic form,³ which (in addition) represented the ideal artistic translation of the spirit of the 17th-century Poland to which he returned so often and so willingly, no sacrifice seemed for him too great. The man who had arrived at the zenith of his own powers of invention and expression turned, docile and patient, to the school of Calderon to come upon the secrets of the dramatic and poetic art of the Great Spaniard.

Before going further with our enquiry, let us strike a balance of results up to now. By his intimately sensitive nature, Słowacki has emerged as the personification of the poet, even as Plato portrayed him in *Ion*—a winged being which flies above the asperities of earth, intoxicated by light and heaven. And among those who were his immediate predecessors in time we recognise at a glance the artist with whom it is convenient to compare him. This “older brother” of Słowacki is undoubtedly Shelley. But, somehow or other, it happened—almost without any divining of this by their contemporaries—that these great and pure lyricists were *also* the dramatists of their generation—most effective and most enduring.

After establishing this meeting of two great figures of the early 19th century, it will suffice as a hint at a solution of the title of this paper, to reflect for an instant on the difference that must have existed between Shelley and Słowacki as soon as they applied their powers to dramatic composition.

No form of literary art, perhaps even of art in general, is more directly and closely bound up with the social order of any age than the drama. Called upon, if it is authentic, to seize at the first attempt the spirit and heart of the audience, the drama ought to deal with problems that are truly crucial for that audience; and it should further attack these problems by subterfuges of feeling and imagination which release with sure hand and forthrightly the springs of the great emotions. Thus, it is only too evident that despite the permanence in time and space of the essential features of human psychology, these crucial problems and the manner of

approach to them in the realm of feeling differ notably in keeping with the structure, civilisation and age-long experience of diverse societies.⁴ Nothing proves this better than the radical difference between the Greek dramas and the Italian and French tragedies which revolved around the same themes, used the same *dramatis personæ*, and were conceived according to an æsthetic and to school rules which thought they were faithful to the doctrines and models of antiquity.

From the moment when this law of letters is clear to our mind, it is not difficult to realise how the elaboration of a dramatic tradition in Poland revealed itself otherwise than in the great literatures of the West. In Italy, England or France the drama won its glory in the 16th century, a moment when cultural and social life were governed by the overriding models of the royal courts—all of them stemming more or less directly from the fountain of the Italian renaissance. So then the drama was fed by the living experiences of the people of whom these courts were the natural environment. Its peculiar qualities were derived from the closed and perilous world of those courts, in which rivalries were violent, even though hidden behind polish, self-mastery or hypocrisy; and where the daily existence was at once impassioned and calculated, or under a constant strain of tense relationships inside a fairly narrow group of people who knew one another well.

In Poland the essential and lasting values of civilisation had been created during the 16th and 17th centuries in the bosom of the "commonwealth of gentry," where the towns had almost no significance and the Royal Court less and less. Both those who moulded letters and those for whom they were intended had as their nearest horizon the experiences of a gentleman-farmer-citizen. Thus the *matrix* from which could be born (though not necessarily) an original form of drama was a *milieu* inside which relations were far less numerous, less constant, and above all much less intense: they only stood out in memorable "dramatic" relief, during the plenary assemblies for discussion and legislation of the Diet, the dietines, the Church Synods, or the Party Meetings (Zjazdy); in which great national or moral issues were at stake and diverse views were vehemently in opposition, but where it was expected as a matter of course that they would end in a sentimental declaration of unity and solidarity. One need not add that, as always where important decisions depend on the humour of such an assembly, the special atmosphere was often very soon that of emotional rhetoric. Further, the baroque affectation which soon followed and set an indelible mark

on the nation was accompanied by three grim catastrophes which were soon to strike the Commonwealth, and overlaid this rhetoric with a *patina* of eschatological lyricism.

One may here risk a metaphor and say that just as from the mediæval Church there emerged little by little the religious drama of the West, so from the sessions of the Polish Diet might have emerged a drama of whose future one could say in advance that quite by contrast with that of the West it would be:

(1) *communal* and not individual, in that it lived by the sufferings and fate of the masses and not by the private doings of a few heroes;

(2) *symbolic*, since these attitudes and communal cataclysms could only be validly dramatised under the form of characters who were necessarily *myths*; and above all:

(3) *pathetic* rather than dramatic, since it would evoke situations more often than a combination of deeds. One might add that, in all probability, it would inherently have the cast of poetry, since this alone is able to create the climate in which these myth-characters would take on the undoubted shape of beings of flesh and blood; and poetry alone can assure the tense atmosphere in which static situations (of grief or danger), or problems set forth symbolically, would be charged with enough power of passion to compel the attention of the audience.

Such a thing was possible, but one sees at the outset that it would not be easy. One would have to imagine quite new forms, or at least submit those that came down from antiquity or the West to such a distortion that in fact only a memory of the original source would remain. In fact to-day, when one is aware of this possibility, one seems to recognise certain signs of such an evolution in the dramatic works of the 16th century, e.g. *Kupiec* by Mikołaj Rej (1545) or *Odprawa posłów greckich* by Kochanowski (1578). But one must note that the departure, which we feel is here encountered, from the earlier dramatic schemes (the mediæval morality play or Greek tragedy) is in any case scarcely perceptible and, if it really exists, it is wholly unconscious. It may even be established that, when at the end of a long period of grouping experiments a permanent theatre was formed in Poland in the last decades of the 18th century, far from seeking this solution people turned their backs on the problem and ignored it. By a complete misreading of the sociological laws of the theatre, men contented themselves with accepting *in toto* the forms created by the West, only changing the names of the characters and the actual details of the social *décor*.

Returning now to the matter before us, we see that there was no common measure between the task faced by Słowacki and that of Shelley from the time when, kindred geniuses at bottom, they resolved to endow literature with dramatic works which rose above the level of anecdote. Shelley, Manzoni and Musset created or applied a mutation of literary techniques to a dramatic tradition that was already ancient, illustrious and firmly rooted. Notably for Shelley this effort was the more natural since in fact he was only concerned to re-establish in its rights the only one of the older dramatic forms which towards 1820 had showed itself still vigorous and life-giving—that of Shakespeare. Conversely, Słowacki, wishing to accomplish something else than empty exercises of a writer, *found himself in 1830 in the same situation* as once, in their respective *milieus*, were Trissin, Robert Garnier or Marlowe.

It is the real merit of Słowacki as a dramatist that he was aware of the dimensions and the novelty of this task, and that he knew how to put forth with patience and courage the Titanic effort entailed by the fact of its acceptance and achievement. There is here something which grips us. The man was sickly and highly nervous; susceptible and coquettish as a woman; unable not to follow a caprice or the impulse of the moment. Moreover, these mental characteristics find their repercussion in a thousand details of his works, or even—as we shall see—in certain windings of his creative path as a dramatist. However, to those who follow with attention and sympathy this course to the end, with its sudden sorties and its minute and chance paths, there soon appears the vast and unyielding energy of an artist who, from one attempt to another, never rests with any conquest made, but aims at attaining always and more fully the total authenticity of his poetic speech and his dramatic vision.

We confine our remarks here to dramatic form and go on to bring out briefly the stages of this triumphant way. It may have been pure chance, but Słowacki commenced by perfecting himself in the techniques fully approved in his day. One must say that nothing could serve him better in his further searches. He tries his hand first on those forms of drama where for success he had to possess the qualities of metre, construction and skill which, though less obvious, are also indispensable in the most revolutionary forms.

In *Mindowe* he applies the formula of the 18th-century political

drama, in which the characters and their conflicts set out the problems and complex conditions of societies whose people are in a way eponymous.⁵ It was a hybrid formula but rich in possibilities. The result is a work extremely intelligent and interesting, but marred by a few gross naiveties. This is the habit of beginners destined to succeed in something difficult, but to be guilty of oversight in things that belong to the childhood of art. In *Maria Stuart* he set about writing a drama of psychological analysis, perfectly built, and this time the result was above all praise. He succeeded in revealing with cruel insight the petty character of the Queen, without touching anything of her charm or poetry; and, alongside her, he illumined in a plausibly just way the sacrificed personality of Darnley. Even though it is never said, it seems beyond doubt that this drama of a twenty-one-year-old can stand comparison with the works of Alfieri or Schiller.

Here is the proof of this: had it not been for his boundless ambition Słowacki could have been content to go on as he had begun and compose a whole library of interesting dramas—clever and perfectly useless.

Yet, on the contrary, he soon passes at once to a third experiment. In *Kordian* (1833) he sets himself to transmit ideas, and from this point of view the work is not without interest. But as regards the dramatic formula, which is what interests us here, we find ourselves in admitted retreat from *Maria Stuart*. Partly no doubt under the power of a dual protective camouflage imposed on Słowacki by his nervous and aggressive nature (*Kordian*, being set up as an answer to Mickiewicz's *Dziady*, Part III, and in a deeper way to Byron's *Manfred*, ought to have been moulded on these two texts) the author chose here a form at that time the most fashionable and the most ambitious, but also the most debatable. This was the brand of "romantic drama" in which one sole character is seen in depth illumined from all sides but especially within (by a sorry intrusion of lyrical oratory and an abuse of the soliloquy)—whereas all other characters appear only in *bas relief*.

The two first parts of *Kordian* are worth neither more nor less than the more famous samples of *genre*, i.e. they are dramatically insipid. But here perhaps the true vocation of the dramatist breaks out in that even in this framework, doomed in advance, Słowacki knew how to insert discoveries truly dramatic and of the first order. The crowd scenes with which Part III opens, and the oath-taking by Tsar Nicholas I, unloose an impression of terrifying unusualness by the simplest of treatments, by the unreal swiftness of the rhythm

of events, and by a bold and revealing use of the pantomime. Further, the way in which the psychic disorder of Kordian at the time of the abortive attempt at assassination is staged in a monologue artificially spoken by two "actors"—an *agonia* of the highest quality—constitutes a striking success. Thus, even in this tribute paid unhappily to the tastes of the era, the author knew how to try out new methods—which were soon to be of wondrous use to him in the day when he would find his true formula.

However, in the long run, this was a dead end, and the poet was aware of it in time. The promised trilogy remained only a portico. Wisely refusing for a time to confer an ideological meaning on his work, he turned to experiment with the form in which one day he would be able to express what he had to say, and wrote *Balladyna* (1834). I emphasise the character of literary experiment which this drama affects, an experiment this time conclusive. The features which in future will mark Słowacki's work—its mythical character, the fact that the poetic atmosphere has here more range than the mentality of the *dramatis personæ*, the use of highly contrasted settings to bring out the complexity of human situations, are shown here in a state chemically pure, and without external justification. Moreover the achieving of the planned result would represent the main difficulty to be faced. We have indeed to do with a test case: if the form were to give this time the desired result, it would be possible to use it henceforth with the same mastery which is grounded from the start in technical ingenuity.

Indeed, what could be riskier than to place side by side characters taken from different ages and literary registers, coming from the popular romantic ballad, the idyll, the romance comedies of Shakespeare (*Midsummer Night's Dream* and *As You Like It*), from *Macbeth* and *King Lear*; to put them all into a prehistoric Poland, which from the outset is not taken either tragically or even seriously; to sprinkle the whole with literary *pastiches*—but expect all the same to make of this mixture a spectacle which in conformity with the antique releases at once both pity and horror!

3

Since the days of symbolism we have known more than one experiment characterised by a gratuitous overweighting of poetic values. Precisely the check which they have met with in the properly dramatic field, shows up how exceptional and deserving was Słowacki's success.

It seems possible to set out some at least of the reasons for this

success. First then, as always when hazardous battles end in victory, the enterprise which was foolishly ambitious in its ends was handled with the wisdom of a serpent in regard to means. These unreal and diverse characters are presented by the author from the start in their appropriate surroundings, methodically using nuances and contrasts to link them together. It is only when this alchemy has produced a whole series of partial effects, safely measured out, that at the beginning of Act IV he ventures to unite them. At this moment the game is won; and it is not without reason that then and only then the dramatic element takes precedence over the fairy-tale—the latter only surviving in so far as it is necessary to give to the action a symbolism of “morality.” Besides, one must note that, even if the psychology of the characters is reduced to the simplest features (with more complications and nuances it would with a disproportionate weight crush those characters like soap-bubbles) it remains more or less constant and consistent. The author has seen that whims can play a part in the assembling of a drama, but not in its fundamental character. Finally, I should particularly emphasise the outstanding rôle which, through the early parts of the play, i.e. those where the success of the *tour de force* is still at stake, is assigned to the main *décor*—the great green forest of idylls and operas where it is a daily thing to meet hermits and poetical shepherds, and where enchantments can be unleashed and tales of wonder unfolded. It is by mobilising to the limit the power of envelopment, which conceals this *genius loci*, that the cohesion of elements, so astonished at finding themselves together, is finally attained.

For the author this was “a possession forever,” in the sense that if in the sequel the ingredients of these exciting literary “cock-tails” differed almost every time in genus or even in species, and if these methods of the alchemist served later to communicate something which to the author meant dynamic ideas, the general formula was unchanged: fantasy, symbolism and even revelation superimposed on everyday psychological truth; the grandeur of the saga or theogony shot through with grotesque triviality—and everything dominated by a powerful emotive atmosphere designed to suggest the situation to be faced by the social group.

True it is that to this lofty and fine æsthetic Słowacki was at times unfaithful. As noted above, the weaknesses of his mental make-up, his love of success (so cruelly and almost invariably disappointed while he lived), and the capriciousness which was no longer daringly imaginative but even incapable of submitting to any rules

(even its own), explain the zig-zags which mark a superb record of effort and of depth of thought. Thus *Horsztyński* (1835), in which he tried to revive *Hamlet* (the sort of thing that was most certain to lead to disaster), is set in Lithuania at the time of the Rising of Bar but is paradoxically dated 1794. Thus *Beatrice Cenci* (1839), where he succumbs to the vulgar blandishments of the French dramatic romance, with its Renaissance duelling and devilish priests richly provided with bastards and with purely physical *coups de théâtre*; and thus even *Mazeppa*.⁶

Yet apart from these uncertainties, the grand line is followed in *Lilla Weneda* (1839), in *Książd Marek*, and in *Sen srebrny Salomei*, as well as in the splendid fragments *Beniowski* and *Krak* (1840). And this line is neither more nor less than in the tradition which begins with an authentic *Polish drama* to be placed alongside the Elizabethan, the comedy of Castille and French tragedy.

The time has now come finally to sum up the features that mark it. These dramas are always collective. Each time there is at stake the destiny of a whole people, committed to a choice that involves its whole future. The significance of the crucial moment is symbolised in the fate of an exceptional personality: saint, martyr, political and social reformer or sage, in whom culminate the confused longings and lofty aspirations of a social mass, as well as its determination to bear disaster with dignity. Apart from King Agesilaus of Sparta, the features of these "leaders of the people" such as the Druid King Derwid, Father Marek, the Ukrainian sage Wernyhora, the adventurer Beniowski, the Polish Parsifal-Zawisza Czarny, the herald of individualism Samuel Zborowski, have not a trace of the historical, in the sense that they are either wholly imagined or their portraits have been highly magnified or distorted.

It is indeed significant that precisely this exception of the realism in *Agesilaus* (1844) is paid for by a check-mate. Słowacki is only at his ease when he can confer on these "people-symbols" the dimensions and mythical character which alone can raise them to the functional rôle they are to play. What is more, these pictures of historical crises, so perfectly set in an atmosphere of exactness that is often striking; traversing the ages from pre-history to the end of the 18th century (or even farther if one includes Kordian), have nothing in them of archæology: never is it their aim, whether nearer or remoter, to play with the exotic in time, with this purely æsthetic transposition into other ages to which Romanticism

attached so much of its effort and hopes. With Słowacki, contrariwise, the conflicts of values of the Venedic age, or of that of Bar (1768), not only do not remove the reader (or the alas! imaginary spectator!) from the year 1840 and from the basic problems the author had to set himself whether as thinker or citizen. They lead him to a profounder appreciation than if they had been stated in the language of 1840—a speech encumbered with wrappings which belonged only in fleeting fashion or by accident belonging to the spiritual dramas of the epoch.

This effect is in no way achieved by the method of allusion, which consists in falsifying the portrait of a moment of the past to draw from it specious lessons affecting the present. As a consequence the dramatist has chosen, or more often pictured in the limits of what is historically plausible, crises which retain a quite fresh eloquence for the people of 1840. Something is achieved far removed from what on the continent in the 19th century was called "Shakespearean drama," amounting to an excursion of slight meaning into the domain of amusing archæology, where the authority of Shakespeare only served to excuse the use of easy technical construction. But, conversely, there is something much nearer to the real Shakespeare, since instead of being always occupied with the nature of the 9th or of the 18th century the characters are essentially people of all ages.

Before leaving this important point, I should like to detain the reader's attention for a moment on a detail which seems to mark best this aspect of Słowacki's drama, i.e. the use, unknown in the 19th century, of the antique chorus in *Bemowski*, *Złota Czaszka* and *Zawisza Czarny*. True, it would not be fair to envisage this literary artifice only in respect of the problem of historicity which concerns us here. One should also see here in the first instance the characteristic of prowess and virtuosity, which influences all Słowacki's work—both drama and lyric—in that both these are functionally baroque. In regard to drama the whole power consisted in forcing on the reader the plausibility of an action that always had in it something unreal. *For this very reason* it is in this unusually dangerous region that the artist ventured to create additional difficulties: at the moment in the play, when the desired result seemed to be reached, when the spectator was compelled to believe in these characters however weird, and in the situations however fantastic, the author with a calm gesture steps in, dismisses the scenery, the costumes and even the actors, in order himself to get on the stage and proclaim to the public a poetical commentary on

his work. The charm is thus broken, the illusion shattered, and they have to be revived afresh later.⁷

If, however, it is by these considerations of virtuosity that one must explain the genesis of Słowacki's chorus, it is certainly permissible to see it also as an extreme and emphasised proof of the poet's predilection for treating history not from the angle of anecdote or the picturesque, but from that of values and eternal conflicts. One is drawn to this conclusion both by the inner evolution of the writer and by that which is expressed in these choruses, notably in that of *Zawisza Czarny*. In fact, Słowacki also during his naïve youth had courted all that was picturesque or "unique" in the environment he was forced to evoke—the Near East which he had not yet seen, the Lithuania of the 14th century, the rather fantastic Poland of the days of Batory. Now, on the other hand, returning to that same period of Batory for his *Samuel Zborowski* (1845) he sought no longer to throw into relief what was piquant or odd but what, in the catastrophe of this reign, seemed to him to conceal an eternal lesson on the problem of individual rights as opposed to those of the community. One can easily see that the chorus was best suited to induce the reader to free himself for a moment from the spectacle of the age, the people, the plot which the play sets before him, to return to the present and to get the necessary perspective for watching that which has just aroused his interest and emotions. In *Zawisza Czarny*, in order to determine how far the feudalism of the magnate and hero Jagiełło, which the poet believed he knew well through a historical tradition inevitably trivialised (as all traditions are), the author created in fancy a stage of culture quite comparable to the Greece of heroic times, whose image equally conventional slumbered in the depth of his memory. Their unforeseen meeting conferred on them not only a quite new freshness but also a gripping significance.

One has, in this fashion, the effect of super-imposition, as the phrase has it in the modern film, which sets things all at once in an unaccustomed dimension where stereotyped perspectives are confused, and which helps us the better to comprehend as well the exact meaning of the thing pictured as its prolongations in both directions of time.⁸

4

A second major feature of this drama, a bit contradictory of what has just been said—though it is the union of its two contraries that makes Słowacki's work such an achievement—is the following.

Placed on the precise borderline of the fantastic and the real, it knew how to remain faithful to the facts of everyday life. This is true both of the characters and of the sequence of their deeds.

So then Father Marek is a "holy soul," a hero and a miracle-worker, and in that way he takes us far from the 18th century into the open climate of oriental religiosity of the most powerful and magical sort. Yet recurring details of style or speech, or a character trait, remind us all the same that he does not cease to be also a jovial, round and patriarchal monk, a full-blooded impulsive warrior—in short a Sarmatian nobleman, very imperfectly disguised as a churchman. That this man, so well rooted in the soil that feeds him, so like the rest of his fellows of the "Saxon" age, should even be an instrument of God, and by natural impulse reach heights of sacrifice and devotion—all this, so presented, gives us the powerful impression of a miracle and makes us believe in it, at least in the realm of art.

What is valid for the picture of Father Marek goes also for those about him, and for the society out of which he springs. And if these creatures of flesh and light are plunged into a criminal adventure, strongly and mysteriously lit up by divine signs, the motivation of the incidents in which they are involved and where their passions find expression is also undeniably logical.

A striking comparison is relevant at this point. In *Irydion* (1833-1836) Krasiński wanted to represent views to which no one can deny either plausibility or great power of persuasion in regard to the collapse of the ancient world, and to the forces on which was written the promises of birth for the civilisation of the West. The picture given of these concepts possesses outstanding qualities, both in power of suggestion and of outreach. But dramatically the effort is wholly a failure. At the very moment of the revolt which upsets Helagabalus there appears an unforeseen secession inside "the forces of the future" which Irydion collected. He made use of the resentment of the down-and-outs, he was able to mobilise the joy in destroying the mercenary barbarians, but the Christians refused to fight. The author's symbolism wanted this abstention alone to ruin Irydion's plans, and so things are set out; but no one endowed with a modicum of critical sense could admit that the events could have happened in this way otherwise than to permit the author to prove his thesis. Dramatic truth was at variance with the realities of revolutionary strategy, where nothing prepares the reader for the fact that the method by which a few pariahs

not fall in this way ; or that in fact Father Marek did not die in 1768. Artistically the game has been won. In our minds it is Słowacki who is right in the teeth of history, precisely because he has given to history its true sense, even if it does not tally with the facts.

5

The third element of the dramatic art, that which assures the intimate cohesion of the other two, is clearly the one to which we have just alluded, viz. the continued flowering of poetry in its grandest and most generous form. It is because the characters and their deeds are carried from beginning to end by this stream of lava with its ceaselessly seething eruption of blazing, baroque pictures, and because the senses of the reader succumb to this inspired and crazy din which stuns and stimulates, that the events he witnesses are able to take on the character of a quasi-religious revelation.¹⁰

From whatever angle one looks at this dramatic art, no doubt is left that it aims at reaching, and will achieve a quality of conviction which is at the opposite pole from the classical art of Europe. In place of a construction which seduces the intelligence, and of which the mechanism operates quite openly, one has here a mountain of vehement passion which seizes and carries one away. But it would be naïve not to see how much choice and skill is at the base of this outbreak of power. Perhaps a good part of this facility had become unconscious and was nothing more than the application of technical mastery—this does not matter. What does count is that we find ourselves face to face with a great work of art, with the fruit of a lofty and refined civilisation.

That this demands the union of rare qualities and favourable conditions, is proved moreover by the final phase in the career of the master dramatist. It seems to me beyond question that *Zawisza Czarny* (1844) and *Samuel Zborowski* (1845) mark a perceptible decline. Here the diverse elements remain in a state of discord, and one has, in fact, great fragments of poetry that amaze but do not convince. The dramatic emotion is no longer attained. In fact the ways of the dramatist and the poet have again parted.

Perhaps the reason is that the poet's organism, as it became more and more destroyed by the ravages of disease, did not provide the amount of vital energy required for conceiving such dramas and making them a success. One thing which makes us think so is that in these final years this man who, though a pure lyricist, had by a curious paradox expressed his thoughts hitherto in the plastic forms of narrative poems or of drama, now gives his best in tiny bits of

spontaneous lyric which he scribbled for his own use in *Raptularz*. It seems, indeed, that he had no longer sufficient confidence in a doubtful to-morrow to attempt works that demanded time and perspective.¹¹

But it is also possible that we have here a moving example of the law which Professor Toynbee calls that of "diminishing returns." The psychological challenge that is seen in the fact of having to compose dramas, without hope of seeing them produced, had at first provoked an enriching response. Indeed, if one considers the material means at the disposal of the stage in those days, one realises that it was because Słowacki's plays had no chance of being produced that he had been in process of breaking completely with the tradition of "a conversation in front of a mirror," continued in "period" *décor*. But in the long run the challenge proved excessive and after the culminating period of 1842-1843, as a result of having no contact with the boards of a real theatre, he lost year by year his feeling for drama and finally even his desire to write plays.

Nevertheless these fourteen years of pioneer work had marked a stage of supreme importance in the birth of an original type of Polish drama. How fertile these attempts were can be judged above all by the case of Stanisław Wyspiański (1869-1907). Born in a time when everywhere in Europe the history of the theatre was marked chiefly by efforts to renew the technique of scenic effects, this writer certainly played a remarkable rôle in his country and in the movement of which he is the solitary exponent. As a dramatic writer Wyspiański was in so far "nourished on the crumbs that fell from Słowacki's table" that the question of his artistic independence can reasonably be raised. It may be true with him, by contrast with the earlier poet, that the work remains visibly haunted by sensory impressions, usually visual ones, as might be expected of a painter, which have first of all produced the concept of the drama. In everything else—wealth of ideas, dramatic effects, favoured symbols, techniques of expression and, above all, in the very conception of the purpose aimed at by the play and the means to be compassed for attaining it, Wyspiański's drama is only an offshoot (lusty it is true) put out by the main tree—Słowacki.¹²

At the moment when he was finishing *Balladyna*, Słowacki wrote to his mother (18 December 1834) with the timid pride which can be revealed only to those who are near and dear :

"Of all the things which up to now my brain has brought forth, this tragedy is the best ; above all because it has opened

for me a new road, a new land of poetry which has not yet been trodden by the foot of man. . . . I cannot give you here, dear mother, a more precise picture of the kind of drama my tragedy represents. If it bears any family resemblance to any known work, it should be to *King Lear* by Shakespeare. Oh, if it could only one day be placed alongside *King Lear* ! ”

Posterity should, with all justice, confirm this hope. Certain it is that Słowacki is not the equal of Shakespeare. Perhaps that will always be something impossible, perhaps it will never again happen that the greatest dramatist and the greatest poet will be found in one man. In Słowacki's case the poet is greater than the dramatist, and that is why at vital moments the poet has taken the dramatist by the hand and led him to the most ambitious goals. But the fact remains that this weakly and nervous man was a natural force, that this Ariel of poetry divined with the intuition of genius the passions of man and the problems of society, that this lover of baroque, of preciousness, this disciple of formal beauty was willing and able to create myths which, on a par with the grand figures of the international field, will remain dynamic images which each generation invests with a meaning every time different. The fact remains that this exile, this solitary poet, has built in silence a communal drama which even to-day is an earnest of the future.

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¹ It goes without saying that one has in mind here both the exotic element in time (Scott's picturesque history) and that in space (the Near East).

² The works of Słowacki often appeared long after their writing, or even after his death. It has seemed better to give here the dates of writing rather than of publication.

³ Słowacki got to know the works of Calderon from 1837 onwards, during his stay in Florence.

⁴ It is not a question of taking the poet to task for the romantic doctrine of "national" literatures, which the writer holds to be naive and a false presentation of problems, and vulgar and harmful in its criteria of judgment as well as in its effect on the artists who have submitted to them. Słowacki in point of fact suffered greatly through his lively and critical attitude towards this spirit. What one must disentangle and demonstrate here is the indispensable relation (especially in the drama) between artistic form and the structure and *ethos* of societies. It is self-evident that these last features can be or can have been common to diverse groups which are nations to-day, but which in the great creative moments of the past lived in one or another fashion a common life. For that matter the body social to which our conception is applied, the older Polish Commonwealth, was not a nation but in reality an Empire, and right here lies one essential feature of its greatness and fertility.

⁵ Despite appearances, there is not the least inkling here of the "pathetic" communal drama which Słowacki was later to create, for the problems in *Mindowe*

are seen from the angle of cogitative reason, and rest on the matter-of-fact level of politics and sociology.

⁶ One finds here a curious pointer. In this play which revives so perfectly the types and the manner of life of 17th-century Poland under Spanish influences, the main dramatic plot has been quietly borrowed from a very effective short story by Balzac. *Le Château de la Breièche*. The poet borrowed like a grand gentleman, putting large dots on the "i's" so that no one could miss them.

⁷ From this point of view the use of the chorus is perfectly parallel with the methods of Sterne which Słowacki chooses to put into operation in *Podróż na Wschód* and *Bemowski*, and which only appear less surprising to the reader to-day because he is used to them from knowing Byron's *Don Juan*. But, somehow or other the poet enjoys destroying the illusion he has just created.

⁸ Seen from this angle, the chorus which, one will recall, first appeared in the older Attic Comedy, ceases to surprise us in Słowacki. Let us remember that by the pure apperception of a literary likeness, the echo of Aristophanes has already been evoked in Wyspiański's *Wesele* and the Cracow of 1900 which is there recognisable. In line with our suggestions as to the sociology of the drama, this relation ceases to be an accident. There was a deep reason why the drama that could be born in the Polish Diet and emerge from it as did the mediæval theatre of the West from the altar in presumably "Mystery" plays, though it was only "delivered" by Słowacki and Wyspiański long after that institution had perished, resembled in certain natural traits as well as certain procedures the Attic Comedy whose social womb had been the *agora*.

⁹ One will remark here, and it is true for all the maturer dramas of Słowacki, the outstanding presence of two traits which the sociological origin of the Polish drama makes us expect. "pathetic" oratory and the ecstatic expectation of a miracle.

¹⁰ Here again behind the boldness of improvisation are concealed the tricks of prudence and ingenuity. He who studies the metre of these verses that seem flung on paper in a feverish caprice, will confirm how the seeming irregularities are each time called for by the rhythm of the phrase and by the effort to obtain them. This poetry is orchestrated with the mastery of a Wagner.

¹¹ The religious epic *Król Duch*, undertaken in these years, looks at first glance to be a denial of these views, but this is only seeming. *Król Duch* grows not by any building but by accumulation. It is a sample of work doomed to remain unfinished.

¹² This is so true that even there where one can be almost certain that Wyspiański borrowed ideas from others (Nietzsche or Wagner) or that his dramatic conception was born from memory of a work of art, e.g. Raphael's *Stanza d'Eliodoro*, or finally that he reacted to real figures and to well-known events of his city's life in 1900, one finds that what he took from these outside sources responded each time to some stimulus he had been able to extract from reading one or another passage of Słowacki.

THE PROSE OF PUSHKIN

PART II

CHERNYSHEVSKY'S thesis that Gogol was "the father of Russian prose" was, before Chernyshevsky, formulated by Belinsky, who in 1835 proclaimed Gogol "the head of our literature"—bestowed on him "the place vacated by Pushkin" and, in 1843, "gave decided preference to Gogol's tales over Pushkin's tales."⁴⁶ Both Belinsky and Chernyshevsky regarded Gogol alone (as opposed to Pushkin) as a completely independent and original writer: "Gogol had no models, no predecessors, either in Russian or in foreign literature";⁴⁷ a sign of equality was drawn between "Gogol's school" and "the natural school,"⁴⁸ and Gogol was recognised as the founder of "the only valuable literary school."⁴⁹

Both Belinsky and Chernyshevsky saw in Gogol the originator of Russian realism, despite the obvious preponderance of romanticism in Gogol's art, and of realism in Pushkin's art.

The principal part in this misunderstanding was played by Gogol's "satirism," his "humour" ("gumor," as Belinsky wrote in 1835), his "critical attitude toward reality," although Gogol was simultaneously described as "the poet of real life" and "the poet of the absolute truth of life."⁵⁰ Both Belinsky and Chernyshevsky overlooked in this "poet of the absolute truth of life" the elements of stylisation, hyperbolism, grotesque and caricature, with their inevitable exaggeration, their characteristic deformation, the predominance of the particular over the general and the irrevocable "immobilisation" of life. They did not notice—or, rather, they did not attach any significance to—Gogol's fantasticalness, they refused to see the complete absence of psychological and higher ideological content, they were deaf to Gogol's declaiming. (They even failed to remember Gogol's own enthusiastic remarks about Pushkin's "laconism," lack of any "cascade of eloquence, which captivates by loquacity!")

All these characteristic features of Gogol's art are in contradiction with realism, "genre" realism, psychological and historical realism, which is the hallmark of the Russian 19th-century novel. Only the studies which appeared towards the end of the 19th century, and especially the studies connected with the 1902 and 1909 anniversary celebrations, as well as some later research—I mean the articles,

lectures and books by Rozanov, Merezhkovsky, Kotlyarevsky, Bryusov, Vengerov, the declarations of the Symbolists in *Zolotoye Runo*, the books of Pereverzev and Hippus, and finally of A. Bely, introduced the necessary reservations and corrections which definitely put an end to Gogol the "realist." The writings of the Formalists (Eichenbaum, Vinogradov, Slonimsky) gave strong support to this work of literary revision, which could not be shaken by literary scholars of the Marxist brand, for they too were unable to overcome Gogol's grotesque with their "social conditioning," "the materialistically understood conditioning of ideological phenomena."⁵¹ Gogol's hyperbolism, the romantic essence of Gogol's humour, his lyricism, his "acoustics" and phonetics, his neologisms—all this was brought to the fore and thus the "genesis" of Russian prose established by Belinsky and Chernyshevsky was questioned.

I would also add here Gogol's "Ukrainism," which plays an important though hidden part in Gogol's attitude toward Russian reality. (Very valuable in this respect is the article of Efimenko, "National Dualism in the Writings of Gogol," as well as the biographical research of Vengerov.⁵²)

I cannot go into detail here, but, if you stop to think, it is very difficult to deduce Turgenev, not to mention Tolstoy and even Dostoevsky, from Gogol, despite the fact that the last in particular in his early period took not a little from Gogol; despite the legend that "we all come from under Gogol's overcoat"; despite the echoes of the theme of "*poshlost*" which can be heard here and there in the stories of Turgenev.

Yes, in Goncharov, Shchedrin, Leskov, Chekhov, at times in Bunin, a great deal depends on Gogol, but it would be a difficult task to establish spiritual relationship between Gogol on the one hand and *The Brothers Karamazov*, *War and Peace*, even *Oblomov* (despite the genetic bond between Ilya Ilyich and Tentetnikov discovered by Dobrolyubov and proved by Mazon) and *The Nest of Gentlefolk* on the other. There remains of course the so-called "dirty reality" of which Leontyev wrote with such eloquence and of the presence of which in Russian literature, thanks to Gogol, he so bitterly complained.⁵³

Ugliness as an accepted guarantee of the truth of life in the Russian realistic novel goes back indeed to Petrushka's smell and to Nozdrev's mouth, in which "a whole squadron had camped overnight," to the cockroaches, flies and "samovar" faces of Gogol's towns and country estates. This is not all we find in the Russian 19th-century novel, however, although Dostoevsky's characters are

always spitting, bedbugs teem in the walls of Oblomov's lodging, and Natasha Bezukhaya triumphantly shows the yellow spots on her baby's diapers.

One is inclined to think that, despite the age-long tradition and the obstacles erected by Belinsky and Chernyshevsky, the influence of Pushkin's prose was gradually consolidated.

Where and in what is one to look for it?

Here you cannot get away from *Eugeny Onegin*. This is the real "father" of the Russian novel. Turgenev, Goncharov, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, all of them, in one way or another, go back to it.

When speaking about the pleiade of his contemporary writers, Dostoevsky said. "In all our literature there were only three indisputable geniuses who brought 'an indisputable, new word': Lomonosov, Pushkin and, in part, Gogol. But all of this pleiade (and the author of *Anna Karenina* included) originated directly from Pushkin, one of the greatest Russian men, but still far from having been understood and explained."⁵⁴

But *Eugeny Onegin* is not Pushkin's prose, I shall be told. True enough, but *Eugeny Onegin* is a novel, and perhaps the most important novel in the Russian narrative tradition. All the psychological and social content of the Russian novel of the first and second half of the 19th century is closely bound up with *Eugeny Onegin*—with *Eugeny Onegin* as a novel and not as a novel-in-verse. As a novel-in-verse *Eugeny Onegin* had no sequel and created no tradition—one can say that it was interrupted at once. The plot of *Eugeny Onegin* contributed but little to the Russian novel—it is too simple for that. But it was at the expense of the primitiveness of the plot that its psychological, social, historical and ideological content increased. I shall note by the way that amplifications and corrections, which were possible precisely in prose, came almost immediately and were made in all directions. We find them in *A Hero of Our Times*, where the plot is already much more complex, the psychological content is considerably deepened, and a system of all-round characterisation of the hero and his environment (nature and people) is developed. I shall not go into the fact that Lermontov followed not only in the footsteps of Pushkin, that, besides Byron and Goethe, he knew Benjamin Constant's *Adolphe*, A. de Vigny's *Stello*, A. de Musset's *Les confessions d'un enfant du siècle*, Sénancour's *Obermann*—works which are in every respect more complex and drawn against a wider historical and social background than *Eugeny Onegin*. True enough, Pushkin also knew some of these books.

Let us forget this and remain within the limits of the evolution of the *Russian* novel. If we hold to a strict distinction between prose and verse, then it is Lermontov who must be regarded as "father" of the Russian novel—of this, to my mind, there can be no doubt. *A Hero of Our Times* is the first modern Russian psychological and "society" novel; a multitude of ties binds Turgenev, Goncharov, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy with it.

However, *A Hero of Our Times* itself goes back not only to *Evgeny Onegin* but to Pushkin's prose as well, to *The Tales of Belkin*, *The Egyptian Nights* and *The Captain's Daughter*. Pushkin's lessons left their mark. First of all, the plot. It is not that Pushkin's plot is elaborate—it is in fact always simple, and even in *The Captain's Daughter* rather limited. I mean the function of the plot and theme in a work, the skill in handling it and using it for purposes other than the plot itself, finally the entertainingness of the plot as one of the important factors in a narrative. In this respect not only Lermontov, but undoubtedly Dostoevsky, too, learned from Pushkin's prose; so did Tolstoy, too, in some details.

The main difficulty here was the problem of making the characters collaborate with the plot—I have already hinted at the necessity for the character to be psychologically prepared and fitted for the rôle assigned to him.

In this respect not only Tatyana and Onegin are good examples of this—a particularly good example is Hermann in *The Queen of Spades*, precisely because there are present in him, before the action begins, those forces which Tomskey's story sets in motion. Not for nothing did Dostoevsky consider Hermann "a colossal figure." He constructed his *Crime and Punishment* in accordance not only with Balzac's but also with Pushkin's theme. But even *The Snowstorm* can serve as an example—there had to be Burmin's frivolous, hussar's irresponsibility, with his "Go ahead, go ahead," to make it possible to wed him to Marya Gavrilovna; on the other hand, an adventure like that could happen only to such a sentimentally-romantic young girl.

In *A Hero of Our Times* the plot may be said to have fully justified itself; it is entertaining and sufficiently many-sided; moreover, all the time it helps to unmask the hero and the life of society—all the stories and episodes are in this sense equally dynamic. However, in *A Hero of Our Times*, just as in *Evgeny Onegin*, the plot is nevertheless subordinated to the psychological and social purpose. This predominant "psychologism" and "sociologism" determined for a long time to come the tendency of development

of the Russian novel. There is no special reason to complain about this. But Dostoevsky, for example, felt all the same this one-sidedness, so characteristic of the Russian novel of his time. That is why he studied the complex, entertaining and even sensational plot in Paul de Kock, Dumas, Eugène Sue, Gaboriau, Victor Hugo, Balzac, Stendhal and Dickens. In his novels he knew how to combine a sensational plot, constructed according to those Western European models, with the tendency of the Russian novel towards psychologism and "genre painting," which had already become manifest in his time, in order to create ultimately his own type of the ideological incident novel—a novel of philosophical and psychological adventures.

Extremely interesting are the observations of Leskov on this "technical" subject, observations which he interpolated rather freely in his novel *At Daggers Drawn*. This is what Leskov wrote: "A well-known French critic, in discussing the Russian novel, expressed a most enthusiastic opinion of the talents of Russian novelists, but at the same time was horrified by the poverty of its content. He thought that this poverty of content, which he saw, was due to the scantiness of the novelists' imagination, and not to the poverty of life itself which the artist had to portray. Yet the justly observed poverty of content of Russian novels and tales is in direct relation to the character of Russian life. Novels whose subject-matter is drawn from the period of Peter the Great, Biron, Empress Anna, Empress Elizabeth and even Emperor Alexander I, while being far from faultless from the point of view of narrative skill, by no means suffer from poverty of content, which became typical of Russian fiction at the time when, according to someone's characteristic aphorism, two situations alone alternated in our novel and tale: fell in love and married, or fell in love and shot himself. This period of fiction, particularly poor in content, was at the same time a period of extraordinary flourishing of Russian art and handed down to us several names which are famous in the annals of literature for their art of portrayal. Reproducing the life of a society which by the existing order of things was denied all part in the questions going beyond the limits of home life and career-making, the novelists of that period, writing under the heavy pressure of censorship, were forced to choose one of the two alternatives: either to make their works entertaining by means of false literary effects, or to substitute for the effects of the plot high qualities of execution, expressiveness of characters, a subtle treatment of most minute inward changes and microscopic observation of the realm of physiology of feelings. . . .

Among our artists of fiction there appeared such masters of detail as, among the painters, Claude Lorrain in sunlight effects, Jacob Ruysdael in the unaccountable sadness of quiet scenes, Paul Potter in the skill of combining most unpoetic animals in poetic groups, and so forth. If the history of art points out the unparalleled finish of the works of Gerard Dou, who painted in the scales of a herring and, having painted the face of a man, depicted in his pupils the reflection of a window and in it a passer-by, so Russian literature had representatives in whose works the finish of details is no less amazing than in the paintings of Gerard Dou. A great finish of details in a painting has become with us a prerequisite of its quality. Paintings with a vaster composition, which makes such finish of details as we are used to impossible, began to be thought by many as an insult to art, and yet the developing social life of our time, with all its truth and falsehood, against the will of the novelist, places him before the necessity of renouncing the painting-in of herring scales and windows reflected in the eye of a man. . . .⁵⁵

Leskov was quite right. His considerations should not be forgotten: on the one hand the Russian political regime, which limited public life, and on the other hand the actual pressure of the censorship, undoubtedly influenced the peculiar development of the Russian novel. But *Eugeny Onegin*, with its "poor" plot—which can be expressed in the formula: A loves B, but B does not love A; B falls in love with A when A can no longer love B—was not without influence too.

Already Mickiewicz, in his Paris lectures on Slavonic literature, pointed out the "extremely simple basis" of *Eugeny Onegin*, and how "exceedingly difficult it was to weave a long poem on such a scanty and limited groundwork." He admired the fact that Pushkin, "in looking over the pictures of Russian home life and everyday incidents, found enough matter for his cantos which appear now as comedy, now as tragedy, now as a dramatic novel." He emphasises at the same time "the captivating simplicity" of this poem and "the rare flexibility and perfection of style." "It is," he says, "a lovely picture, the background and the colouring of which constantly change, and the reader does not even notice how from the key of an ode the poem descends to an epigram and, rising again, passes imperceptibly into a fragment told with almost epic gravity."⁵⁶

When I think of these observations of Mickiewicz and especially of Leskov's discussion of the subject of plot on the one hand and of descriptive art on the other, it occurs to me that what happened

to the Russian novel is almost the opposite of what happened to the art of the cinema with the advent of the sound film. Until that turning-point the silent screen made it necessary to substitute for the voice and the words the expressive mimicry and gestures of the actors, and the suggestiveness of the details of setting. This enforced silence held in store huge, exceptional possibilities for the cinema, it opened new horizons, the "tenth Muse" was approaching Parnassus. But the cinematographic art fell victim to technical inventions and by its acquired voice chased the "tenth Muse" away beyond recall. (Not to mention the fact that speech limited the universal possibilities of the silent screen, which could be understood everywhere and by everybody.)

The very opposite happened to the Russian novel: as Leskov said: "with us there appeared works which, with all their poverty of content, are worthy of serious attention because of the great attraction of their trueness to life."⁵⁷ The Russian novel replaced "plot effects" with "high qualities of execution," *genre* details and psychological analysis

The following remark of the young Tolstoy shows how true this is: speaking of Pushkin's prose and of the fact that it has "aged," Tolstoy explains: "Nowadays [the entry is dated 1 November 1853] an interest in emotional details has rightly replaced in the new school the interest in the events as such."⁵⁸ And at the same time (1 October 1853) he notes down the following "rule": "Not to forget, in criticising each of my works, to look at it from the standpoint of the most dull-brained reader who seeks in a book nothing but entertainingness."⁵⁹ As we know, "entertainingness" became the object of special attention for Dostoevsky in his second period and, of course, for Leskov—both of them developed boldly, sometimes even too boldly, the entertaining, sensational plot.

I feel, however, that here too Pushkin had had his say; in this case it was just Pushkin's prose which could serve as an example. Unlike *Eugeny Onegin*, such prose works as *The Negro of Peter the Great*, *The Queen of Spades*, *Dubrovsky*, *The Shot*, *The Snowstorm*, *Egyptian Nights*, *The Captain's Daughter* by no means lack an "effective" plot.

On the contrary, Pushkin constantly introduces quite sensational episodes, uses surprise endings characteristic of adventure novels, and is not at all afraid of a ramification of plot *motifs*, for he always knows how to preserve the essential unity of plot determined by the theme of the work. An attentive reading of Pushkin could teach this.

Likewise, the lessons implied in Pushkin's "economy of means," in the austerity of his prose, did not pass without leaving a mark. They did not affect Dostoevsky, who could not avoid "chatter," but Turgenev and Tolstoy took them in very carefully. All the novels and stories of Turgenev are characterised by Pushkinian clarity of composition and sense of measure in all descriptions. Such are *Rudin*, *The Nest of Gentlefolk*, *Fathers and Sons*, *First Love*.

As regards Tolstoy, he never ceased throughout his career as a writer to fight for this economy, for a balance between "dynamic" and "static" *motif*, suffering especially from the "excesses" of his digressions, which interfered with the plan of the whole and led him astray from his main theme. "I notice [he wrote in his *Diary* on 10 August 1851] that I have a bad habit of digression, and that it is this habit, and not the abundance of thoughts, as I used to think, which often interferes with my writing and makes me get up from my desk and think about entirely different things. A pernicious habit. Notwithstanding the enormous story-telling talent and clever chatter of my favourite writer Sterne, even his digressions are ponderous."⁶⁰

No less characteristic are the following, somewhat later statements: "The interest of *Boyhood* should lie in the gradual corruption of the boy when he is past childhood, and then his reformation before he reaches adolescence. And his inner story must, for variety's sake, give place to the outward story of those who surround him, so that the reader's attention should not be all the time fixed on one and the same object."⁶¹ Here is introduced the *motif* of "entertainingness," a question in which Tolstoy also took an eager interest. However, he stresses: "For a work to be absorbing it is not enough that it should be governed by one thought; it must also be permeated with one feeling."⁶²

This systematic struggle for mastery of the theme in a work of literature, of which we are told in Tolstoy's *Diaries* and the results of which we see in his "Caucasian" and "Sevastopol" stories, not to mention *Polikushka* and *Anna Karenina*, where the theme is a beacon at which all the characters keep looking back, was a struggle carried on along the lines of Pushkin's narrative art.

Of course, in this struggle for unity, wholeness, method and logical consistency in a work of literature Pushkin was not the only factor of influence: Tolstoy's inborn "rationalism," his Franklinian diary, the theory of music which he studied with great enthusiasm—all this and many other things led him on to Pushkin's path.

I think, however, that direct contact with Pushkin's art could not have failed to leave some trace.

There is no need to dwell on Tolstoy's early opinions, such as, for instance, that "Pushkin's prose is old-fashioned, not in style but in manner," that "Pushkin's tales are somehow bare,"⁶³ that with the exception of *The Gypsies* and *Eugeny Onegin* "the narrative poems are awful rubbish"—the mature Tolstoy did not repeat them.

Nor is there any need to dwell on Tolstoy's tendentious and paradoxical opinions on Pushkin uttered during the period of his "populism." What is significant is that in his maturity and old age, Tolstoy never failed to admire Pushkin's prose, and especially *The Tales of Belkin* and *The Queen of Spades*. He thought that every writer should read *The Tales of Belkin*. He waxed enthusiastic over "the harmonious disposition of objects, carried to perfection in *The Tales of Belkin*."⁶⁴

Towards the end of his life Tolstoy's enthusiasm for Pushkin's prose became even more apodictic—he simply said that "the best thing in Pushkin is his prose."⁶⁵ Goldenweiser affirms that he called *The Queen of Spades* a "*chef d'œuvre*" and maintained that everything in it was done "so moderately, so surely, with modest means, there is nothing superfluous in it." This is what he said about *The Snowstorm* not long before his death: "The main thing in him is the simplicity and terseness of the narrative: there is never anything superfluous."⁶⁶ "I am learning much from Pushkin," said Tolstoy. "He is my father and one must learn from him." On another occasion he said: "Pushkin is amazing because it is impossible to change a single word in his writings. And not only is it impossible to take away a word, but it is impossible to add one."⁶⁷

Chekhov, too, learned this "terseness of narrative" from Pushkin. *The Captain's Daughter* was his favourite.⁶⁸ It is significant that he puts *Taman* on the same level⁶⁹—after all, *Taman*, together with *The Fatalist*, is Lermontov's most Pushkinian story. Try to compare them with the early "furious" prose of *Vadim*, written before Lermontov became familiar with Pushkin's main prose works. Tolstoy said with reason: "Chekhov is Pushkin in prose."⁷⁰

If we pass on now to the problem of Pushkin's language and its exceptional dynamic quality, here too we must admit that, though with the exception of Lermontov we do not seem to know any direct heirs of Pushkin in this sphere, nevertheless Pushkin, through the

intermediary of Lermontov, bequeathed to Russian literature the rich simplicity of his language.

In this respect Turgenev's and Tolstoy's views of Pushkin's language and style were identical. The point is that their approach to language was in many ways the same as Pushkin's. The basic principle was the principle of logical, and not emotional, communicativeness of language. Besides, characteristic of both is their acceptance of the demands of "common sense," of Pushkin's "reasonableness" and "soberness."⁷¹ Some of Turgenev's and Tolstoy's statements on this subject have quite a Pushkinian ring. Here, for example, is what Turgenev wrote *à propos* of the French translation of his *Sportsman's Sketches*, which so annoyed him: "The words 'I ran away' the Frenchman rendered thus: 'Je m'enfuis d'une course folle, effarée, échevelée, comme si j'eusse à mes traces toute une légion de couleuvres commandée par des sorcières'; 'and everything along the same lines,' complained Turgenev (according to Ivanov). 'What an unscrupulous Frenchman! And why should I now, thanks to him, be turned into a buffoon.'"⁷²

No less characteristic are the following remarks of the young Tolstoy: "I don't know how other people daydream; from all I have heard and read, it isn't at all the way I do. It is said that when one contemplates beautiful nature, thoughts about the greatness of God and the insignificance of man come to one; lovers see in the water the image of their beloved. Others say that *mountains seemed to be saying this, and little leaves that, while trees called you here and there*. How can such a thought occur? One has to make an effort to knock into one's head such nonsense. The longer I live, the more I become reconciled to various affectations in life, in conversation, and so forth; but to this affectation I cannot get used, hard as I try."⁷³ However, I cannot resist the temptation to catch Tolstoy and to show that sometimes he did "reconcile" himself "to this affectation." I am sure that the reader remembers the beautiful episode of the oak which Prince Andrew Bolkonsky admired on his trip to and from the Rostovs: "'Spring and love, and happiness!'—the oak seemed to say . . ."⁷⁴

Finally, there is no doubt, I believe, that S. T. Aksakov's prose (especially his *Family Chronicle*), although it was called to life by Gogol, did not take anything over from Gogol, but, on the contrary, went back to Pushkin's models—witness both the vigorous richness and the logical purposefulness of Aksakov's language. I am inclined to think that Goncharov's language too, with its calm, limpid clarity and deliberate restraint, goes back to the Pushkin, and not the

Gogol, tradition. This tradition is also alive, I think, in the structure of Berdyaev's language with its predominant main clauses.

Finally, it is worth adding that with the same economy, bareness, laconism, "matter-of-factness" of language and the clear and swift movement of the plot is connected, in Pushkin's stories and tales, the device of an *ex abrupto* beginning which at once introduces the reader *in medias res*.

As we know, Pushkin's fragment "Guests were assembling at the summer resort . . ." served as a model for the famous beginning of *Anna Karenina*.

* * *

Now I only have to say a few words about Pushkin's "ideological" influence on Russian 19th-century prose. By this I mean the treatment in the Russian novel of Pushkin's themes, situations and types.

Once in my Polish studies on Pushkin I wrote about this undying "life" of Pushkin's "hero-myths" in Russian literature.⁷⁵ But even without my work everyone knows that the Onegin-Tatyana pair continued to appear in the pages of Russian novels with various "topical" modifications; it is enough to remember *A Hero of Our Times*, *Rudin*, *Oblomov*, *The Precipice* (this last with all sorts of reservations); it even migrated to Poland: I have in mind Sienkiewicz's *Without Dogma*.⁷⁶ However, this pair is not all.

Merezhkovsky brilliantly discovered, and Bem proved conclusively, how closely *Crime and Punishment* is related to *The Queen of Spades*, how intimately *Mr. Prokharchin* (besides its other affiliations), and especially *The Adolescent*, are connected with *The Miserly Knight* and with the Petersburg of *The Queen of Spades*. Poor Folk "themselves talk about" *The Station-Master* (it is difficult to understand how Belinsky could overlook the deliberate opposition of *The Station-Master* and *The Overcoat*). And the same theme, Karamzin's theme, reappears in *The Insulted and the Injured* where Ikhmenev is *sui generis* Pushkin's station-master. As to the scene with the money which the station-master threw indignantly "on the ground" and "stamped with his heel," Dostoevsky played an infinite number of variations on it—in *Crime and Punishment*, in *The Idiot* and in *The Brothers Karamazov*. Only in Pushkin the station-master "walked off a few steps," "stopped to think . . . and returned," whereas Dostoevsky's hero either "did not return" or "crawled on his knees." I hope that soon I myself shall be able to prove the unquestionable connection between *Notes from Under-*

ground and *The Shot*, at which I hinted above. Apart from the other and more important elements which connect the two works I can point out now the *motif* of the "romantic," *speculative* duel which appears in *The Shot* at the end of the story and which found its way, perhaps through the intermediary of Turgenev's *Diary of a Superfluous Man*, into *Notes from Underground* and, later, into *The Possessed* and *The Brothers Karamazov*.

Turgenev's stories and novels present in this respect an equally rich field of investigation: I shall only mention his story *Two Friends*, in which the author keeps "toying" with *Evgeny Onegin*; *The Diary of a Superfluous Man* with its echoes of *The Shot* (not only the duel *motif*); *The Bully* and its "left-handed" relationship with *Evgeny Onegin*; *Rudin* with its "Onegin" sentimental situation; *The Nest of Gentlefolk*, the ideological connection of which with *Evgeny Onegin* and *Dubrovsky* I think I have succeeded in proving.⁷⁷

I must stick to Pushkin's prose, and therefore have no right to refer to *A Quiet Backwater* and some other stories by Turgenev, in which not only are there reminiscences from Pushkin's poetry but also, as in the case of *A Quiet Backwater*, a poem by Pushkin becomes the spark which starts the catastrophic conflagration. Pushkin's *Upas Tree*, like some magic flute, stirs up the "quiet pool" and calls to life the "fatal passions" slumbering there.

Nor dare I refer to the connection between Tolstoy's *The Cossacks* and *The Captive of the Caucasus*. But I have every right to mention Tolstoy's *Two Hussars*, a story written during the period of Tolstoy's constant stormy quarrels with the *Sovremennik*. As though to spite the latter, Tolstoy in this story deliberately followed in the footsteps of Pushkin by repeating, in his Counts Turbin, father and son, the contrasting juxtaposition of Pushkin's characters: Sylvio and the young Count, Salieri and Mozart, the Old Baron and his son; not to mention the purely Pushkinian atmosphere of this story transplanted into it, one may say, directly from *The Snowstorm*, a fact that is confirmed by the name Turbin, obviously suggested by Pushkin's Burmin. True enough, Tolstoy's virulent anti-Europeanism and deep, elemental, self-satisfied, latent nationalism do not conform to Pushkin's genuine love and understanding of the European cultural tradition.

One can also find traces of Pushkin's influence in Shchedrin—here I have in mind *The History of the Village Goryukhino* and its reflections, as though in a magnifying mirror, in Shchedrin. Finally, modern Russian historical novels and stories—by Bryusov, Auslander, Boris Sadovskoy, Aldanov—with all their historical stylisation, go

back to Pushkin's "documentary" historical realism; the models in this case were *The Negro of Peter the Great*, *Dubrovsky*, *The Captain's Daughter*, and the fragment "Cæsar was travelling . . ." I think that in Alexey N. Tolstoy's *Peter the First* it is possible to feel some echoes of Pushkin's prose. And then there is Count Alexey K. Tolstoy's *Prince Serebriany*, this ballad-novel, as I would like to call it, where one can hear thematic echoes of *Dubrovsky*. (Of Count A. K. Tolstoy's *Trilogy* it is needless to speak: it goes back, of course, to *Boris Godunov*, while his drawing-room lyrical poetry continued, in a sense, the Pushkin poetic tradition.)

One more observation. Once my friend, Prof. Peter A. Boodberg, who often amazes his colleagues by the unexpectedness and aptness of his discoveries, happened to draw my attention to Apukhtin's epistolary novel *The Archives of Countess D***. Everything, indeed, suggests that this finely written novel is a development and working-out of Pushkin's idea known as *A Novel in Letters*. Here I only mention Prof. Boodberg's suggestion which deserves a thorough investigation.

I have also had to leave aside Pushkin's *Letters*—they represent an important branch of Russian prose. I will only say that these letters are one of the best examples, not only of Russian, but of universal epistolary art; not to mention the exceptional wealth of their contents: they are a sort of encyclopædia of Russian cultural life of the time, embracing all its aspects.

Thus, we can see that the greatest of Russian prose writers—and not only the greatest—were, contrary to Belinsky and Chernyshevsky, not only the heirs but also the followers of Pushkin—of Pushkin the prose writer.

In conclusion let me say that in Western Europe Pushkin's prose immediately attracted the attention of connoisseurs—the best example of this is Mérimée, who left us his excellent translations. In our days André Gide has deemed it worth while to revise them, which proves the unflagging attention accorded to Pushkin's prose in France. The same is true of Germany, England, Italy and America: Pushkin's tales are looked upon as outstanding masterpieces in the field of the *novella*. Equal popularity is enjoyed by them in Slavonic countries where, just as in other European lands, they continue to appear (for example, in Poland new translations are appearing now in literary periodicals), sometimes in illustrated *de luxe* editions. In Europe Pushkin's prose occupies a prominent place among the best prose works of world literature.⁷⁸ In Russia the incomparable artistic merits of this prose were appreciated by

the greatest writers. Lermontov, Turgenev, Goncharov, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy, all agreed on this; they were all disciples of this first and truly model Russian prose writer.⁷⁹

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⁴⁸ N. V. Gogol: *Materialy i issledovaniya*, ed. by V. V. Hippius, Academy of Sciences, U S S R, 1936, Part II, p. 504 (G. O. Berliner's article "Chernyshevsky i Gogol.")

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Cp. V. G. Belinsky, *Izbrannyye Sochineniya*, as above, p. 71.

⁵¹ Cf. V. A. Desnitsky's article in the volume N. V. Gogol: *Materialy i issledovaniya*, Part II, pp. 45 and ff.

⁵² Cf. A. Ya. Efimenko, "Natsional'naya dvoystvennost' v tvorchestve Gogolya," *Vestnik Evropy*, July 1902, pp. 229-45, also S. A. Vengerov, *Pisatel'-grazhdanin. Gogol'*, St. Petersburg, 1913.

⁵³ This is what Leontyev writes, among other things, in his autobiography "I have said more than once that if the French are fond of *elevating* life too much (to *high heels* and *stilts*, as they used to say in the 'forties), then our writers are too fond of lowering it in every possible way. Life itself is better than our literature. With our writers everything is more or less coarse: the comic element, the attitude to people, even *War and Peace*, a work which I myself have read three times and which I regard as excellent, is spoiled by a lot of unnecessary coarseness. And in *Anna Karenina*, where the author apparently consciously strove, more than in his earlier works, for elegance, there still occur, both in the choice of characters, and in the form itself, these quite unnecessary and obnoxious tricks of which none of our authors since Gogol could completely rid himself." Then Leontyev cites a number of examples of "coarseness" from *Anna Karenina* and goes on to say "But to understand fully what I mean, it is enough to re-read those celebrated *Sportsman's Sketches* and, by way of contrast, passages from writers uncorrupted by Gogol. Let us say *The Captain's Daughter* or foreign authors *Werther*, *Manon Lescaut*, Chateaubriand's *René* or Amedée Pichot's *prose* translation of *Childe Harold* . . ." (See "Moya literaturnaya sud'ba" in *Literaturnoye Nasledstvo*, Vols. 22-24, 1935, pp. 463-64. Cp. his celebrated work entitled *O romanakh* gr. L. N. Tolstogo, M., 1911.)

⁵⁴ Dostoevsky, *Sochineniya*, Gosizdat, 1929, Vol. XII, pp. 207-08.

⁵⁵ *Na nozhakh*, Part V, Chap. XXVI.

⁵⁶ Here are some other observations of Mickiewicz in the same lecture (7 June, 1842) in which he, in a way, anticipates Solovyev by comparing *Eugeny Onegin* with Byron's *Don Juan* and says "He is not so rich and fertile as Byron, he does not rise so high and does not look to the very bottom of a human heart, but he is more even, more careful from the point of view of form, simpler; he often attains Byron and sometimes surpasses him."

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, loc. cit.

⁵⁸ L. N. Tolstoy, *Polnoye Sobranie Sochineniy*, ed. by V. G. Chertkov, Vol. 46, M.-L., 1934, p. 188.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 286-87.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁶⁴ From a letter to Golokhvastov, March 1874.

⁶⁵ From N. Gusev's notes, 8 June 1908.

⁶⁶ From A. Goldenweiser's diary, entries of 1 June 1908, and 1 October 1910.

⁶⁷ Cf. the interesting article of N. Gudzyi, "Tolstoy about Russian Literature" in the collection *Estetika L'va Tolstogo pod redaktsiey P. N. Sakul'ma*, Moscow, 1929, p. 196.

Also, for other opinions of Tolstoy on Pushkin, cf. N. N. Apostolov, *Lev Tolstoy i yego spuiniki*, Moscow, 1928.

⁶⁸ *Russkie pisateli XIX veka o Pushkine*, p. 344.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 384.

⁷¹ However, it is true that Tolstoy's language was sometimes, as Merezhkovsky showed, ungraceful, especially when Tolstoy plunged into elaborated reasonings. (Cf. D. S. Merezhkovsky, *Polnoye sobranie sochineniy*, Moscow, 1912, Vol. VII, pp. 179-80.)

⁷² I. Ivanov, *I. S. Turgenev*, Nezhin, 1914, p. 174

⁷³ *Dnevnik*, entry dated 10 August 1851

Compare, too, the very important reasonings on this theme omitted in the "digression" in the ninth chapter of *Childhood*, in the edition by V. G. Chertkov, Vol. I, pp. 177-78

⁷⁴ *War and Peace*. Vol. I, Pt 3, Chaps 1 and 3

⁷⁵ Cp. W. Lednicki, *Pushkin 1837-1937*, Kraków, 1937, p. 19.

⁷⁶ Cp. W. Lednicki, *Sienkiewicz*, published by the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences, N.Y., 1948

⁷⁷ W. Lednicki, "Bits of Table-Talk on Pushkin. II 'The Nest of Gentlefolk' and 'the Poetry of Marriage and the Hearth,'" *The American Slavic and East European Review*, Vol. V, Nos 14-15, 1946.

⁷⁸ I take this opportunity of drawing my readers' attention to an excellent edition of *The Tales of Belkin*, with a competent Introduction and commentary by Prof. B. Unbegaun, which appeared in a series of publications of the University of Strassburg in 1943 (Macon, Imprimerie Probat). It is also worth mentioning that in 1948 there appeared a new English edition of *The Tales of Belkin*, published by Lindsay Drummond, which led the well-known British critic, Mr. Philip Toynbee, to write a review quite in the spirit of Belinsky (*sic*) and to praise, at the expense of Pushkin . . . Leonid Andreyev

⁷⁹ I may also call the readers' attention to the valuable article of A. G. Tseytlin "Iz istorii russkogo obshchestvenno-psikhologicheskogo romana" in the book *Istoriko-Literaturny sbornik*, edited by S. P. Bychkov and others, Ogiz, 1947, pp. 289-344. Unfortunately, I became acquainted with this work after my own article had been written and even published in Russian. The opinions of A. G. Tseytlin coincide in many respects with my own expressed in this article, as well as in my Polish monograph on *Eugene Oнеgin* (Cracow, 1925); but Tseytlin more justly and in greater relief defined the role of Gogol in the development of the Russian novel. Tseytlin's genealogy is based on "three whales" *Eugene Oнеgin*, *A Hero of Our Times*, and *Dead Souls*. I fully accept such a genealogy. Besides, I conduct my own reasonings along the same path. It may be, however, that I did not express myself so explicitly.

After my case against Belinsky, I would like to render him just due—he recognised the immense role of *Eugene Oнеgin* in the development of Russian realism. However, he justly mentioned in this connection another great Russian masterpiece of literature. Griboyedov's *Wit Works Woe*. This is what he says: "Together with Pushkin's *Oнеgin* . . . *Wit Works Woe* was the first example of a poetic representation of Russian reality in the broad sense of the word. In this respect, both of these works laid the foundations for the subsequent literature, and were the school which formed Lermontov and Gogol. Without *Oнеgin*, *A Hero of Our Times* would be impossible, just as without *Oнеgin* and *Wit Works Woe*, Gogol would not have been ready for the portrayal of the Russian reality with such depth and truth." (V. G. Belinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 457)

THE LITHUANIAN DIARCHIES

LITHUANIA has known two sorts of diarchy.* Of the first, lasting from 1345 to 1440 and rising out of the agreement between the brothers Algirdas and Kestutis (Olgiard and Kiejstut) the line of cleavage ran from north to south of the second, which lasted from 1432 to 1452 in consequence of discord between Svitrigaila (Swidrigello) and Sigismond, the line of cleavage ran from west to east.

Gediminas (Gedymin), 1316–1341, was the founder of the dynasty which, after the given name of his grandson, is everywhere known as the line of the Jagiellos. During his life he divided his huge realm between his sons. Beside him he kept only his teen-age boy, Jaunutis—the name itself meaning “Junior.” On his death, Jaunutis succeeded him in Vilna (the new town) and thereby—as the “supreme” king of Lithuania—became the head of the family. But his reign was that of a weakling, and it lacked little of the state’s being dismembered entirely. Only the agreement made between the two brothers, Algirdas and Kestutis, saved the situation.

The exclusion of Jaunutis was effected by Kestutis in 1345 and by general approval. His “preferred” son Vytautas (Vitold) has left us the account of this event :

“ Before our grandfather died, he handed over the supreme power in Vilna to Jaunutis. To Algirdas, father of Jogaila [Jagiello], he gave dominion over Vitebsk, and to our own father, Kestutis, he gave that over Trakai. And since our two ancestors, Algirdas and Kestutis, had lived from childhood in great amity and were aware of certain injuries done them by Jaunutis, the two men agreed to occupy Vilna and expel him. They appointed a day on which they should meet near Vilna, and the prince Kestutis arrived but Algirdas did not come. Our ancestor Kestutis seized Vilna and drove out Jaunutis. All the inhabitants of the land supported him, and all the strongholds submitted to him. Shortly after this Algirdas arrived at the palace in Vilna and Kestutis, recognising his right as the elder brother, surrendered the supreme power to him. They divided the other lands and strongholds half and

* ED. NOTE.—This word, whose derivation explains the meaning, is tantamount to “partition,” though in no sense one imposed by external forces.

half, agreeing that everything they might receive in the future in other countries should also be so divided. After they had made a count of the strongholds and the lands in Russian territory they divided these also, and lived side by side in complete amity.”¹

Even though the original and the text of this agreement were as yet unknown, other sources long ago did nothing but confirm the fact of its existence. So then, using the Vytautas account as a basis, we can draw certain conclusions:

(i) By this agreement the right of seniority, discarded by Gediminas, was not reaffirmed—given the fact that Algirdas was the second son. The principle of “preference,” of the more suited and the more capable, was once more underscored.

(ii) The essential point. The dynasty was introduced in 1345. The whole state was divided into two equal parts—the east under Algirdas, the west under Kestutis. This partition survived its authors; but to make things easier we call the two halves by the names of the twin rulers—the Lithuania of the east is that of Algirdas, the Lithuania of the west is that of Kestutis.

(iii) By the agreement there was foreseen a division of all newly acquired territories into equal parts; which means that the diarchy principle was introduced into newly acquired lands, even in the case of towns and strongholds. This was strictly adhered to.

(iv) The partition was introduced not only in regard to territory but also as a political, administrative, military and economic measure.

The creation of the diarchy was from every point of view the

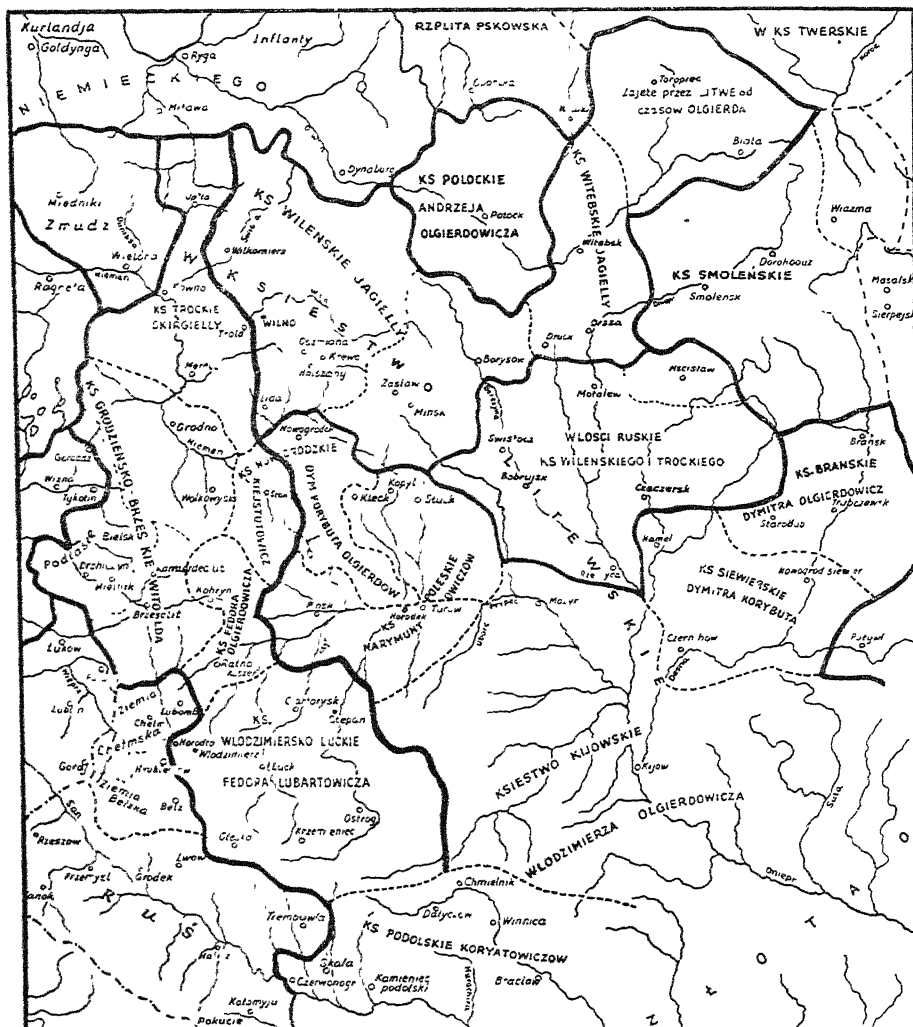
¹ K. Alminauskas, *Vytauto skundas (The Accusations of Vytautas)*, Archivum Philologicum, Vol. VIII, Kaunas, 1939, pp. 204–05.

— Das erste do uns faters fater verloren wart uns elderfater, do gap her vff syne stad czu herschen, die *grosse* herschafft czu der wille [Vilna], Jawnuten, vnde jagaln fatur algarden di herschafft czu witawis [Vitebsk] vnde minem fatur herczogen kinstutten czu Traken, vnd als vns feter, herczog algart vnd herczog kinstutt, von jogunt haben sy begunst czu leben fruntlich, nu dirsagen si jn von herczogen jawnuten erzliche unrechte, und si versprochen sich vor eyn, herczog algart mit vnsm fater herczogen Kinstutten, das sy mit ichte mochte di Vile [Vilna] besitzten vnd jawnuten vsczutriben vnd goben jn eynen tag, welchen tag sy solden syn vor der wille; vnd vns vater Kinstutt der quam uff den tag vor das hus czur wille, und herczog algart der konde nicht komen, und vns vater herczog kinstutt der besas di wille vnde treib jawnuten dorvs, vnde di lanthutte all hilden sich an jn, vnd alle ander huzer gaben sie jm dor noch quam herczog algart ken der wille czu vnsm fater und vnss fater durch des alders wille, als her sin elderster Bruder was vnde borge das teilten sy jn *all czu molle enzwer*; vnd globten den ander, was man mochte jn andern landen gewinnen (vnd gegenot vnd das teilten) das solde *man alls entzwer teilen*, als man jn russchen lande vil huzer hat gewunnen vnd gegenot, das teilten sy jn alczu mol *jn di helfte und* woren jn mit enender jn grossen truwen.

GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA

acc. to

TREATY OF KREVO 1385



From *Polska, jej dzieje i Kultura* by Oskar Halecki.

greatest reform introduced into Lithuania before the 16th century, or rather until the reforms of 1563 and 1566. It was also one of the most interesting events from the legal point of view in mediæval Europe. To explain so important a state reform by the simple fact of an extraordinary friendship between two brothers would be only too naïve. The more so as Vytautas himself affirmed: “ unde di lantlutte all hilden sich an jn, und alle ander huzer gaben sich jn.” It is more than probable that the concord inside the family was equally and perhaps even more indispensable than the necessity of securing the approval of the inhabitants. The documents concerning the marriage of Jogaila and Hedwig (Jadwiga) of Poland prove this. But the friendship of the twin rulers struck the minds of their contemporaries and of subsequent generations to such a degree that the essential reasons compelling the creation of the diarchy were obscured.

In 14th-century Lithuania one had to face two tendencies: the first was bent on reuniting under the dynasty of Gediminas all the Russian blood-brothers—hence the incomparable expansion eastward; the second sought to decentralise the kingdom by dividing it between members of the same dynasty. These two urges were merged into one. In the hope of uniting all the Russians, and also of waging with success the struggle with the two Orders of (Teutonic) Knights, a state fabric was created, at once unified and decentralised. The introduction of the diarchy was but the logical consequence of this condition of things.

Already Gediminas was well on in years, and not being able to govern a kingdom so vast alone he was constrained to divide it between his sons.²

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The date of this event, 1345, gives no cause for doubt. But on the subject of the endurance of the diarchy there has been up till now nothing precise. People have thought rather that the year 1382—that of the death of Kestutis—was the correct year of its conclusion. From this fact have come most of the untrue affirmations concerning Lithuania, since in that case Jogaila would have been at that time the absolute ruler. A study of the documents concerning the diarchy permits us to affirm that in this case it survived the original rulers; further, that from the political point of view it was only dissolved in 1440, after the election to the

² See the genealogical table of the Dynasty of Gedymin in *Camb. Med. Hist.*, Vol. VIII, p. 586

Lithuanian throne of Kazimierz, son of Jogaila. From the point of view of administration, we find traces of its existence on the eve of the great reforms of the 16th century. By now it was only an anachronism, yet the evidence is there for the asking. So then, the diarchy lasted during ninety-five years, down to 1440; and it did not wholly disappear until after two centuries—about 1563.

The creation of this dual government in 1345 did not mean the division of the whole realm into two, as was the case with the Roman Empire at the end of the 4th century. Unity was safeguarded by the fact that Kestutis recognised the supreme authority of his brother. Being the most powerful of the family, he compelled the others to concede this point. In his correspondence with foreign lands, e.g. with the Knights, Algirdas was considered to be *rex, totius regni dominus*.³ But in daily life and often in the documents the two brothers appear as equals, and the Prussian chroniclers speak of the *reges Litvanorum*.⁴ In their respective realms they were wholly independent, neither mixing himself in the affairs or the decisions of the other. When the need arose for common action, their collaboration and mutual help were truly to be wondered at.

The creation and maintenance of the diarchy were greatly facilitated by the fact of there being two capitals—the older, that of Trakai, and the newer (built in 1323 by Gediminas), that of Vilna. One had here everything, for that age, to make the life of the rulers comfortable and serene. In each capital a royal court was formed but—which was more important—the central administration was divided into two parts, and in each city there arose an independent government, with its own army.

In time the differences between the two partitions were increased. Their geographical and political position, their relations with their neighbours and other causes as well worked a separation. The unbroken state of war between the Lithuania of the west and the Teutonic Knights, the battles that were rarer but more decisive in the east, influenced not only the administration but also the manner of recruiting the warrior-boyars, and even the collecting of taxes.

On the other hand, Vilna received various missions from abroad as well as strangers of note—a thing that happened rather rarely.

³ Cf. *Script. rer. prussic.*, Vols. I and II—the Index, under the names Algirdas and Kestutis.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Eminent prisoners of war—usually Tartars—were brought here also. In general at Vilna people lived more to themselves than in Trakai. Although Gediminas had already built Roman Catholic churches there, because of the two Orthodox wives of Algirdas (who, like his subjects, remained a pagan), the Eastern Church and culture prevailed over the Catholic, and over the civilisation of the west.

In Trakai the opposite happened. Orthodoxy was unknown, and the people lived in a state of constant alertness. The Knights of all Europe were taking part in crusades organised by the Two Orders against the last pagans—Germans, French, Italians, and even Englishmen were arriving on the shores of the Baltic. A considerable percentage were living in the castle of Trakai as prisoners of war ; others were arriving on various missions, etc. In consequence of steady contacts with the Occident, the plane of living in Trakai was different from, and higher, than that of Vilna : e.g. Vytautas had an education very advanced for that age, while neither Jogaila nor his brothers were literate. On the other hand, the most modern weapons, used by the Knights against the Lithuanians, after a year or at most two, were copied with precision and used against the former. According to the then accepted opinion, and we know it to be true, Kestutis was the last defender of pagan Lithuania ; but one must add that none of the rulers of that pagan country was as well informed as he about the principles of Catholicism or of Latin civilisation. During the diarchy four plans were put forward for the conversion of Lithuania, and always with Kestutis.

What is more, the epoch of the two diarchies was that of the greatest territorial expansion. We shall see below that the agreement to divide all acquisitions, however small, was applied with a care that was not seen again in Europe until after the Second World War. These acquisitions were the source of considerable revenues, in the form of ransoms and later on in that of imposts. The state treasure, as well as the secret public archives, were to be found in the castle at Trakai, surrounded by the lake. The latter were kept here until the 16th century.

If the writers of our sources admired with one accord the unique *entente* between the brother-rulers, one cannot say as much for their wives and their courtiers. There was to exist a little-known rivalry in small matters, provoked for reasons of religion, culture, and material things. Perhaps also on territorial grounds, since all expansion moved eastward, at times without the help of Kestutis and his armies. Yet this did not hinder the maintenance of the

diarchy principle. The double administration, even in the same towns or strongholds, during a period of thirty-two years, could give sufficient cause for the discords which broke out on the death of Algirdas in 1377, and which led five years later, when Kestutis died in prison, to the incarceration of his "preferred" son, designed to succeed him, Vytautas. But the latter escaped and finally found asylum with the Knights. The whole family of Kestutis was scattered, and could in no way hinder the reintroduction of the single monarchy principle.

But Jogaila, owing to the death of Kestutis, became more and more unpopular. In the face of steadily growing disorder the glamour and prestige of the older diarchy also increased. The administrative machinery continued to function as before for good or ill, and Jogaila did not dare abolish it. Still more, after the funeral ceremonies for Kestutis, he was obliged to name a fellow-ruler in the person of Skirgaila (his own "preferred" brother); and not Vytautas the "preferred" son of Kestutis, as it had been planned by the two original diarchs. Thus the institution went on, but again with two brothers, instead of two cousins. This situation continued until 1387 when Jogaila, by now King of Poland, returned to Lithuania to convert his country (*suas terras*, as the Act of Krevo, 1385, the marriage contract, calls it), i.e. the Lithuania of Algirdas—the east. Jogaila, being now the sovereign of another state, could not remain longer king of Lithuania and head of the dynasty of Gediminas—something he was bound now to cede to a member of the family. This was now Skirgaila.

In the same year, in the spring, the first steps were taken toward the unification of government. The facts are set out in the Treaty of Skirsnemune, of which the original is reproduced at the end of this paper. Its contents are as follows:

(i) King Władysław (Jogaila) announces that after the agreement with his brother, Skirgaila, he has accepted Catholicism. Now, being a Christian, he promises to safeguard entire the possessions of his brother in Lithuania and in particular in the Duchy of Trakai; and under no pretext to deprive him of them.

(ii) He promises further not to believe slanders, and to report to him whatever he may learn in regard to him; he will esteem him above all his brothers and heed him above all brothers or friends: finally, he promises defence and justice against all who might wish to harm him or his men, no matter who it may be.

(iii) To Skirgaila's possessions in Lithuania were added broad areas in Russian lands—in the first place the town of Minsk. This

part of the Treaty, which speaks of the diarchy, we give in translation.

“On the Russian side, over the town of Minsk entire (belonging to the ruler in Vilna) ; over its inhabitants, its lands, its tributes, revenues and vassals—over all this land shall rule our brother (Skirgaila) ;

“the same for Bobruisk and its parts, its tributes, with the lands, inhabitants and all revenues ;

“the same with Regitsa entire, its revenues and its tributes ;

“the same with Lubech entire, with its inhabitants, lands, complete revenues and tributes ,

“the same with Propotesk entire, and its inhabitants, its lands and the entire revenue ,

“the same with Lubochany, with all its tributes, its inhabitants, lands and entire revenues ;

“the same with Igumena, its tributes and inhabitants, its lands and entire revenue ;

“the same with Logojesk entire ;

“the same with the region of Svisloch with its lands, its inhabitants and all its revenues.”

After the enumeration of these Russian lands, Jogaila spoke of the Orthodox Church of St. Ivan, founded by Skirgaila, emphasising these words : “May he be cursed forever who shall do harm to this church !”

We must also note that the Duchy of Trakai, so precisely described in the Treaty, corresponds territorially exactly with the future vojevodship of Trakai, only created in 1413, and not with the Duchy as it was under Kestutis.

So then, according to this Treaty, Skirgaila became the overlord of all his brethren, receiving the same rights as Algirdas and Jogaila towards the other members of the family. In the same year, 1387, Jogaila had to hand over the rest of his power in Lithuania and Skirgaila became *de facto* Duke of Vilna, and thus the sovereign of Lithuania as a whole. The single monarchy principle reappeared once more, but Skirgaila had not the same sovereign rights as his forerunner : in both parts of the realm he was ruler only by the grace of Jogaila. What is more, Skirgaila was only of moderate intelligence and, influenced by his mother, he was sincerely attached to Orthodoxy. He refused to be converted to Catholicism. By this fact not only was his own position complicated but further, by his selection and appointment, Lithuania was placed in a special

dilemma . the Lithuania of the east, newly converted to Catholicism, and that of Kestutis, holding to its pagan faith, were both under the rule of Skirgaila—an Orthodox !

* * *

Opposition was not slow in breaking out. Vytautas, as a Catholic, profited and in such a way that five years later, in spite of the solemn promises made by Jogaila, he became the ruler of the whole of Lithuania. Yet his position, though less confused than that of Skirgaila, since the Lithuania of the west was his patrimony, was still very precarious : in the patrimony of Jogaila he was ruler only by the will of Jogaila—something that was clearly expressed in the Treaty given in Vilna in 1401 :

— Demum, quia idem serenissimus princeps dominus Wladislaus rex Polonie preonatus, nos in partem sue sollicitudinis assumpsit supremumque principatus terrarum suarum Littwanie et ceterorum dominiorum suorum ducatus de manu sua nobis dedit et contulit ad tempore vite nostre——⁵

This quotation is taken from a text of which we know neither the original nor an exact copy. As quoted it matches ill with the true position of Vytautas, who at the end of his life not only in Lithuania but also in Poland was more influential than Jogaila—as Długosz points out. But this passage reveals well what affects the diarchy, viz. the fact that Jogaila could not cede to Vytautas more than *terras suas*.

During his long reign (1392–1430) Vytautas sought as much as possible to scale down the diarchy. And just here the year 1413 is to be noted. By the Union of Horodło the two Duchies of Vilna and Trakai were definitely abolished, and vojevodships introduced in their place. The Vojevode, head in each case, had charge of military power in each former Duchy. But from the administrative point of view their power was lessened by the fact that the one-time Duchy of Vilna was now divided into the vojevodship of that name and the Duchy of Novogrodek ; while the Duchy of Trakai was divided into the vojevodship of that name, with limits well defined in the Treaty of Skirsnemune (1387) and the Duchy of Grodno. Vytautas strove to re-establish the single monarchy principle, and his efforts ended in such a way that he began to forget the diarchy and its tradition.

⁵ *Akta Unji Polski z Litwą*, Nr. 88, p. 35.

After his death in 1430, the brother of Jogaila—Svitrigaila—succeeded him. He was a man of great gifts, but less supple than Vytautas. From the outset his comportment, the changes made in the upper administration, the new favourites—all this offended deeply the collaborators of his predecessor. On the other hand, he commenced at once steps with a view to securing the royal crown. These steps transgressed the rights of Sigismond, brother of Vytautas, and still more of his son Michael in the Lithuania of the west; and in the Lithuania of the east the interests of Jogaila, or rather of his sons—Władysław, who was seven, and Kazimierz who was five.

In ethnographical Lithuania (*Litvania propria*) no one tolerated Svitrigaila and, two years after his coming, he was left alone; but in the Russian lands, where he enjoyed immense authority, he succeeded in maintaining his position. Here, keeping the diarchy tradition, he set up court at Lutsk in the former Vilna fashion. In certain of the dignities and offices there introduced, in the manner of his living and of editing his papers, one can see only vanity; just as now, when the existence of the diarchy could be no longer doubted, his manner of action as second diarch seemed to be logical and normal.

By the withdrawal of Svitrigaila and his installation in the south, the whole state was once more divided into two parts; but this time the line of division no longer ran from north to south, as it had before, but from west to east. By this move the territory of Lithuania during eight years was subjected to a double diarchy; in consequence of which his successor in Vilna, Sigismond, brother of Vytautas, found himself in a doubly confusing position in comparison with his predecessors.

From the reign of Sigismond onwards we possess texts of the first order about the diarchy. They are the treaties about which much ink has been spilt. Only people have forgotten to affirm the fact that all this was but the restoration of the diarchy. These texts are numerous and long. I am quoting *in extenso* the passage which concerns the diarchy, beginning with the phrase where emphasis is laid on the fact that one sovereign will not pay imposts to another, save where this is strictly provided for by the said treaties. It is again a point of the agreement of 1345 which underscores their legality as sovereigns. For better clarity, I give the two versions, i.e. that of Sigismond, Grand Duke of Lithuania, and that of Jogaila, King of Poland, in parallel columns:

27 February 1434
Grodno

... nos Sigismundus Dei gratia . .

Nos quoque et successores nostri non debemus dominum regem et suos successores ratione huiusmodi subsidii pro quibuscumque dampnis monere, exceptis victualibus et equorum pabulis necessariis et opportunis. Demum quia idem serenissimus princeps dominus Wladislaus, rex Polonie prenotatus, nos in partem sollicitudinis sue assumpsit magnum ducatum terrarum suarum Lithvanie et Russie ceterorumque dominiorum suorum Ducatus predicti et *sua bona paterna*, videlicet Vilnam et alia bona ad ipsius *patrimonium* spectantia, de manu sua deliberacione circa nostram electionem principum, prelatorum, baronum et nobilium utrorumque dominiorum, videlicet regni Polonie et ducatus magni Lithvanie, habita, iuxta continentiam litterarum super huiusmodi electione fienda confectarum, nobis dedit et contulit ad tempora vite nostro, titulo supremi principatus Lithvanie, quo uti consuevit, pro se et suis successoribus reservato, cum omnibus terris, civitatibus, oppidis, castris, districtibus, curiis, villis et cum omnibus utilitatibus ad ea spectantibus firmiter et irrevocabiler et sub eisdem limitibus et gradibus, sicut eadem pie memorie dominus Allexander magnus dux tenebat. Et si inter subditos super huiusmodi graniciis vel aliis causis regni Polonie aut magni ducatus Lithvanie aliqua questio sive dubietas oriretur, quemadmodum in vita ducis prefati fuerant exorte, ad litteras et legi-

27 February 1434
Korcryn

... Nos Ladislas Dei gratia . .

Nosque et successores nostri non debemus prefatum dominum Sigismundum ducem magnum et suos successores ratione huiusmodi subsidii pro quibuscumque dampnis ammonere, exceptis victualibus et pabulis equorum opportunis et necessariis. Et insuper volentes prefatum fratrem nostrum, ducem magnum Sigismundum, speciali gratia et caritate fraterna amplecti et consolari, quodque erga nos ferventiori exardescat fide atque bonitate, ipsum in partem sollicitudinis sumentes, magnum ducatum terrarum nostrarum Lithvanie et Russie ceterorumque dominiorum ducatus predicti et *nostra bona paterna*, videlicet Wilnam et alia bona ad nostrum *patrimonium* spectantia, de manu nostra, deliberacione circa ipsius electionem principum, prelatorum, baronum et aliorum nobilium utrorumque dominiorum, videlicet regni Polonie et ducatus magni Littvanie, habita, iuxta continentiam litterarum super electione huiusmodi fienda alias confectarum, damus et conferimus sibi ad tempore vite sue, titulo *supremi* principatus Littvanie, quo uti consuevimus, pro nobis et nostris successoribus reservato, cum omnibus terris, castris, civitatibus, oppidis, districtibus, curiis, villis et omnibus utilitatibus ad ea spectantibus et sub eisdem limitibus et gradibus, sicut eadem pie memorie dominus Allexander alias Vitowdus olim magnus dux tenebat. Et si inter subditos super huiusmodi graniciis

tima documenta ex utraque parte producenda recurratur et secundum illarum determinationem finis predictis questionibus et dubus imponatur. Nos autem debemus et promittimus serenitatem suam et suos successores, reges Polonie, tenere et honorare in terris magni ducatus Lithwanie. Pro quo etiam ipsum, coronam, regnum et regnicolas regni predicti constantiori fiducia prosequi cupientes et, prout iustum est, reddere certiores, promittimus, pollicemur et spondemus domino Wladislao regi Polonie et inclitis natis suis, Wladislao et Kazimiro, corone, regno et regnicolis regni Polonie, sub fide et honore, absque dolo et fraude, et sub onore prestiti iuramenti corporalis stabilem assistentiam, extunc prout exnunc et exnunc prout exnunc et exnunc prout extunc tenere firma fide, ita, quod post decessum nostrum magnus ducatus Lithwanie cum terris et dominiis omnibus, etiam Russie, quibuscumque *nobis subiectis* et virtute nostra subiciendis ad ipsum dominum Wladislaum regem et natos suos, scilicet Wladislaum et Kazimirum, et suos successores et ad coronam regni Polonie debent vera et hereditaria successione devolvi, quemadmodum patentibus prioribus litteris desuper confectis est firmatum, quarum tenorem hic habere volumus pro inserto, exceptis *bonis nostris paternis*, videlicet Trocky necnon civitatibus, castris, districtibus, oppidis, villis, curiis et aliis bonis, plene et integre cum omnibus suis limitibus ad predictum patrimonium nostrum spectantibus, que post decessum nostrum ad filium nostrum ducem Michaellem seu ad

vel aliis causis regni Polonie et magni ducatus Littwanie aliqua questio seu dubietas oriretur, quemadmodum in vita prefati ducis fuerant exorte, ad litteras et legitima documenta ex utraque parte producenda recurratur et secundum illarum determinationem finis predictis questionibus et dubiis imponatur. Ipse quoque frater noster nos tenere et honorare debet et tenetur magni ducatus Lithuanie, sicut dominum et fratrem suum seniore. Insuper predictum fratrem nostrum constantiori fiducia prosequi cupientes et, prout iustum est, reddere certiore, promittimus eidem, pollicemur et spondemus sub fide et honore, absque dolo et fraude, ac sub onere prestiti iuramenti, stabilem assistentiam, exnunc prout extunc et extunc prout exnunc, tenere firma fide, ita, quod post decessum prefati Sigismundi ducis magni ducatus magni Littwanie cum terris et dominiis omnibus, etiam Russie, quibuscumque nunc subiectis et virtute sua subiciendis, ad nos et inclitos natos nostros, scilicet Wladislaum et Kazimirum, nostros successores et ad coronam et regnum Polonie debent vera et hereditaria successione devolvi, quemadmodum patentibus prioribus litteris desuper confectis firmitatem, quarum tenorem hic volumus habere pro inserto, exceptis prefati fratris nostri, ducis magni Sigismundi, *bonis paternis* videlicet Troky cum omnibus et singulis civitatibus, castris, districtibus, oppidis, villis, curiis et aliis bonis, plene et ex integro in omnibus suis limitibus ad predictum suum patrimonium spectantibus, que post suum decessum

alios filios legitimos et futuros devolventur, de quibus nihilominus prefatus dux Michael et alii filii nostri futuri ipsi domino Wladislao regi, suis filius et eorum successoribus ac corone et regno Polonie cum suis succedaneis temporibus perpetuis, prout ceteri principes terrarum Lithwanie et Russie, seu duci, magno utramque partem pro tempore eligendo obsequi, oboedire, subici tenebuntur et servire. Quos si non habita prole ab hac luce decedere contigerit, extunc predicta *bona paterna* ad prefatum dominum regem, natos et successores suos et ad coronam regni Polonie devolventur.

Akta Unji, Nr. 61, pp. 102-03.

ad filium suum illustrem ducem Michaellem seu ad alios filios legitimos et futuros devolventur. De quibus nihilominus prefatus dux Michael et alii filii futuri nobis, filius nostris, successoribus ac corone et regno Polonie, cum suis succedaneis temporibus perpetuis, prout ceteri principes Littwanie et Russie, seu duci magno per utramque partem pro tempore eligendo obsequi, oboedire tenebuntur et servire. Quos si non habita prole de hac luce decedere contigerit, extunc predicta bona ipsorum paterna ad nos, natos et successores nostros et ad coronam regni Polonie devolventur.

Akta Unji, Nr. 60, pp. 96-97.

* * *

After the death of Sigismond his son Michael was excluded from the throne of his ancestors, and Kazimierz alone—youthful son of Jogaila—was placed on the throne of Gediminas, being consecrated in 1440 in Vilna cathedral. With his election the diarchy of Algirdas and Kestutis disappeared finally as a territorial institution. In the administrative field, however, customs of the diarchy persisted for quite a long time. It is once more in the areas affected by the Treaty of Skirsnemune where we find proofs showing how the dual rulership set up in the 14th century was a vital and necessary reform: and how, because of the unusual clinging to the past, it was still in force in the 16th century, provoking even then certain misunderstandings. Of these we find the following traces:

(i) In 1500, Aleksander, son of Kazimierz, and Grand Duke of Lithuania, addressed an order to pay taxes in these terms:

“To our prefects, the upper classes and the people who are found in the upper basin of the Dnieper; and to our districts of Svisloch, Lubochany, Bobruisk—to their two ‘parts,’ that of Vilna and that of Trakai. . . .”

(ii) In 1520 we find in a document this passage:

“—and our servants from Vilna ought not to enter [i.e. exercise their authority] to raise any impost or tribute in the district of Lubochany.”

(iii) In 1533 the representatives of the two "parts" of Bobruisk—that of Vilna and that of Trakai—came to Sigismond the Old with their protests.

Knowing to what degree the administration of Lithuania during these two centuries was traditional, we may surmise that this state of things existed down to the great reforms of 1563–1566, which means during two hundred years.

By way of résumé, we may set down our main conclusions. The diarchy established by Algirdas and Kestutis persisted for ninety-five years, and did not wholly disappear for over two centuries.

What is more, the Acts of 1434, as well as previous ones, show that at the time of the negotiations as to the departure of Jogaila for Poland and when he left, the diarchy was at its height. Jogaila had received the agreement of the dynasty to his going and to his marriage but only to the disposal of his own patrimony, i.e. the Duchies of Vilna and of Vitebsk, as well as a share in the bi-zonal areas. These are what the Treaty of Krevo called "*terras suas Lithuaniae et Russiae*" and in their extent were roughly equal to that of the Polish kingdom.

From this another corollary. Between the patrimony of Jogaila, united to the royal crown, and the kingdom of Poland lay the Lithuania of the west, of Kestutis, which had never in its existence signed any agreement with Poland.

Between 1432 and 1440 there existed a double diarchy. The Lithuania of the west and that of the east in their northern parts were united under Sigismond, while their southern parts were ruled by Svitrigaila. In 1434 Sigismond possessed in the west only the patrimony of Jogaila, since the remainder was under Svitrigaila. For this reason it is impossible to consider these acts as meaning the whole territory of the Lithuanian state, whose extent was six times that of Poland, without the still independent Duchy of Masovia.

JONE DEVEIKE.

Paris.

CHARLES II AND THE PRINCE OF MOLDAVIA

GHEORGHE ȘTEFAN (Prince of Moldavia, 1653-1658) lost his throne as a result of aiding George Rákoczy II, Prince of Transylvania, in his attack on Poland in alliance with the King of Sweden. He made an attempt to regain his throne by force of arms, based on Transylvania, a few months after his degradation by the Porte. When it failed, he went into exile, and, after visiting the courts of Austria, Brandenburg and Russia, he settled in 1664 at Stettin, which was at that time Swedish territory. Thence he conducted a campaign of appeals for financial assistance and for intervention on his behalf with the Porte. Among his correspondence with the King of Sweden is an undated letter ¹ asking him to obtain the intervention of the Kings of England and France. Though Hurmuzachi places this letter in 1668, it seems more likely to have been written before his first letter ² to the King of France, which is dated 1 January 1665.

It is clear at any rate that the King of Sweden did eventually write to Charles II on behalf of Gheorghe Ștefan, though the actual letter has not come to light. Gheorghe Ștefan signed three letters dated 16 March 1666 :

- (i) ³ to Charles II, speaking of his pitiful condition and introducing his envoy with letters of recommendation from the King of Sweden.
- (ii) ⁴ to Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, asking for his support in the appeal to Charles.
- (iii) ⁵ to Lord Clarendon, the Lord Chancellor, in very similar terms to the preceding letter.

The envoy sent was "Colonel" Constantin Nacolovitz (or Nacul), who had originally joined the exiled court as secretary to Gheorghe Ștefan's younger brother.⁶ The exiled prince's brief ⁷ to Nacolovitz is dated 26 March. Paragraph III stresses the need for financial aid ; the later paragraphs concern the results that could be hoped for from intervention with the Porte by Charles' ambassador at Constantinople.

¹ Hurmuzachi, *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor*, Vol. IX, No. 344.

² Hurmuzachi, *op. cit.*, Supplement I, Vol. I, No. 366.

³ App. I.

⁴ App. II.

⁵ App. III.

⁶ N. Drăganu, *Codicele Pribeagului Gh. Ștefan*, Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională (Cluj) 1924-1925, p. 190, n.2

⁷ App. IV.

Naculovitz probably reached London in the latter part of April. On 6 May Richard Commorford (translator in Arlington's office) wrote ⁸ to Arlington explaining the object of the envoy's visit and the arguments with which he hoped to win support. He enclosed a French translation of the envoy's letter of credit. In a further letter ⁹ on the 8th he gave the envoy's account of Gheorghe Ștefan's fall. (Why Commorford wrote to Arlington in French is not clear.) Evidently an audience with the King soon followed; for on 21 May Naculovitz wrote ¹⁰ to the English Ambassador at Constantinople, the Earl of Winchelsea, about the steps which it would be expedient to take on behalf of Gheorghe Ștefan. Whatever the date of the audience, Naculovitz must have gone away satisfied with the success of his mission. He received ¹¹ a chain of gold and £1,000. Charles II's letter to the Sultan Mahomet, ¹² asking pardon for "Georgius Stephanus," is dated 5 June. So is his letter ¹³ to the Grand Vizier, requesting his good offices, and the letter ¹⁴ to Gheorghe Ștefan announcing the action taken in accordance with his requests. These letters were actually signed on 11 June ¹⁵

The letters to the Sultan and Grand Vizier were sent out to Winchelsea by the hand of his returning secretary, Paul Rycaut. The covering letter ¹⁶ from Arlington is dated 13 October, so that at least four months elapsed between the signing of these letters and their despatch. Thus it was that Winchelsea had read ¹⁷ of the envoy's audience in a gazette long before he received them and jumped to the conclusion that, since enquiry showed that the envoy had not been sent by Gheorghe Duca, who was Prince of Moldavia

⁸ App. V

⁹ App. VI.

¹⁰ App. VII.

¹¹ (a) "Some months past in an old Gazet I read that an Envoye pretending to come from the Prince of Moldavia to our King was rewarded with a chaine of Gold and £1000" Winchelsea to Sir John Finch, 13/23 of January 1666/7 in Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on the Finch MSS, Vol. I, p. 447.

(b) "In mony to the Prince of Moldavia £1000" Entry in account delivered by Sir George Carteret, Treasurer of the Navy, to the Brook House Commissioners of sums voted as a royal aid for the support of the Navy Calendared in 8th Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, p. 130A

(c) Mr. T. Cottrell Dormer of Rousham has very kindly searched the "List of Presents given by King Charles II and James II to Ambassadors and Foreign Ministers" which is in his possession (v. 2nd Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, p. 83B) and has sent me a note of the following entry "*Moldavia*, a chaine and medall of Gold of the Value of £100 given to the envoy from the prince of Moldavia May 30 1666."

¹² App. VIII

¹³ App. IX

¹⁴ App. X.

¹⁵ State Papers Domestic, Charles II, 160, f. 130

¹⁶ App. XI

¹⁷ See the letter quoted above in note 11, and also the very similar letter to Joseph Williamson in State Papers (Foreign), 97/18, f. 161. I shall discuss these letters and the light which they throw on the career of Nicolai Miclesu in an article, "Who slit Nicolai Miclesu's nose?"

October 1665–May 1666, he must be an impostor. Winchelsea does not acknowledge ¹⁸ receipt of these letters till 16 May 1667. Meanwhile on 28 January 1667 Gheorghe Ștefan had written a thankful letter ¹⁹ of acknowledgement to Charles.

The months now passed without any result. On 19 August Winchelsea sent Arlington an unfavourable account ²⁰ of the history and deserts of the exile. On 10 October he reported ²¹ that nothing could at present be done, owing to the absence of the Vizier at Candia and the strained relations of the Porte with Poland. He asked for further instructions before involving the King in financial commitments on the exile's behalf. On 5 March 1668 there was still no improvement in the situation.²² On 28 May he referred ²³ to the report that "Prince Stephano" was dead. The unfortunate exile had in fact died at Stettin at the end of January.

This was not the first occasion on which English intervention at the Porte had been sought by claimants to one of the Danubian Principalities, e.g. the intervention ²⁴ of the Ambassador Glover in 1608 on behalf of Ștefan Bogdan, pretender to Moldavia, who had appeared in person at James I's court. Winchelsea prided himself ²⁵ on having "preferred a friend" to the Principality of Moldavia; this was Iliș Alexandru, nominated 12 May 1666. It is clear that from the end of the 16th century English influence with the Porte was felt to be considerable. The *London Gazette*, No. 39 (March 26–29, 1666), reporting the appeal of Michael Apafi, Prince of Transylvania, who had written ²⁶ to Charles II and to Winchelsea, asking them to intercede with the Porte for a reduction of Transylvania's tribute and for the prevention of hostile incursions, comments: "he hath betaken himself to the King of England's Interest in that Court, which it is observed, carrieth with it the most weight of any Christian Prince." Whether Charles II had any other motive for intervening on Gheorghe Ștefan's behalf than a willingness to oblige the King of Sweden is not apparent.

E. D. TAPPE.

¹⁸ App. XIII.

¹⁹ App. XII.

²⁰ App. XIV.

²¹ App. XV.

²² App. XVI.

²³ App. XVII.

²⁴ N. Iorga, *Anglo-Roumanian Relations*, p. 19.

²⁵ State Papers (Foreign), 97/18, f. 195 = Finch MSS, Vol. I, p. 417.

²⁶ State Papers (Foreign), 97/18, ff. 85, 87, 89.

APPENDICES

ED. NOTE.—The original spelling has been preserved, though abbreviations have been expanded. I have sometimes inserted or omitted punctuation marks for the sake of clearness.

In the references, "S P" denotes the State Papers (Foreign) in the Public Record Office, London. "MS Clar" denotes the Clarendon Papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. "H.M.C. Finch MSS" denotes the Historical Manuscripts Commission's printed report on the MSS of A. G. Finch, Esq., now owned by Major James Hanbury of Burley on the Hill, Rutland, to whom I am grateful for permission to print App. XI.

I

[S.P. 97/18, ff. 163 and 169.]

Serenissime et Potentissime Rex Domine, Domine mihi Clementissime.

Etsi Potentissima Vestra Magestas a vultu mihi nota non sit, nec ullum in me quo Ei placere possim inveniam argumentum, facit tamen potentiae et clementiae Magestatis Vestrae contemplatio, qua Potentissimum Ejus nomen non in Europa dumtaxat sed et in omnibus quas Sol videt mundi partibus in illustri famae theatro mari terraque serenat; impellit necessitas ut paucis hisce lineolis humilem meam Personam Statumque flebilem, in quem Turcarum Tyrannis me detrusit, audeam insinuare. Enim vero potentiae cum clementia conjunctae proprium est ut non proprio et private solum sed et aliorum (egentium scilicet) litet commodo; et sane clementia est veluti arbor pomis grava, qua ramos demittit et quasi ad carpendum invitat mortales. Utroque cluis, Potentissime Rex. Nam ²⁷ ut potentiam non solum novit sed et admiratur, ita clementiam ²⁸ Tuam solo et salo deprædicat orbis. Quae cum venerabundus mecum pensicula rem, animus in spem erectus meliorem suasit ut praesentium exhibitor, Nobilem Constantinum Nacolovitz ²⁹ Colonellum meum, ad Potentissimam Vestram Magestatem cum literis sacrae Regiae Magestatis Suetiae recommendalitiis ablegarem. Quamobrem supplico humilime ut Potentissima Regia Majestas Vestra non modo ad conspectum suum serenissimum admittere, verum etiam audire verbisque ejus fidem adhibere ac clementi responso remittere dignetur. Faciet Potentissima Vestra Magestas rem Christianae Condolentiae suisque Regis virtutibus convenientem; eritque hoc aeternum potentiae et clementiae vestrae documentum, si afflictis servi sui desideriis et conatibus suffragari clementer voluerit. Cuius maximae Majestati ut omnigenam felicitatem prosperosque consiliorum et armorum successus ex animo desidero, ita devotae mentis mea studia nunquam intermoritura offero; futurus

Potentissimae sacrae
Regiae Magestati Vestrae

Servus humilimus
Georgius Stephanus
Princeps Moldaviae

[signed in Cyrillic "Gheorghie Ștefan Voevod"]

Datum Stettini die 16
Martii Anno 1666

²⁷ MS. num.

²⁸ MS. clementia.

²⁹ f. 169 Nacul.

[Addressed] Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Principi ac Domino Domino CAROLO Ejus nominis Secundo, Dei gratia Magnae Britanniae Franciae et Hyberniae Regi, Fidei Defensori, Domino Domino Clementissimo
[f. 169 has had the seal cut off.]

II

[S.P. 97/18, f. 171.]

Illustrissime ac Excellentissime Domine, Domine observandissime

Cum nobis fata hactenus inviderint hanc felicitatem quod amicitiam Excellentiae vestrae habere potuissemus, at³⁰ saepe numero in votis habuimus. Iam vero cum praecipuum nostrum ministrum Constantinum Nakolovitz negotiorum nostrorum ad Sacram Regiam Magistratem Magnae Britanniae ablegavimus, intermittere ut non potuimus, ita nec volumus, quo minus paucis hisce lineolis officii nostri leges sequeremur ad erigendam amicitiam nostram. Cum autem verae amicitiae ac Christianae Charitatis ratio id requirat ut alii aliorum onera portemus, ut a tali malorum labyrintho eripiamur liberemur, in quo per diram Turcarum jam per octennium et amplius versamur; idcirco rogamus Vestram Illustrem³¹ Excellentiam, nacta occasionem apud Sacram Regiam Magistratem Magnae Britanniae Senatūque Serenissimum, res nostras ac Personam recommendatam habeat, recordentur famuli devotissimi quem me promitto futurum. Habet enim Vestra Illustrissima Excellentia apud Suam Magistratem tantam gratiam, ut recommendationem ipsius plurimum valiturum speramus. Ceterum praedictum nostrum ministrum rogamus sibi quoque recommendatum habeat, illi non tantum bonam fidem sed etiam omnem clementiam ac favorem promotilem haud denegare dignetur, cum id ipsum etiam Christiana Charitas et aequitas requiret, ac mea praesens indigentia poscit. Faciet enim nobis rem gratissimam ac futuris officiis agnoscendam. His Vestrae Illustrissimae Excellentiae omnigenam praecamur felicitatem, permanens

Ejusdem Excellentiae Amicus ad serviendum paratus
Georgius Stephanus Princeps Moldav.
[signed in Cyrillic "Gheorghie Ștefan Voevod"]
Stettini die 16 Martii
ad 1666

[Addressed] Illustrissimo ac Excellentissimo Domino Domino Henrico Dynastae Arlingtonio Sacrae Regiae Majestati Magnae Britanniae a Sanctoribus Consiliis, nec non Principali Secretario Status, amico nostro multis nominibus honorando.

[seal of Georgius Stephanus attached]

³⁰ MS. ac.³¹ MS. Illustram.

III

[MS. Clar. 84, ff. 82-83.]

Illustrissime ac Excellentissime Comes ac Domine Domine observandissime

Cum nobis fata hactenus inviderint felicitatem hanc, nempe quod amicitiam Illustrissimae Excellentiae vestrae gaudere potuissem, quomodo saepe numero in votis habuimus; jam vero cum praecipuum nostrum Ministrum Nobilem Constantinum Nakolovitz Colonellum negotiorum nostrorum ad sacram Regiam Magestatem Magnae Britanniae Regem ablegavimus, inter mittere ut non potuimus, ita nec voluimus, quo minus paucis hisce lineolis officii nostri leges sequeremur, ad erigendam amicitiam nostram Cum autem verae Amicitiae et Charitatis Christianae ratio, id requirat, ut alii aliorum onera portemus, casibusque adversis, non modo indolescamus, verum etiam, pro virili satagamus, ut a tali malorum labyrintho eripiamur, liberemur, in quo per diram Turcarum tyranidem, jam per octennium et amplius versamur, id circo rogamus Vestram Illustrissimam Excellentiam, nacta occasionem apud sacram Regiam Magestatem Magnae Britanniae, Senatunque Serenissimum, res nostras ac personam recommendatam habeat, recordentur famuli devotissimi, quem me profiteor fuisse si etiam incognito, tamen promitto me futurum. Habet enim Illustrissima Vestra Excellentia apud suam Magestatem tantam gratiam, ut recommendationem ipsius plurimum valiturum speramus. Caeterum praedicto nostro Ministro, rogamus, ut non tantum bonam fidem, verum etiam omnem Clementiam, ac amicitiam promotilem haud denegare dignetur. Cum id ipsum etiam Charitas Christiana ac aequitas requiret, ac nostra indigentia praesens poscit. Faciet enim nobis Illustrissima Vestra Excellentia rem gratissimam, ac officiis futuris agnoscendam. His Illustrissimae Vestrae Excellentiae, omnigenam praeccamur felicitatem, permanens

Ejusdem Excellentiae Vestrae

Amicus ad serviendum paratissimus

Georgius Stephanus Princ Moldaviae

[signed in Cyrillic "Gheorgie Ștefan Voevod"]

Stettini d 16 Martii
ad 1666

[Addressed] Illustrissimo ac Excellentissimo Domino Domino Edouardo Comiti Clarendoniae summo Angliae Cancellario Domino amico nostro multis nominibus honorando

IV

[S.P. 97/18, f. 179.]

Instructio punctorum, quam ordinavimus, ut pro parte nostra proponatur coram Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Rege Angliae, per fidelem nostrum Colonellum Constantinum Nakolovitz ad 1666 Die 26 Martij

1. Cum intelleximus Clementiam Sacrae Regiae Magestatis Vestrae erga omnes Exules ac peregrinos, scientesque Magestatem vestram probe nosse, quid sit infelicitas humana ac eius mutatio. Qua propter confugimus ad Magestatem Vestram, quasi ad Regem Christianissimum ac Clementissimum, ad refugium opem indigentium.

2. Principatus Moldaviae hereditarie ³² fuit noster, uti testantur etiam Literae Serenissimi ac Potentissimi Regis Suetiae, quas devotissime volumus mittere Sacrae Regiae Magestati Vestrae. sed propter charitatem Christianam, quam habuimus, et servitia nostra fidelissima erga omnes, praesertim Serenissimum ac Invictissimum Regem Suetiae; Ethnici, cum id perceperint, nos excluserunt ex nostra Regione ac Dominio, quod usque nunc caremus

3. Cum ex aliquo tempore adhuc in adversae fortunae procellis versamur, ad Serenissimum ac Potentissimum Regem Suetiae confugimus, propter amicitiam inter nos ligatam, qui etiam pro ratione temporis ac status Regni omnem Clementiam nobis demonstravit, ita ut ex ista clementia mediocriter vivere potuimus. Cum etiam apud alios Monarchis non sumus oblit, sed cum habeamus familiam satis magnam ac difficilissimam ac tales qui ex felicitate in infelicitatem cadunt et omnibus subsidiis destituti. Idcirco etiam ad Sacram Regiam Magestatem vestram ut supplex confugimus ac Clementiam aliquam Regiam imploramus, ut eo facilius vitam nostram sustentare queamus.

4. Res magni valoris, quae huic Regni adferet laudem immortalem, nostro instanti medio. Quoniam facile ac bene id fieri posset, uti ex Constantinopolim nobis adtulerunt homines nostri, ut et ex Regione nostra, Ablegatum Angliae multum gaudere honore ac autoritate, qui si esset mediator ac intercessor pro nos, posset nobis restitutionem nostram vicissim acquirere, quoniam etiam ex Regione nostra accepimus vocationem.

5. Hos etiam habemus apud Portam Othomanicam amicos nostros, qui libentissime adjuvabunt opus istud, tantum non habent parem auctoritatem, quam Dominus Residentens Sacrae Regiae Magestatis Vestrae; dedimus etiam literas ad amicos nostros, ut intra se rem istam conferant, sed humilime rogamus Vestram Magestatem, ut clementissime ac ardue mandare dignetur Residenti Magestatis Vestrae, ut se inter ponere velit ac rem in quantum opus erit promoveat, et facile procedet res. Residentes enim Regnorum multoties introduxerunt principes in Principatum nostrum.

6. Si opus fuerint expensae Constantinopolim, ne aegre ferat Residentens Sacrae Magestatis Vestrae, quoniam Regio nostra promittit id in duplo pro nos restituere, ac tandem honorarium quoque habebit Regnum istud in quolibet anno ex Provincia nostra nosque servos fidelissimos omni tempore secundum mandatum Sacrae Regiae Magestatis Vestrae.

7. Res ista nostra facile ac verbis potest perfici. Si vero Porta Othomanica nos ipsos desideraverit, parati sumus comparere. Sed mediante ac bona fide erga Magestatem Vestram. Etsi opus fuerit,

³² Gheorghe Ștefan was in fact a usurper.

legatum meum quoque mittam illuc. Sed prius per literas ut probant rem, si bene procedat. Modo festinandum erit, donec non Vizerius Magnus non in bellum porfiscit, nam tandem adeo difficilius ac tarde procedet res.

[signed in Cyrillic "Gheorghie Ștefan Voevod"]

V

[S.P. 97/18, f. 173.]

Instructions touchant les Pretensions de l'Envoyé du Prince de Moldavie.

Monseigneur,

L'Envoyé du Prince de Moldavie vers Nôtre Grand Monarque apres avoir eu Audience pretand de conférer ou avec Votre Excellence ou avec quelqu'autre Ministre du Roy pour represanter commant que son Prince est chassé de sa Principauté, et que plusieurs a present de ladite Principauté sont porté pour son retablissemant et memes les principaux (dit le Secrétaire de l'Envoyé) aussy le Premier Vizier du Grand Seigneur est porté pour ledit Prince.

Le but donc de la Negotiation de l'Envoyé tend a avoir de Sa Majesté des Lettres de Recommandation a l'Empereur des Turcs parceque ledit Envoyé fut informé dans la Court Suedoise que Nostre Grand Roy est extremement respecté pour Sa Puissance de ledit Empereur, et que sans doute ce Prince pour obliger plus Nôtre Monarque aggreera les Lettres de Recommandation pour l'établissemant du Prince de Moldavie. Monsieur l'Envoyé pour plus faciliter cet retablissemant aupres le Grand Seigneur pretand de faire mantion de cete Alliance en ses Lettres de Recommandation.

Le point principal de ladite Alliance sera (dit l'Envoyé) que le Prince de Moldavie apres son retablissemant dans sa Principauté reconnetera par des secours particuliers (si on aura besoin) le bienfait pour lequel Nostre Grand Roy est prié.

L'Envoyé m'a dit que Moldavie ressamble en des mines d'or et en fertilité a la Transylvanie, et qu'il y a aussy deux ports de Mer, et que le Pontus-Euxinus leur appartienne; j'ay aussy entendu que Nos Escoiffoir y traffiquent.

Enfin l'Envoyé pretand de s'arrêter dans cete Court iusques a recevoir d'Allemagne les Reponses de son Maître sur la proposition et conclusion de l'Alliance qu'il espere de reussir.

Ledit Monsieur Envoyé at quelques plaisants Presents pour faire aux Grands de la Court, s'il recevra (dit-il) ce qu'il sôûhaitte principalement les Lettres de Recommandations au Grand Seigneur.

S'il plaira a Votre Excellence me donner pour l'Envoyé un bon espoir pour l'heureuse issue de sa Negotiation, ie tireray de luy d'autres secrets s'il en at.

et il samble a me petitesse qu'il sera meilleur qu'on differe l'Audiance iusques à Mardy mais le tout selon le bon plaisir de Votre Excellance, dont ie me dis avec un tres-profond respét

Monseigneur

Le tres-Obeissant et tres-humble serviteur

Rich. Commorford

a Londres le 6 de Meij

1666

PS.

Monseigneur,

Je demand mille pardonne si Votre Excellance trouve dans la Translation françoise quelque chose qui peust estre neploist car j'ay tasché d'accorder le tout avec le Latin, qui est ramply (a la façon des Allemans et leurs Conterrains) de quantité de phrases.

Si Votre Excellance me voudra faire la Grace, ie souhaitterois d'ecrir encore la Lettre Credentialle avec meilleure encre et ortographie et du mam avant Mardy j'auray prest ladite Lettre en notre Langage d'Angleterre.

VI

[S.P. 97/18, f. 175.]

A Monsieur d'Arlington etc.

Monseigneur,

Enfin j'ay appris La source de la Ruine du Prince de Moldavie et pourquoy il se complainct de la Tyrannie des Turcs dans sa lettre a Nostre Grand Roy.

avant la derniere Guerre de Suede contre la Poloigne ledit Prince Catholique Romain ³³ de Religion (comme confesse l'Envoyé) ennuyé de la seule Alliance qu'il tenoit avec les Infidelles s'est resous de contracter plus tost une Alliance avec les Princes Chrétiens, ce qu'il fit a l'inscen du Grand Seigneur se faisant allier avec le Roy de Suède, le Prince Rogosky de Sylvanie et autres. et pour preuve de cete Alliance avec les Princes Chrétiens ainsi faicte il donna secours a un desdits Alliés a sçavoir au Roy de Suède attaquant la Poloigne.

L'Empereur des Turcs, fasché de cete Alliance pour avoir esté faite a son inscen et exclusion, donna Commission au Chef des Tartares d'attaquer la Moldavie et chasser le Prince si on ne sçauvoit le mener Prisonnier à Constantinople.

Le Chef des Tartares refusa cete Commission pour l'amour que luy et son peuple portoient au Prince de Moldavie.

Enfin le Grand Seigneur même pour se vanger de ce Prince com-manda vers ses frontieres une puissante Armée de 50 Mille Hommes.

Le Bassa ou bien le General de cete Armée s'abboucha avec le Prince pour luy dire que le Grand Seigneur le mandat a Constantinople pour

³³ This appears to be an invention of Nacolovitz.

donner conte de son Alliance avec les Princes Chrétiens. ou bien en refusant d'obeir qu'il auroit a sortir de son pais plustost que d'épandre sang d'un côté et autre, le Prince n'estant assez puissant pour resister a une si puissante Armée, qui en cas de perdre le combat se devoit renforter au double.

Le pauvre Prince de Moldavie, surpris qu'il fut de ces forces et raisonnemens, pour n'épandre le sang de son peuple sortit alors hors de sa Principauté, et se retira en Transylvanie, ou quelque peu de temps apres ayant ramassé quelque petite Armée a la sollicitation de son peuple, il retourna en Moldavie, et apres la perte d'un combat ou deux, il fut contrainct de prandre la fuite et exiler a present es pais étrangers, ou de nouveau il contracte Alliance avec plusieurs Princes Chrétiens pour moyenner sa Reduction dans son pais etc.

Monseigneur pour le 10 heures ie viendray trouver Votre Excellence à la Court pour recevoir la grace de ses Réponses pour l'Envoyé du Prince de Moldavie ce qui ne se haste pourtant ,

Cependant avec le deu respét ie me dis

Monseigneur

De Votre Excellence

Le Tres-humble et Tres-obeissant Serviteur

Rich. Commorford

en Londres le 8 de Meij

1666

VII

[S.P. 97/18, f. 177-78.]

[To the Earl of Winchelsea.]

Illustrissime ac Excellentissime Domine Domine observandissime.

Postquam fatis ita volentibus, Princeps Moldaviae, Georgius Stephanus Dominus Meus Clementissimus, jam per octennium et amplius in diversis Christianitatis partibus, per Diram Turcarum, Novercam fortunae indignantis manus experire coactus est; Denique ³⁴ [?] ad Sacram Regiam Magestatem Magnae Britanniae confugit, ac sub Umbra alarum Clementiae Regiae requiem ac auxilium quesisset, quoniam scivit Autoritatem illam Maximam Serenissimi ac Potentissimi Regis, quam habet in Porta Othomanica. Cum Exemplis recordamur, quomodo per intercessionem talium Magnatum Principes expulsi sibi vicissim restitutionem acquisiverunt. Ideo etiam Celsissimus Princeps meus me in ista Commissione ad Sacram Regiam suam Magestatem ablegavit, ut istam Clementiam Regiam implorarem, quam etiam a Sacra Sua Magestate in tantum obtinui, quod commissio ista in totum in Vestram Illustrissimam Excellentiam remittatur. Qua propter obnixè peto Vestram Excellentiam ex mandato et jussu Principis Mei, ut sibi tam ³⁵ personam, quam res Principis Clementissimi recommendatum habere haud gravetur. Et negotium hoc in tali forma incipere potest, ut, primo, Vestra Excellentia

³⁴ MS appears to have "Dunce."

³⁵ MS. tum.

poterit explorare apud Ministros quosdā Portae Othomanicae qua de causa sit Princeps meus ex Regione sua exclusus et an non vicissim possit perdonari ut restitutionem obtinere posset, si Potentissimo Imperatori supplicaret. Tandem etiam hos amicos ad se vocare ; nempe Imperatoris Interpretem, nomine Panajotakii, Ambrosius Grillo, interpretes Venetiae, Joan Massilini, sed etiam hos prius separatim, ac ita literas illis tradere, quoniam ad huc non totaliter locavi fidem in eos, quamvis ubi ante, sic etiam modo se amicos sinceros declararunt. Sed quoniam bene novit Vestra Illustrissima Excellentia modum ac Statum Turcicum, quod propter pecunias multa promittunt sed saepe non servant promissa. Qua propter si jam bene agnoverit animos illorum, poterit Vestra Illustrissima Excellentia promittere pro more illorum, omnia quae solent habere, et aperte etiam apud Imperatorem rem istam proponere, ac recommendationem Sacrae Regiae Magestatis Magnae Britanniae tradere, et recommendare Personam Principis, quomodo, jam sub umbra, et in Clementia Sacrae Regiae Magestatis sit et desideret vicissim restitutionem. Si Deus ille Magnus huius Universi Moderator suam benedictionem dabit, experietur Vestra Illustrissima Excellentia animum gratissimum et obligatissimum Celsissimi Principis, quod non est ut dubitemus, quin non felicissime, per recommendationem Sacrae Regiae Magestatis et per industriam Vestrae Excellentiae succedant. Caeterum si opus querit ut aliquem mittere debet ad Portam Celsissimus Princeps, fiet. Etiam ipsum Principem desideraverint faciet lubentissime ; sed bene sunt considerata ; primo : mos illorum, ubi exemplum habemus, in Beato Principi Miron Barnoskii,³⁶ qui in Exillio suo quoque accepit promissionem, literas, et fidem datam, sed quam primum pervenit Constantinopolim, est occisus, secundo, Sumptus in duplo imo triplo plus e crescent, ac si directe posset petere Patriam. Ideo Vestra Excellentia dabit operam, ut quanto facilius poterit promovere rem ; in tantum magis habebit benedictionem Divinam, et Principis gratitudinem, et debitam observantiam sibi addictissimam. Peto Vestram Excellentiam, excusatum habeat Principem, quod modo non ipse scripsit, quoniam ad huc nondum fuit Certus de Persona Vestrae Excellentiae et de Clementia Sacrae Regiae Magestatis, sed quam primum habebit literas Principis quoque. His omnigenam precor felicitatem Vestrae Illustrissimae Excellentiae, permanens

Ejusdem Illustrissimae Excellentiae

Servus Humilimus

Constantinus Nakolovitz

Ablegatus Extraordinarius Principis Moldaviae

Londinii d. 21 Maii

ad 1666

³⁶ Miron Barnowski (Prince of Moldavia, 1626-1629) was elected Prince for the second time in 1633. He was summoned to the Porte for confirmation of his election ; then, being suspect for his connections with Poland, he was beheaded in the presence of the Sultan.

VIII

ED. NOTE.—The original letter bearing a miniature of Charles II is in the possession of Captain W. A. Cragg, F.S.A., of Threkingham House, Sleaford, Lincs. Drafts are in S.P. 97/18, ff. 181, 187, 189, and the letter is entered in S.P. 104/174a, f. 112. (See Note on p. 424)

Charles the Second By the grace of God Kinge of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c; To the most High and Mighty Emperor Sultan Mahomet Cheife Lord and Commander of the Musulman Kingdome Sole and Supreame Monarch of the Easterne Empire Sendeth Greeting; Most High and Mightie Emperor Our good freind Georgius Stephanus late Prince of Moldavia, having informed Us of his unhappiness, to have fallen some yeares since into your disfavor whereby he became dispossessed of his said Principality and reduced by consequence into extreame misery under which he yet suffers, and having besought Our Mediation in his favour, In the greate Compassion Wee have of his distresse remembering how much it is the part of Princes to preserve from contempt and want, those that have themselves sometime worne that Character, Wee could not refuse him in that suite and have therefore commanded Our Ambassador Extraordinary in your Court, Our Right Trusty and Right Wellbeloved Cousin the Earle of Winchelsea, in Our Name to beseech your pardon to the said unfortunate Prince, who ownes his happiness to be in your favor, and by it alone desires to receive restauration to his Estate and Dignity, which he promises, shall be ever employed, in deserving that Grace Wee now aske for him. This Wee have commanded Our Ambassador to say more at large whome Wee beseech you to heare patiently in that and whatever else he hath in charge from Us, and to beleive intirely in what he shall say, especially when he assures you of the continuance of Our inviolable Freindship and Kindnes: And so Wee bid you High and Mightie Emperor most heartily farewell. Given at Our Royall Palace of Whitehall the fifth day of June in the eighteenth yeare of Our Reigne, and of the Incarnation of Our Lord 1666.

Your most affectionate frinde

Charles R

IX

[Drafts at S.P. 97/18, ff. 183 and 191.

Entered at S.P. 104/174a, f. 113.]

Charles the Second by the Grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c.

To the High and Excellent Lord the Vizier Azem Greeting High and Excellent Lord, you will remember the misfortune by which the High and Illustrious Georgius Stephanus late Prince of Moldavia did some years since fall under the displeasure of Our friend the Most High and Mighty

Emperor your Master, whereby after the loss of his estate and dignity he became exposed to extreame distresse and misery, in which he still remains an object of the utmost Compassion of Soveraignes and Princes. In this sence it is Wee have thought good by Our owne Letters and more at large by Our Ambassador there Our good Cousin the Earle of Winchelsea to recommend him to the grace and pardon of the High and Mighty Emperor your Master for his Restauration to his Principality, as an Act most becoming his Imperiall Clemency and Goodnes, desiring the concurrence of your best offices in this charitable suite in which besides the obligation you will lay on Us, which Wee assure you Wee shall esteeme very particularly from you, you will doe an Act of greatest generosity to this unhappy Prince, who will most certainly upon all occasions make those iust returns of gratitude and service you can expect. And this you will receive more at large from our said Ambassador, whom Wee have commanded more particularly, as there shall be occasion, to sollicite your favour and assistance in this matter, which Wee againe very heartily recommend to you, assuring you of the perfect sence Wee have of your affection and good offices towards Us, and the common Peace and Correspondence subsisting betweene Us and the Most High and Mighty Emperor, which Wee resolve by all meanes to preserve firme and inviolable. And so Wee bid you Farewell. Given at our Royall Palace at Whitehall the 5th day of June in the 18 yeare of Our Reigne, and of the Incarnation of Our Lord 1666.

Your affectionate friend

Charles R.

X

[Draft at S.P. 97/18, f. 185.

Entered at S.P. 104/174a, f. 111.]

Carolus Secundus &c Illustrissimo ac Celsissimo Principi Domino Georgio Stephano Terrarum Moldaviae Principi ac Domino Hereditario &c Consanguineo et Amico Nostro Charissimo, Salutem.

Illustrissime et Celsissime Princeps Consanguinee et Amice Charissime Jamdudum ad aures nostros pervenit animumque Nostrum non mediocriter affecit infelix rerum Vestrarum lapsus, et ut probe compertum habeat Celsitudo Vestra quanto sensu declives principum status prosequimur, Literis Vestris 16 die Martij datis vixdum per Ablegatum Vestrum Extraordinarium Nobilem ac Generosum Virum Dominum Constantinum Nakulovitz Colonellum presentium Latorem extraditis, votis Vestris respondimus, efficacem quam fieri potest in Gratiam Vestram intercessum tam per justa officia Legati Nostri Extraordinarij Perquam fidelis et perquam dilecti Consanguinei Nostri Comititis de Winchilsea quam per Literas Nostras Regias apud Imperatorem Ejusque Vizierem primarium meditati, modisque omnibus quicquid in potestate Nostra positum fuerit ad Restaurationem Vestram conferre parati. Quod ut

fusius vobis Innotescat, ablegatum Vestrum oratum habuimus, tum etiam quantum Nos tangat praesens Vestrarum Rerum angustia; Cui, ex eo quale sit (quantum tamen rerum Nostrarum ratio jam ferre potest) quod per manus ejus transmisimus, fidem fieri volumus precati interim Deum Omnipotentem ut gloriam suam tam in sublevanda quam in restituenda laesa Majestate sibi suo tempore assereret. Quibus Celsitudinem Vestram resque suas propitio divini Numinis Tutamini Commendamus. Dabamus ex palatio Nostro Westmonasteriensi die Junii Anno Salutis Humanae supra Millesimum Sexcentisimum Sexagismo Sexto, Regni vero Nostri 18.

Celsitudini Vestrae

Bonus Consanguineus

C.R.

XI

[Calendared in H.M.C. Finch MSS., Vol. 1, p. 442.]

[To the Earl of Winchelsea.] Whitehall October the 13th 1666
My Lord

Having committed it to your Excellencies Cousin Sir John Finch's ³⁷ care to transmit all our news to you with which we furnish him weekly, I hold my selfe excused in a good measure from answering particularly those letters you send mee but now more especially by the returne of your Secretary Mr Ricaut who having been with us all this year and being an ingenious observer of all things will bee able at leisure and with much satisfaction to your Excellencie to relate to you our varieties of successes and misfortunes this last Summer. To him therefore I may fairly refer you for them all. Hee carries with him a kind Letter from his Majesty in his owne hand to your Excellencie with two other in the usual formes to the Grand Seigniour and Grand Vizier the effect and substance of which hee recommended to us from your Excellencie. Hee likewise carries some Letters of recommendation from his Majesty in favor of an expelled Prince of Moldavia, whose interest came hither very strongly recommended by the Crowne of Sweedland for whom his Majesty would have you employ all good Offices in his Name. Mr Ricaut gives us small hopes of the success of them from the knowledge hee hath of the small right in this Prince's pretensions, but I have done my duty when I have told you His Majesties Pleasure and I am as confident your Excellencie will doe yours in performing what his Majesty commands or in giving him good reasons why you doe not . . .

My Lord

Your Excellencies

most faithfull and most

humble Servant

Arlington

³⁷ His Majesty's Resident at Florence.

XII

[To Charles II.]

[S.P. 97/18, f. 243.]

Potentissime ac Invictissime Rex Domine Domine Clementissime.

Singularis illa Clementia ac innata liberalitas Regia Sacrae Regiae Majestatis Vestrae erga me obsequentissimum servum Sacrae Regiae Majestatis Vestrae non solum per ablegatum meum praeterita aestate verum etiam Clementissimis literis Sacrae Regiae Majestatis Vestrae luculenter effulsit. Etsi inficias ire nequeo quod hactenus Sacrae Regiae Majestatis Vestrae literis meis humillimis propter praestitum mihi beneficium obnixè summissas habere gratias occasio mihi haud quaquam concessit, attamen ne sinistram hoc patiatür interpretationem penes Sacram Regiam Majestatem Vestram, haud enim tanti beneficii Regii lubens immemor extiterim, nisi variis calamitatibus exili mei obrutus atque assiduis morbis afflictus, ex ipsis benignissimis Dominis meis (in primis Sacrae Regiae Majestatis Vestrae) prolixas habere gratias occasionem tempus aripuisset. Cum igitur paucis hisce lineolis Sacrae Regiae Majestati Vestrae tanquam Domino meo Clementissimo perpetuas habere gratias statui, submisce atque humillime Sacram Regiam Majestatem Vestram oro, ut semper me servum suum in bona conservet memoria atque ad portam Ottomanicam ad ibidem Legatum Sacrae Regiae Majestatis Vestrae literis suis Regiis (pro uti sancte mihi pollicita est Sacra Regia Majestas Vestra per ablegatum meum ex suis Clementissimis literis) negotium meum quod Clementer incepit, continuare dignetur. Quam Majestatis Vestrae gratiam quoad vixero pro meo posse occasione exigente obnixè promereri studebo. Quod reliquum est Divinum Numen animitus oro ut Sacram Regiam Majestatem Vestram cum omni incremento rebusque secundis adversus hostes Triumphantem quam diutissime incolumem conservet ac sospitet.

Sacrae Regiae Majestatis Vestrae

Stettini 28 Januarii

Humillimus Servus

Anno 1667

Georgius Stephanus

Princeps Moldaviae

[signed in Cyrillic : "Gheorghie Ștefan Voevod"]

47

[Addressed] Potentissimo, ac Invictissimo Domino, Domino, Carolo secundo, Dei gratia, Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae Regi, Fidei defensori, Domino, Domino meo Clementissimo &c.

[seal of Georgius Stefanus]

XIII

[To Lord Arlington.]

[S.P. 97/18, f. 249.]

My Lord

I have received your Lordships by the hand of my Secretary, together with the Letters from his Majestie to the Grand Signor and Prime Vizier, which not containing matters instantly pressing, I shall reserve untill a more seasonable opportunitie.

As to the businesse of Prince Steffano, which comes recommended to the Grand Signor by the powerfull mediation of his Majestie I shall therein observe his Majesties commands: but as things stand at present, there are so many intrigues and difficulties in the way, that I must attend the change of affaires, which are allwayes variable in this Empire, untill I shall be able to act in it any thing materiall. . . .

My Lord

Your Lordshipps most humble servant

Winchilsea

Belgrade 12 miles from
Constantinople May 16th
1667

XIV

[To Lord Arlington.]

[S.P. 97/18, f. 304.]

My Lord

. . . As to matters of businesse I have little account to render your Lordship more then to one of the letters brought me by my Secretary, in recommendation of Prince Stephano of Moldavia, sent me from your Lordship by order of his Majestie whose pleasure it being that that person should againe be restored to the Principalitie, in obedience thereunto, I shall attend the meanes, and most proper opportunities to effect it. But that his Majestie nor your Lordship may not be mistaken in the condition, and deserts of this person, the truth of his history is this. Stephano being Luogotheca of Prince Lupoli in Moldavia raised a rebellion against his Master, and forced him to fly to the Cosacks for assistance, whose Generalls daughter he having married,³⁸ twice entred Moldavia in a hostile manner. The Grand Signor all this time was only a Spectator, untill Kuperli being made Vizier, commanded Stephano to come to Constantinople to receive his confirmation from the Grand Signor; but Stephano delaying, and at last excusing his coming, Ghica his Agent at the Port was made Prince by the Turkes, at whose arrivall in Moldavia Stephano fled, but yet continued the warre, until (not being able to maintaine it longer) his army was dispersed, and all things quieted; upon which Ghica was again recalled, and the Sonne of Lupoli established Prince. This Stephano was by his birth, but the Sonne of a Shepheard, but preferred and advanced by his Master Lupoli, whose ingratitude,

³⁸ Winchelsea has muddled the facts. It was the Cossack General Timuş, who had married the daughter of Vasile Lupu ("Lupoli").

and rebellion render him lesse deserving of the favour of my Master : besides the present jealousies of Poland, make this business impossible for the present to be effected. . . .

My Lord

Your Lordshipps most humble servant

Winchilsea

From my country house at
Yarlichioi neere Constantinople
Aug 19th 1667

XV

[To Lord Arlington.]

[S.P. 97/18, f. 314.]

Belgrade the 10 of October 1667

My Lord

. . . Touching the making Stephano Prince of Moldavia I assure your Lordshipp that for the present it is impossible for the debts of the Country are very greate and besides the Turkes are now full of Suspition of Warr with Poland and therefore to please those people they are not apt to make at present any alterations, besides the Vizier is the only Person fit to treat with all in this affaire and he is yet in Candia the present Prince of Moldavia to please his Boiars or Nobles the better being a lazy Prince leaveth the whole sway of affaires to them so that they all grow Rich, which makes the greate men desire no alteration. But if Prince Stephano will attaine to that Principallity he must first only aime to procure liberty to come hither with freedome, and then by degrees with mony and Friends and our greate Masters interest here he may attaine to his desires but for to be made Prince one a suddaine is impossible. If he will steere this course, he must send mony hither, for to pay the presents that are necessary and the charges of those who must be sent to Court to agitate his affaires : and he cannot sende lesse than credit for 10000 dollars part of which must be spent to make the greate men his Friends and the rest or perhaps more, presented when his pardon is obtained, and license procured for his coming hither. but for me to engage his Majesties Honour by promising mony and presents I cannot, unlesse I have bills of exchange sent me for else these here will seize upon the Merchants estates to make good what I shall have promised. Besides I think that his Majestie only intends his assistance by doing of good offices and what else will cost no mony in my opinion is all that Stephano can justly desire from our Master. When your Lordshipp hath acquainted his Majesty with the condition of the times here and sent me his Majesties further orders, I shall punctually obey them and if any good occasion happens in the meane time I shall do what I am able in obedience to his sacred Majesty. . . .

My Lord

your most humble servant

Winchilsea

XVI

[To Lord Arlington.]

[S.P. 97/19, f. 8.]
Pera 5 March 1667/8

My Lord

. . . I have watched all occasions to serve his Majestie according to his commandes in procuring Stephano to bee prince of Moldavia ; but it is impossible, as thinges now stand, to effect it, for the reasons I formerly wrote your Lordshipp. The Turkes are now verie jealous of Moldavia and Valachia, and doe what they can at present to please those who governe there ; and this curtesie of theirs will probablie continue untill the difference betweene them and the Polander bee compos'd. My first Druggerman writes mee word from Adrianople, that the Chimacham and other great men there will not admitt anie Christian Embassadour to enterpose in those contests they have with Poland, unless that hee will first promise to the Grand Signor to separate the Pole from the Muscovite ; which is more than I can or is fitt for the Ambassadour of a Christian King to undertake. . . .

Your Lordshipps

Most humble servant

H. Winchilsea

For the Lord Arlington

XVII

[To Lord Arlington.]

[S.P. 97/19, f. 16.]
Pera of Constantinople 28th May 1668

My Lord

. . . I have had no full opportunitie to proceed in that affaire of Moldavia according to his Majesties commandes. Something I offer'd at lately. A person well knowne to mee as one fitt for my trust, imbarcking on a ship for Candia, I sent prince Stephano's letter to the Grand Signors first interpreter, and desir'd hee would give mee his mind in it. His answer was that the time was not ripe to meddle in that matter ; and that nothing could make an opportunitie for it but the end of the warr or returne of the Vizier. The report here is that prince Stephano is dead ; if it comes to be contradicted, I shall continue to use my endeavours on his behalfe, and watch all occasions to that end. . . .

My Lord

Your Lordshipps most humble and
most faithfull servant

H. Winchilsea

NOTE ON APPENDIX VIII

The subsequent history of this document presents several points of interest. It is next heard of as being brought in a Moorish ship from Arabia to Bombay in the year 1739. On 1 October 1741 it was shown to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. John Nickolls. I quote the minute from the copy of the Society's minute book in the British Museum since this copy¹ has the *marginalia* of Mr. Joseph Ames, Secretary :

" 1741

" Oct. 1. Mr. Nickolls shew'd an Original letter of King Charles ye 2d on Vellom to Sultan Mahomet in behalf of Georgius Stephanus Prince of Moldavia who had fallen under his displeasure by his Ambassador the Earl of Winchelsea dated 5th June 1666 closing with these words your most affectionate friend Charles R. all of the Kings own writing."

[In margin : " penes J. Ames 1750."]

" This letter is finely illuminated with the Kings Picture the Arms of England, France, Scotland, & Ireland together with English and Scotch Crests. Mr. Nickolls was pleased to give a copy of it and an account how it was brought out of a moorish ship that came from Arabia to Bombay in the year 1739 for which Communication Mr. Nickols was desired to accept the thanks of the Society. . . .

" Order'd that a copy of K. Charles's letter to the Sultan be enter'd into the register book."

[In margin : " 1750 this Lr. is in the possession of J.A. and stuck in at the last leafe of my Min[ut]e Book."]

It thus seems that in 1750 the original letter was in the possession of Joseph Ames, though all that is now on the last leaf of his minute book is a transcript. (It may be, however, that the expression " this Lr. " is loosely used to mean " a copy of this letter. " Yet the note " penes J. Ames " can hardly refer to anything but the original.) Thereafter the document disappears until it was bought from a dealer in Exeter by Capt. Cragg² in 1946.

The late Mr. Marcu Beza³ accompanied an article on early Anglo-Roumanian connections with a photograph of the British Museum transcript, which I suspect he assumed to be the original, misled by Ames's note. The text had earlier been printed by Dr. M. Gaster,⁴ also from the transcript.

¹ Egerton MS. 1041, f. 260.

² I am much indebted to Captain Cragg for this information and for lending me the document to inspect.

³ " Vechi Legături cu Anglia," 1938. Published by the Roumanian Academy, *Mem. Sec. Lit.*, Ser. 3 ; Tom. 8, Mem. 11.

⁴ *Archiva societății științifice și literare din Iași*, p. 233 ; cp. N. Iorga, *A History of Anglo-Roumanian Relations*, p. 24, and note.

VLADIMIR AND THE ORIGIN OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

PART II

4

ST. VLADIMIR is the Charlemagne of Russian history ; he was the great Empire builder, who not only extended his dominion far and wide over the Slavonic, Lithuanian and Finnish population of the Russian Plain, but who also kept peace and order within the vast territory for thirty-five years. The most remarkable of his qualities was his ability to exercise such complete control over his people that no serious rebellion occurred during his lifetime. He was not, however, a dread tyrant ruling his newly conquered subjects with an iron rod : on the contrary, he has forever remained the most popular sovereign of Russian history, who by his generosity and warm-heartedness won the lasting affection of the nation. A statesman of such exceptional ability could not have failed to realise the importance of the religious factor in the expansion and consolidation of his dominion. His empire was linked with other attempts made by different Slavonic rulers of the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries to weld their dispersed people into one powerful whole.⁶⁹ The Slav princes were confronted by many obstacles ; they were exposed to the hostility of their neighbours, they were victims of their own rivalries and of dissensions among their followers. Religion was also one of their greatest problems, as Slavonic paganism with its cult of family ancestors (*rod*) was opposed to any wider political union. It was essential for the Slavonic leaders to find some other religious foundation for their growing States, and Christianity was the obvious alternative. Attempts to build the Slav Empires went side by side, therefore, with missionary efforts usually sponsored by their own rulers. This policy, however, was accompanied by the danger of losing political independence. According to the accepted tradition of that time, a ruler who embraced the religion professed by his neighbours had to acknowledge his teacher as his suzeran.⁷⁰ Vladimir made an attempt to christianise his realm without surrendering his sovereignty either to the Eastern or Western Emperors, and this he successfully achieved.

He timed his own baptism to coincide with a Byzantine military distaste so that the Basileus were obliged to solicit his aid, while not able to press upon him any obligations. Two years later he succeeded in obtaining bishops for his country under equally favourable circumstances. After the capture of Kherson he was once more in the position to dictate his conditions to the sorely tried Emperors and accordingly he chose his own men for the key ecclesiastical posts in Russia. Unfortunately we do not know either the number of bishops brought by Vladimir from the Crimea or their previous status.⁷¹ Nevertheless, it is possible to assert that at least two of them were selected by Vladimir—Anastas for Kiev, and Ioakhim for Novgorod.⁷²

As for Anastas, the *Povest* suggests that he was not a bishop at the time of his selection: his ordination, therefore, took place either in Kherson, where several prelates came from the capital with Princess Anna, or in Constantinople itself, where Vladimir sent his envoys after the surrender of the Crimean city. Anastas was not likely to be regarded as a desirable candidate by the Byzantine authorities; but in 989, when the Emperors were forced to deliver their sister to Vladimir, the ordination of anyone proposed by the Russian Prince could not easily be resisted.

Thus Vladimir was able to secure the hierarchy for his Church without surrendering his sovereignty to the Emperors; and by a careful choice of his leading bishop he avoided an embarrassing dependence on the Patriarch of Constantinople, usually an obedient supporter of the Basileus. This initial success placed Vladimir in a favourable position in the conflict between Rome and Constantinople, one of the most decisive features of European politics of the 10th and 11th centuries. Unfortunately for the Slavs, the formation of their new states coincided with serious deterioration in the relations between Eastern and Western Christendom, accentuated by the Frankish revival of the Roman Empire of the West in the 9th century. It was then not enough for the Slavic rulers to accept the truth of Christianity: they had also to make the choice between two hostile parties, both claiming to be the sole representative of the Catholic Church. The Slavs were originally neutral in the quarrel between the Greeks and the Latins; and their very neutrality precipitated the process of the dismemberment of Christendom, since both Rome and Constantinople, in order to strengthen their own position, made frantic efforts to win over these newcomers to their side. The Slavs were thus the first to suffer from the schism, for the sharp line of demarcation between the Latin and the Greek

traditions cut across them and made it impossible for them to find in the Church that unifying factor they were so earnestly seeking. The tragic fate of the Moravian Kingdom, the uneasy balance of the Bulgarians between Rome and Constantinople, the permanent split between Serbs and Croats were expressions of the same conflict.

Vladimir displayed marked resource in dealing with this difficult problem. He acted with skill and caution, reorientating several times his ecclesiastical plans to suit his political designs. After an abortive attempt to unite his Empire by means of a heathen pantheon, an experiment lasting from 980 to 985,⁷³ he placed his trust in the Christian religion, though avoiding any final commitment either to its Eastern or Western form. At first he seemed to be captivated by the desire to establish his control over the Eastern Empire. Constantinople played a fatal rôle in the history of the Eastern Slavs. Seduced by the example of Charlemagne, Emperor of the West, the Bulgarian, Serbian and Russian rulers dissipated their strength in vain attempts to be crowned as Basileus in the Queen of all cities (Tsargrad). This desire to be master of the Imperial capital was at the same time a powerful factor in the conversion of many Slavonic potentates to the Byzantine tradition of Christianity, and Vladimir's decision to embrace that particular creed was probably motivated by the same reason. He backed Basil II, expecting him to be weaker than the Asiatic rebels; but Basil proved to be one of the greatest military leaders in Byzantine history, and Vladimir realised in time the changed situation. Finding expansion southwards blocked, he still did not altogether abandon his plans for enlarging the sphere of his influence. He reshaped his policy, concentrating his attention upon the West,⁷⁴ and this change was necessarily accompanied by a corresponding modification of his ecclesiastical plans. During the last twenty years of his rule nothing is heard about the relations between Russia and Byzantium. It appears that a strict policy of non-intervention was maintained both by Basil and Vladimir. This neutrality reduced the church contacts between the two States to a minimum, but Vladimir's behaviour towards his Western neighbours was different. There he played an increasingly active rôle, aiming at the establishment of ascendancy among the Slavonic and Hungarian peoples, though mainly by means of diplomacy and friendly contacts.

The *Povest* is emphatic about Vladimir's close relations with his Western allies. "Vladimir lived at peace with his neighbouring Princes, Bolesław of Poland (992-1025), Stephan of Hungary (997-1038), and Andrick of Bohemia (1034), and there was a mighty

friendship among them.”⁷⁵ Tatishchev adds a significant comment : he states that these princes “ recognised Vladimir as the senior and most powerful amongst the Slavs.”⁷⁶ The leading position thus established among the States of Central Europe presupposes the absence of religious tensions between Russia and her Western neighbours. The latter looked upon Rome as their ecclesiastical superior, and this meant that Vladimir maintained good terms also with the Latin authorities. This policy was dictated not only by the requirements of his foreign relations but equally by the internal conditions of his Empire. The mixed population of his realm, the international character of his capital, point to the co-existence of Christians of diverse traditions in Russia of the 10th century. Kiev at this time was an important trading centre where the routes from the North to the South, and from the East to the West crossed ; where the Greek, Latin and Oriental Christians were forced to live side by side within the city walls. A ruler of Vladimir’s ability would be interested in the maintenance of peace and friendship among the representatives of all Christian Creeds. He would probably avoid taking any step which could alienate any of them ; on the contrary, his intention would be to popularise himself by including them all within the fold of the Metropolitan Church. The compiler of the *Povest* records various facts which show that Vladimir shaped the Russian Church in accordance with the Byzantine pattern : but the same author only indirectly refers to links existing at that time between the Russian Church and Western Christians. Nevertheless, these contacts are important, and prove that Vladimir was determined to maintain a careful balance between the Greek and the Latin portions of Christendom. For instance, he invited Greek masters to build his magnificent Cathedral, but he ordered them to erect a building which incorporated features common to the West ;⁷⁷ he introduced the Byzantine rite into the principal churches of his realm, but he organised ecclesiastical administration along Western lines by making the Tithe System its foundation.⁷⁸ Finally, he brought his leading prelates from Crimea, but when, in 1018, a pro-Byzantine and anti-Western party triumphed in Kiev, his chief bishop, Anastas,⁷⁹ fled to Poland, thereby suggesting the existence of amicable ties between the Church of Kiev and the Western Christians.

To these significant facts, reported by the *Povest*, several more found in other sources can be added. The Church Order which bears Vladimir’s name and is preserved in many copies is of distinctly Western origin.⁸⁰ The Chronicle of Nikon describes

frequent exchanges of envoys between Kiev and Rome. They are mentioned in the years 991, 994, 1000, 1001.⁸¹ Tatishchev also refers to these discussions.⁸² The Nikon Chronicles state, moreover, that Vladimir received the papal representatives "with love and honour,"⁸³ which in the language of that time meant a satisfactory conclusion of negotiations. Unfortunately the source of this information is not known, and its evidence must be used with caution. Nevertheless, it is improbable that the Russian Chronicler of the 15th and 16th centuries invented these discussions between Rome and Vladimir, for hostility to Latin Christians was universal and bitter in Russia at that time. But even if these direct relations with Rome are dismissed as doubtful, there are other, and this time undisputed, proofs of Vladimir's friendly disposition towards Latin Christians. For instance, there is a letter by an ardent missionary called St. Bruno de Querfurt, who in 1008 sent to the Emperor Henry II (1002-1024) a detailed report of his stay in Kiev.⁸⁴ Vladimir most cordially received the Latin monk, and tried to persuade him to remain in Russia.

A still more significant incident is reported by Thietmar de Merseburg.⁸⁵ According to him, Sviatopolk, one of Vladimir's sons who married a Polish Princess, brought to Turov, the city of his residence, Reinbern, Bishop of Kolberg. This Latin Prelate soon acquired great political power but perished in a prison, having been accused of a plot against Vladimir in favour of Sviatopolk. The important position ascribed to a Western Bishop in this story suggests also that Russian Christians were in full communion with the Roman Church at that time. The same conclusion is supported by the part played by Olaf Trygvason in the christianisation of Russia. Olaf was Vladimir's old friend and companion-in-arms. After many adventures he was converted by a Celtic monk during a raid on the Scilly Islands. He became an ardent missionary, and the Scandinavian Sagas ascribe to his influence Vladimir's decision to give up his paganism.⁸⁶ The Sagas are usually inclined to magnify the deeds of their heroes, but there is indisputable proof that Olaf participated in the Crimean campaign and had an important part in the final settlement which secured for the Russian Church the status desired by the victorious Prince. This is shown by the interesting fact that Olaf, after his return to Norway, dedicated the Cathedral built by him in Nidaros (Trondheim) in 997 to St. Clement of Rome;⁸⁷ the relics of that saint were solemnly transferred by Vladimir from the conquered Kherson to his capital.⁸⁸ That act had great symbolic meaning, for it associated the newly founded

Chair of Kiev with the authority of the Roman Pontiff, and endowed the Russian Church with high dignity and independence. By dedicating his own Church to the same saint, Olaf clearly implied that he also contributed to Vladimir's triumph over the Byzantine Empire.

But the most revealing of all the Western contacts of Vladimir's Church are those which united it with its Slavonic neighbours in Bohemia, Poland and Pannonia. The inhabitants of these countries were the nearest to the Kievans linguistically, racially and geographically. Christianity began to spread among the Western Slavs during the second part of the 9th century. The mission of Cyril (869) and Methodius (885) planted a Slavonic-speaking Church in Central Europe, but this attempt to use their mother-tongue in worship met with fierce opposition on the German side, and by the end of the 11th century Latin replaced Slavonic all over Poland, Bohemia and Hungary.

In the course of the 10th century the Western Slav-speaking Churches were still fully alive, and Prof. Nikolski, in his last work (unfortunately unfinished), produced weighty proofs that the Poliane, i.e. the bulk of the Slavic population in and around Kiev, considered the Western Slavs as their teachers in Christ.⁸⁹ If Nikolski is right, then the majority of Russian Christians at the time of Vladimir's conversion were familiar with a Church tradition that was Byzantine in rite, Slavonic in speech and Latin as far as its canonical allegiance was concerned. But even without deciding by which channel Christianity first reached the Kievan people it is possible to assert that they maintained a close fellowship with the Bohemian Christians during Vladimir's reign. This is proved by the widespread popularity among the Russians of St. Venceslav (d. 929) and St. Ludmila (d. 927), two well-known Bohemian saints,⁹⁰ and by the cult of St. Boris and Gleb (d. 1015) among the Czechs. These first canonised Russian saints (1025) were venerated as late as 1095 in the Sazava Monastery, the last stronghold of Slavonic Christianity in Central Europe.⁹¹ The reciprocal recognition of their saints by two sister Churches is the more remarkable in that St. Venceslav remained unknown among the Southern Orthodox Slavs, so the story of the hero-martyr of Bohemia must have reached Kiev by a direct route from its Western neighbours.⁹² Boris, Vladimir's favourite son, was acquainted with the life of the Bohemian martyr,⁹³ and this suggests the presence at the Kievan Court of well-instructed and keen Czech Christians. The compiler of the *Povest* makes no reference to close friendship between the Kievans and the Western Slavs during these vital years of the Russian Church. Their co-

operation is a link missed in his narrative ; and its absence renders inexplicable the rapid expansion of Christianity throughout Russia in the 11th century, one of the most notable features of early Russian Church history.⁹⁴

These episodes, in spite of being unco-ordinated, are of great value in reconstructing the constitution of the Russian Church in the 10th century. They all indicate that Vladimir borrowed freely from diverse sources, choosing for the Russian Church the best elements from Byzantine, Western and Slavic traditions, and adapting them to the needs of his people. He was engaged in the building of a Slavonic Empire, equal if not superior to the two broken halves of the old Roman world ; and he saw in a Church so constituted and obedient to his will a unifying force for the peoples inhabiting his vast dominion. The freedom of his church from any outside control would be needed for the fulfilment of his political and ecclesiastical plans, but the possibility of such autonomy is usually denied by the historians who take for granted that Vladimir was obliged to invest some foreign prelate with the final canonical authority over the Church of his Empire.⁹⁵ Opinions are divided as to who this supervisor was. Constantinople, Rome, Ochrida and Tmutorkan all have their supporters. The most popular among these conflicting theories regards the Patriarch of Constantinople as the man to whom the Russian bishops owed their allegiance in the 10th century ; but the mixed origin of the Russian Christians who had friendly contacts both with the Western Slavs and the Orthodox East, and Vladimir's own political schemes suggest that the simple incorporation of the Kievan Church into the Patriarchate of Constantinople would not be an easy matter. It would have required on Vladimir's part a readiness to make serious concessions and to impose considerable limitations upon the Christian community within his realm.

There is no evidence that he ever intended, or actually did, anything of this sort. On the contrary, the unwillingness of the *Povest* to disclose the status of the presiding Kievan bishop, and its reluctance to discuss Vladimir's ecclesiastical policy can be taken as a weighty though indirect proof that the Russian Church was not under the authority of the Constantinople Patriarchs at that time. This supposition is confirmed by the events of the next reign—that of Yaroslav the Wise (1018–1054). In 1037 Yaroslav subjected the Russian Church to Constantinople and received from there a Greek Metropolitan, Theopemptus, the first bishop of Kiev to be mentioned by the *Povest*.⁹⁶

The arrival of this Greek Prelate was followed by two acts which seem to imply an ecclesiastical revolution. First, Yaroslav built for that occasion a Cathedral, constructed in strict conformity with the Byzantine tradition, which he dedicated to St. Sophia. He clearly expressed by this action his desire to make the Russian Church a faithful daughter-Church of Constantinople. The unusual decision to build a new Cathedral side by side with the one erected by his father can be taken to indicate that a new start in ecclesiastical organisation was contemplated, past policy being not only abandoned but tacitly condemned. This impression is still further strengthened by a second, even more surprising act, which is faithfully reported without any explanation or comment by all Russian Chronicles—viz., the consecration of the old Cathedral by the Greek Metropolitan in 1039.⁹⁷ Such an act can have two meanings: ⁹⁸ *either* that the Cathedral of the Tithe which for more than forty years was the centre of Church life in the Kievan Empire remained unconsecrated until the Greek Prelate arrived in the Capital, *or* that its original consecration was performed by a person or in a manner unsatisfactory to the Byzantine party. This second explanation seems to be the more plausible, and it supports the thesis that the Russian Church was under some jurisdiction other than that of Constantinople from 990 to 1037.

The exclusion of Constantinople from the list of Russia's ecclesiastical superiors, leaves Rome as the next candidate. Theoretically speaking, it is even more difficult to imagine that the Vladimir who imitated the Byzantine Basileus would be ready to submit to Rome and in this way to recognise the Papal supremacy over his Church and Empire. It is difficult to see why he should have taken such drastic action or, if he did, why no trace of his submission to Rome has been preserved in contemporary documents. The only argument in support of the Roman theory is the negotiations conducted between Vladimir and Rome, as reported, e.g., by the later Chronicles of Nikon. But even if they are accepted as reliable, allowance must be made for the wide gap between friendly contacts and formal submission. While some evidence of the former exists, there is not even a remote indication of the latter: neither Rome nor Constantinople can, therefore, be regarded as the Ecclesiastical Superiors of the newly born Russian Church.

Two other suggestions remain: the Russian Church may have been either under the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Patriarch or under the Archbishop of Tmutorkan. Neither of these suppositions is supported by any documentary proof: nevertheless, such an

ecclesiastical arrangement is theoretically possible, but only if it is supposed that Vladimir or his advisers were seriously concerned with the niceties of canonical order, and tried to overcome every scruple.

Now there is no evidence that Vladimir was really interested in these subtleties. It is probable that the question of political prestige weighed more heavily upon him than the considerations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Moreover it is difficult to see how a ruler with Vladimir's ambitions could consent to treat the hierarch of a rival Bulgarian State as the head of his Imperial Church, or that he would offer such an honour to the Archbishop of a conquered provincial city like Tmutorkan.

The erection of a magnificent Cathedral in Kiev, the rich endowments bestowed upon it, the great pomp which accompanied its dedication—all these facts reported in the *Povest*⁹⁹ lose their meaning if the Russian Prince had not a bishop of his own in his capital. The question of canonical authority, recognised during Vladimir's reign by the Kievan bishop, is therefore unanswered by the four best-known theories. Their failure lends an additional support to the suggestion that Vladimir, the master of his Empire and founder of the Russian Church, treated the latter as an autonomous body.

Sources contemporary with Vladimir treat him as an autocrat. He behaved as a monarch who believed his own authority to be sufficient in all ecclesiastical matters.¹⁰⁰ His Church Order can be quoted as a typical example of this attitude; it contains, for example, the following sentences: "Having opened the Greek Nomocanon We found in it that neither to the Prince nor to his boiars is it proper to interfere with Church Courts. And, having consulted my Princess Anna and my children, we granted the administration of these Courts to the Metropolitan."¹⁰¹

In these injunctions Vladimir claimed to have the final say in the interpretation of the Canon Law. He looked upon himself as a potentate possessing the same prerogatives in regard to the Church as those belonging to the Byzantine Emperors and only an independent status for his Church could satisfy his ambition.

Effective opposition to this type of constitution could come only from Constantinople. But Vladimir's military might, the political stability of his Empire and the special circumstances under which he obtained from Byzantium his first bishops made any intervention from that quarter most unlikely, and, as a matter of fact, none is heard of. There was equally no reason to expect any resistance to his policy from the Russian side. The bulk of the Russian Christians were new converts who would have little concern for the

canonical authority of their hierarchs. The bishops and the rest of the clergy were selected by the Prince and he chose them because of their willingness to obey his orders.

Opposition came later, and its ardent spokesman was no other than the compiler of the *Povest* himself. His ambiguous attitude to Vladimir, his irreconcilable hostility to Anastas, fits in well with the suggested independence of the Russian Church. For if the Kievan Metropolitan was under Constantinople, he would be recognised as such by one so ardently orthodox as the compiler; if the Kievan Prelate was under "heretical" Rome, he would probably be attacked by the compiler who was bitterly anti-Latin; if Anastas was under Tmutorkan or Ochrida, both Seats in communion with Constantinople, there would be no reason to conceal such a fact. But the autonomous status raised a number of highly controversial problems not suitable for public debate in the 11th century, and the compiler was forced to keep silence. If he frankly criticised Vladimir's conduct it would bring him into collision with the Metropolitan Hilarion and other influential men who tried, in the middle of the century, to bring about the canonisation of the great Prince. If he accepted Anastas as a lawful bishop, he would commit himself to the denial of the Constantinopolitan claims to supremacy, and, much worse still, to approval of Vladimir's friendly relations with the Christian West.¹⁰²

In the compiler's eyes Vladimir's policy of neutrality between Rome and Byzantium was a serious breach of Orthodoxy,¹⁰³ for it showed lack of zeal for divinely revealed truth. In the course of the 11th century the hostility between the Greeks and the Latins was expanding so rapidly in all directions that an increasing number of Christians were determined to sever the last links still uniting the two halves of Catholic Christendom. The compiler was a typical representative of this new temper; he wanted to see the Russian Church an exact replica of the Byzantine pattern, and he looked upon Constantinople as the only source from which the light of Christian Truth could ever reach Russia. He was, therefore, particularly opposed to all those ties which bound Kiev with the Western Slavs, who, in his view, were tainted by their association with heretical Rome.¹⁰⁴

It is typical that against the evidence of his own quotations from the older sources,¹⁰⁵ the compiler tried to give his readers the impression that darkness and paganism reigned to such an extent in Russia that even in Kiev human sacrifices were offered,¹⁰⁶ till Byzantine clergy delivered the Russians from this servitude to sin.

In the view of the compiler the conduct of the great Russian Prince was deplorable. Nevertheless, Vladimir had some points in his favour: He not only baptised the bulk of the Russians but chose the Byzantine rite for their Church. Moreover, the serious defects of his ecclesiastical policy were mitigated by the fact that he was only a layman whose main concern was the State, not the Church.

No such excuse was possible in regard to Anastas, and for this reason all the venom of ecclesiastical strife was poured out on that Prelate. This bitter animosity could not have been personal, as the compiler belonged to the following generation. Therefore the attacks must have been inspired by religious convictions, and they alone sufficiently explain why Anastas was described as a villain and was never called by his proper ecclesiastical title.

The history of the Russian Church during the stormy period after Vladimir's death lies outside the scope of this article. Without entering into a discussion of the reasons which forced Yaroslav the Wise to recognise the authority of Constantinople, it is necessary, however, to mention one aspect of the conflict between Sviatopolk (1015-1018) and Yaroslav (1018-1054), for it throws some further light upon Vladimir's own ecclesiastical policy.

The bitter struggle between the two brothers is usually represented as caused by their personal rivalry, but it had wider and deeper underlying motives, and one of them was the clash between the Eastern and the Western traditions in the Kievan State. Sviatopolk was the leader of the pro-Western party. He had a number of supporters in Kiev, who probably were interested in closer relationship with the Western Slavs and in the maintenance of the commercial routes via Moravia, the Danube, Regensburg and Flanders.¹⁰⁷ Yaroslav represented Novgorod and its interests, which seemed at that time to be pro-Byzantine. The capital of the North was the rival of the Western Slavs both commercially, politically and ecclesiastically. One could hardly find a more foolish and unworthy representative of any cause than Sviatopolk. His murder of his two remarkable brothers, Boris and Gleb, in 1015, was more than a personal crime: it was the destruction of his father's great scheme to keep open the doors leading both to Constantinople and to Rome. The *Povest*, in accordance with its principles, avoids a direct reference to this implication of fratricide, but its description of Sviatopolk's ignoble death rings with a deep religious passion. There is a rhythm in the words ¹⁰⁸ which relate that the "accursed prince" was buried in the Western wilderness ¹⁰⁹ between Poland and Bohemia, and that the evil odour issues forth from his doomed

tomb.¹¹⁰ The *Povest* most skilfully makes Sviatopolk the Accursed the spokesman of the Western world, which looked by now barren, condemned, and repulsive.¹¹¹ It was fitting for Anastas, the other villain of Vladimir's reign, to vanish also in the same westerly direction.

Thus the story of Russia's conversion seems to furnish an example of clash between historical reality and the ideal professed by an outstanding ecclesiastical writer. The compiler of the *Povest* made a daring and successful attack upon one of the decisive pages of Russian history, and superimposed upon the actual account of the events his own interpretation, implying that it is of the greatest importance to know how things ought to have happened rather than how they did happen in reality. The compiler was victorious : his version suppressed all other descriptions of Vladimir's ecclesiastical policy, and for centuries to come only his story was accepted by Russians as the true account of the origin of their Church.

In order to achieve his aim he was obliged to draw a distorted picture of the first Christian Sovereign of Russia, and this proved to be the most vulnerable part of his work.

In spite of the compiler's efforts Vladimir has remained the ideal prince of Russian folk-lore, and though it is difficult to separate history and legend so closely interwoven around his remarkable personality, there can be no doubt that he was one of the most successful rulers of Russia, and that there must be some foundation for the traditional belief that he knew the secret of keeping order and peace without the resort to fear and oppression.

Since the rise of Moscow her Tsars have claimed him as their mighty predecessor,¹¹² justifying their autocracy by the example presented to the nation by Vladimir himself. On the surface the parallel between his attitude to the hierarchs and the domineering behaviour of the Basils and Ivans, Alexis and Peter in regard to the Church looks impressive, but Vladimir had breadth of vision and generosity of heart ¹¹³ lacking among his successors.

His endeavours to make the Russian Church a bridge between the East and the West bear the imprint of a great mind. Vladimir saw so far ahead of his generation that the implications of his policy are not fully understood even in the present day.

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⁶⁹ Sviatopulk of Moravia (870-894), Boris of Bulgaria (852-889) and his son Simeon the Great (893-927), Boleslav the Dread (923-967) and Boleslav the Pious (967-999), Princes of Bohemia, and Boleslaw the Brave (992-1025), King of Poland, were all striving for the same goal. Vladimir's own father, Sviatoslav (964-972), perished in the pursuit of a similar object.

⁷⁰ Louis II, Emperor of the West, assumed that the acceptance by Boris of Bulgaria of Latin bishops implies Boris' incorporation into his realm. See Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*, Cambridge, 1948, p. 116.

⁷¹ For the possible number of bishops in Russia, see Golubinski, I, p. 334.

⁷² Nikon Chronicle mentions bishops in Chernigov, Rostov, Vladimir and Belgrad, besides Kiev and Novgorod. Nik., IX, p. 65.

⁷³ Lav., p. 34. The presence of non-Slavonic names among the idols set up by Vladimir suggests his desire to provide a common religious basis for the diverse nationalities inhabiting his country, and this is an indication that from the start he treated religion as part of his Imperial policy.

⁷⁴ For the Western orientation of Vladimir's policy, see Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, Yale Univ. Press, 1948, pp. 59, 66, 326 sq.

⁷⁵ Lav., p. 54.

⁷⁶ Tatishchev, II, 84. For other references to these relations, see pp. 78, 90, 91.

⁷⁷ The recent excavations have shown that his cathedral did not follow strictly the Byzantine pattern, as was the case with St. Sophia, built by Yaroslav in 1037.

⁷⁸ Golubinski believed that the tithe was borrowed by Vladimir from Poland. I, p. 508 sq.

⁷⁹ The name Korsunin does not mean that Anastas or Bishop Ioakhim of Novgorod were necessarily Greeks; the Russians described by this name all the inhabitants of the Crimea, which had a miscellaneous population in the 10th century. See Lav., p. 22.

⁸⁰ Baumgarten, *St. Vladimir*, p. 107; and Golubinski, I, pp. 400-01.

⁸¹ Nik., IX, pp. 64, 65, 68.

⁸² *Op. cit.*, II, p. 78.

⁸³ Nik., IX, p. 64.

⁸⁴ Pierling, *La Russie et le Saint Siège Paris*, 1896, I, p. x sq.; and Lozinski, *La Russie dans l'Écrit. Fran. de Moyen Âge*, Revue des Études Slaves, 1929, ix, p. 260.

⁸⁵ Chronicon, pp. 96, 236, 239.

⁸⁶ Baumgarten, *St. Vladimir*, p. 70.

⁸⁷ Baumgarten, *Olaf Trygvason*, pp. 9, 30, 34.

⁸⁸ Lav., p. 50.

⁸⁹ Nikolski, *op. cit.*, p. 90 sq. Istrin, however, criticises the Nikolski Thesis. *Moravskaya Istoriia Slovan*, Byzantinoslavica 3 (1931), 4 (1932).

⁹⁰ St. Venceslav veneration is specially studied in V. Florovskij, *Cesi a Vychodni Slovane*, Praha, 1935, pp. 120-42.

⁹¹ Florovskij, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 151.

⁹² Florovskij, *op. cit.*, p. 48 sq.

⁹³ *Žitna Sv. Borisa i Gleba*, Pamiat. Drev.-Rus. Lit., Vol. 2, Petr., 1916, p. 33.

⁹⁴ Golubinski thinks that Vladimir recruited the clergy for the Russian Church from among the inhabitants of Chervonnaia Rus, which was part of Poland until 981: *op. cit.*, I, p. 168.

⁹⁵ Golubinski suggested tentatively the possibility that the Russian Church enjoyed an autocephalous status in Vladimir's time. *op. cit.*, I, p. 268.

⁹⁶ Lav., p. 66; I Nov., p. 69.

⁹⁷ Lav., p. 66; I Nov., p. 89; Nik., IX., p. 81.

⁹⁸ Kiev and its churches were seriously damaged by fire in 1017 (Lav., p. 62) and it is open to suggestion that the reconsecration of 1039 was necessitated by the extensive repairs carried out at the time. This explanation is weakened by several considerations: (a) the chronicles never mentioned that the Cathedral of the Tithe was either damaged or repaired; (b) the building of a new Cathedral simultaneously with extensive repairs of an old one would be financially prohibitive; (c) the special mention by the *Povest* of the consecration of the old Cathedral as being the first public act of the Greek Prelate implies a greater significance of this act than the routine ceremony at the completion of repairs.

⁹⁹ Lav., p. 52.

¹⁰⁰ It is significant that the *Povest* never calls Vladimir "The Autocrat" "samodezhets," yet the seal found in 1909 near Kiev suggests the use of this title by

Vladimir. See Prof. Soloviev, *O Pechati i titele Vladimira Byzantino-Slavica*, IX. (1947.)

¹⁰¹ Golubinski, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 616-27.

¹⁰² Yaroslav's conduct of Church affairs presents several unsolved problems: it is possible that his failure to restore the independence of the Russian Church was due to the pro-Western trend of his father's ecclesiastical policy. This was sharply criticised by the leading Churchmen of the 11th century who were therefore unwilling to support Yaroslav's plans.

¹⁰³ Vladimir's neutrality affords the most probable explanation of the Greek refusal to sanction his canonisation; he was added to the list of Russian Saints only in the 13th century, when the events of his reign were forgotten.

¹⁰⁴ The intensity of the anti-Western feelings can best be judged from the content of the epistle of S. Theodosius to Prince Iziaslav (d. 1078), in which Latins were presented as more impure than Jews; every contact with them both ecclesiastically and socially was to be avoided. The text of his epistle and commentaries are published in *Trudy otdela, Drev Russkoi Literatury*, Vol. V, Akad. Moscow, 1947, pp. 160, 170-73.

¹⁰⁵ Lav., p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ Lav., p. 35.

¹⁰⁷ V. Vassilevski, *Drevnara Torgovna Kieva s Regensburgom*, Zhurnal Minist. Narod. Prosviash, 1888, V, 258.

¹⁰⁸ Lav., p. 63. "Liakhy i Chiakhy."

¹⁰⁹ The author of the *Povest* as well as his readers knew that a desert in the ordinary sense of the word could not be found anywhere near Poland or Bohemia. He used this word in another sense. This desert indicated that the Western Slavs who before and during Vladimir's time were the source of Christian enlightenment to the young Russian Church were now associated with error, evil smell and darkness.

¹¹⁰ An evil smell is the traditional Russian characteristic of sin and perdition; fragrance is the sign of bliss and holiness.

¹¹¹ According to the Kievan Paterik the devil takes the form of a Pole when he wants to attack the Russian ascetics. Theodosius of Pechersk (d. 1074), writing to Prince Iziaslav of Kiev (d. 1074), used the following expression: "The Latins have polluted the whole world."

¹¹² See the first Epistle of Tsar Ivan Vasilievich to Prince Andrei Kukbski (1564).

¹¹³ Kartashev (A. V.), *St. Vladimir the Father of Russian culture* (in Russian), Paris, 1938, p. 15 sq.

COLLINS AND KNIAŻNIN

A PARALLEL AND ITS BACKGROUND

I

It is easier to investigate a particular problem of literary influence than to state a case of parallelism without implying any obvious influence. Parallels in literature can, however, be reduced to superficial similarities, if their background is insufficiently examined or the conditions of literary creation neglected. This sometimes may be due to the critic's preoccupation with the third factor in a parallel, which tempts him to treat the material of his comparison as a convenient illustration of a more general problem, such as the beginnings of the Romantic movement in the 18th century, or the universality of folklore themes.

The parallel between Collins's *Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands* and Kniażnin's verse-letter *Babia Góra* immediately suggests such a third factor, as will be seen later in this essay, and the critic might easily be tempted into a pitfall of generalisation. My purpose here is not to compare some of the aspects of the Romantic trend in European literature as illustrated by the two poems in question, but rather to select the literary elements which make up the parallel, and view them against their background. This kind of examination, although limited by the conditions under which both poems were written, should lead to a conclusion illuminating parallelism as an outcome of creative imagination, and not as a freak of literature or mere coincidence. Moreover, if logically attained, such a conclusion should not stretch beyond the range of the parallel itself; it is the historical method, with its frequent use of parallels to illustrate "periods of literature," which extends the premises of comparison and, by referring them to the general trends, often obscures the parallel under investigation.

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The facts at our disposal are these :

1. William Collins (1721-1759) wrote *An Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland, considered as the Subject of Poetry* in 1749, in the form of a verse-address to a Scotsman, John Home, the author of *Douglas*.

2. The *Ode* did not reach print in the poet's lifetime: its imperfect MS. was first published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, Vol. I, 1788.

3. Collins's critics, from the unenthusiastic Johnson ¹ and admiring Scott to Oliver Elton,² H. W. Garrod ³ and E. G. Ainsworth,⁴ all stress the importance of the *Ode*.

4. Franciszek Dionizy Kniaźnin (1750-1807) wrote his verse-letter *Babia Góra* as an address to Doctor P. Czenpiński who in 1782 visited the Carpathian mountains on the advice of the famous Committee of National Education (*Komisja Edukacji Narodowej*).

5. *Babia Góra* was included in Kniaźnin's volume *Liryki* (the collected works of 1787-1788).

6. *Babia Góra*, owing to its treatment of the "superstitions" of the Polish Highland district (where Mount *Babia* is situated), attracted some attention among later Polish critics, but its literary importance has been obscured by modern research into the folklore themes of the early Romantic ballads.

The parallel between the English and the Polish verse-addresses will be seen later in the analysis of the two texts. But it must be borne in mind from the beginning of this investigation that the contents of both poems are conditioned by the parallel circumstances which led to their creation.

II

Kniaźnin, a poet attached to the court of Prince Czartoryski, had a good Latin training which allowed him to exercise his abilities in translations (Horace); but soon a more personal tone revealed itself in his love poems (*Erotyki*, 1779) and classical odes, in occasional verse-addresses and patriotic complaints (Kniaźnin was the first poet to be fully aware of the tragedy of the Partitions). He was also a conscientious editor of his own works, as is seen from the three-volume Warsaw edition (*Poezje. Edycja zupełna*, 1787-1788) which became a model for later editors. Kniaźnin's self-criticism is, in Professor Borowy's ⁵ opinion, too severe at times, e.g. the poet's attitude to his *Erotyki*.

Later in life Kniaźnin gradually succumbed to a melancholy

¹ "He showed them [*the Wartons*] . . . an ode inscribed to Mr. John Home, on the superstitions of the Highlands, which they thought superior to his other works, but which no search has yet found." Johnson, *Lives of the English Poets*.

² Cp. *A Survey of English Literature, 1730-1780*, Vol. II, Chapter XIV (London, 1928).

³ Collins, Oxford, 1928.

⁴ *Poor Collins*, Cornell University Press, 1937.

⁵ *Franciszek Dionizy Kniaźnin: Wybór poezji*, edited by W. Borowy, Biblioteka Narodowa, Seria I, nr. 129, Wrocław, 1949, 189 pages. This most recent selection is supplied with a critical introduction and textual notes. The poems printed

which grew into incurable illness after the Third Partition, and the last eleven years of his life were spent in a state of madness. This melancholy side of his character should not be overlooked as a psychological factor in the comparison with Collins. He, too, fell ill in 1751 and was later subject to attacks of melancholy from which he never recovered. In 1754, it is said, he spent a short time in a madhouse in Chelsea. Five years afterwards Collins died, prematurely, at the age of thirty-seven.

The dejection which overpowered the gentle and often blithe nature of Książnin inclined him towards melancholy subjects in literature. Ossianic gloom appealed most to the Polish poet, and his rendering of Macpherson's work into Polish coincided with the development of his mental disease. The 19th-century editor of his works, F. S. Dmochowski, emphasised this interrelation between the poet's imagination and its latest model: with the unfinished rendering of *Fingal* Książnin's work as a poet passed into a darker gloom than that of the Ossianic world.

* * *

The poem *Babia Góra*, written before the edition of 1787-1788⁶ which was supervised by the author, exhibits a seemingly rational treatment of its subject-matter, the humorous vein of its picturesque style almost flowing into open grotesque. As the poem's full title explains, it was addressed to "Paul Czenpiński while he was travelling in the Cracow mountains." This address is conventional in its general framework, but not in its contents. Czenpiński really carried out his expedition in 1782, and since the light-hearted ode was written in Warsaw, where the scientific and educational projects of the progressive *Komisja Edukacyjna* were discussed among the experts as well as their supporters, the authenticity of Książnin's subject had a direct bearing on its fantastic execution. Indeed, the fantastic and the authentic in his ode nurture each other in turn.

In the opening stanzas the timid presentiments of Warsaw lasses

during Książnin's life are here based on the original editions, but spelling is modernised. Posthumous poems are printed from the MSS. preserved in the Czartoryski Museum, with the exception of those whose MSS. had been lost. Borowy's selection tries to show as many aspects of Książnin's style as possible, and his judgment is independent of the views of previous critics. This selection contains some of Książnin's translations from Horace, his fables and representative lyrical poems, as well as better examples of his topical verse. Borowy had already defended Książnin's case as an original poet in his admirable book on the Polish poetry of the 18th century.

⁶ In the third book of lyrics (*Liryków Xięga Trzecia*) which constitute the most important part of this edition; the ode *Babia Góra* bears number 14 (*Oda XIV*). It was written in Warsaw, probably in the year of Czenpiński's journey, 1782.

are jokingly coupled with the dangers of Czenpiński's expedition : their idol is threatened by the Carpathian witches. After this half-conventional opening there follows a descriptive stanza, coloured with poetic awe :

Kędyż tam jesteś ? Na Babiej Górze
Słońce za chmury zapada :
Krwawią się nieba na nocną burzę,
Wicher się z Tatrów zakrada.

(Where are you there ? On the Babia mountain
The sun is falling behind the clouds :
The skies grow red for the night storm,
The wind creeps from the midst of the Tatra.)

Set against this ominous scenery Czenpiński keeps up his defiant attitude to superstition.

Ale ty, widzę, drwisz z naszej wiary
I gardzisz radą przyjaźni :
Nie wierząc w diabły, upiory, czary,
Śmiesz się z ojców bojaźni.

(And you sneer, I see, at our belief
And despise the counsels of friendship ;
Not believing in devils, spectres and spells,
You laugh at the fears of our fathers.)

To make the traveller's sober mind susceptible to the terrors of the supernatural, the poet enriches his humorous concept with images of the fantastic. Stanzas 7, 8 and 9 draw fully from the treasures of folklore and Kniaźnin's fondness for detail shows itself in the choice of words. The example of a defiant youth from whom the witches "sucked the flower of blood" is given as a direct warning to the poet's friend. In stanza 10 the secret crafts of the Carpathian witches are presented in a more dramatic manner : the introductory address changes into a vivid scene :

Przebóg ! co słyszę ? Powietrze świszczy.
Wzjężone włosy powstają . . .
Wrzawa strasydeł huczy i piszczy :
Miotły, latarnie spadają.

(By God ! What do I hear ? The air whistles,
And one's hair stands on end.
The tumult of spectres roars and squeaks,
Brooms and lanterns fall down.)

The broomsticks, pitchforks and lanterns belong to the fabric of superstition, but Kniażnin supplies them with a simile which recalls the world of contemporary science. In the twelfth stanza we find a startling reference to electricity :

Ani tak szarpnie drut elektryczny
Za jednym tknięciem stu ludzi.

By this time the mixture of the authentic and the fantastic has turned the ode into a strange whirlpool over which the pale horns of the moon hang and grow fuller.⁷ The next stanzas (13-14) lead to the dramatic climax which, though humorous in tone, brings its own poetic witchcraft of make-believe. The witches discover Czenpiński scientifically engaged on plucking herbs in the mountains, and after a war-cry (*zrywa znajome nam zioła!*) the whole band of them attacks the representative of sacrilegious science.

The closing stanzas become conventional again : the author seeks mythological parallels and illustrates his mock-warning with the examples of Ulysses, Circe and Chiron. Chiron's knowledge of the secret powers of herbs is underlined in a footnote, for Doctor Czenpiński is a kind of modern Chiron. The chosen framework reveals itself in the penultimate stanza where Kniażnin recalls the Warsaw girls who, as he half-ironically observes, are more afraid of native werewolves than of the mythological Centaurs and Circe's swine. Superstition is not only confined to the Highland region. The final stanza is addressed directly to the traveller, whom the poet asks for a spray of hellebore.

Since Kniażnin found his stimulus in an authentic fact (Czenpiński's expedition) his original concept had natural science for its subject, but the concept itself did not stop there : science and poetic imagination became crazily confused, and such a confusion was part of Kniażnin's artistic purpose in *Babia Góra*.

The following points arise out of the Polish text :

(a) The poem's framework corresponds to the type of verse-address (or letter) popular in the 17th and 18th centuries, and related to classical models. Other verse-addresses are to be found among Kniażnin's odes and occasional pieces.

(b) The local touch in *Babia Góra* is not surprising for students of Kniażnin's poetry. His poetic language is susceptible to the influence of colloquial speech and provincialisms ; the vocabulary

⁷ " Księżyc z za dębów, pełniąc swe rogi,
Białe przeciera promienie."

of the ode shows this in words such as : *kmochy* ; *wiedmy* ; *wilkotki*. References to geographical regions and places give an air of authenticity to many of his writings ; a good example of this is the poem *Z podróży* (*From a journey*).⁸

(c) Książnin's interest in the mountains as a poetic subject can be proved by examples from his other poems. In his imitation of La Fontaine's fable *La Montagne qui accouche* (*Góra w połogu*), 1776, Książnin localises the foreign subject by introducing the mountain *Babia*.⁹ In the cycle *Erotyki* a poem entitled *Słodka potucha* (*Sweet hope*) contains the name of the Carpathian mountains *Krępak*,¹⁰ now no longer used in Polish. In the second Canto of his long grotesque poem *Balon* (*The Balloon*)¹¹ Książnin mentions the same *Krępak*, and in the beginning of *Babia Góra* he uses it in adjectival form (*krępackie kmochy*).

(d) The individual treatment of folklore is seen at its best in Książnin's "opera" *Cyganie* (*The Gypsies*), and his scientific curiosity, stirred by contacts with the prominent intellectuals of the country, reveals itself in humorous descriptions in *Balon*, on which more information is given in the poet's notes.¹²

After these comments one can see the many reasons why Książnin was attracted to this scientific expedition to the Polish Highlands. In the Polish *D.N.B.*¹³ Czenpiński (1755-1793), doctor of medicine, is presented as one of the leading men of science of his time as well as an able organiser. He collaborated with the *Komisja Edukacyjna* in its work on new Polish textbooks, and was responsible for the modern methods of teaching science in the reformed schools.

Czenpiński's name is mentioned in the textbook of botany published in Warsaw in 1785.¹⁴ Polish names of plants are there used and grouped according to their families. The group in which

⁸ "Kiedym wyjeżdżał z miłej mi Warszawy,
Widziałś, jakem był strapiony wielce.
Czułem i w Mińsku z tej żalność wyprawy ;
Zaświadczą o mym wzdychaniu i Śelce,
I nocleg w pustej przetrwałem Wiśnicy
Na nieznośnej tęsknicy "

⁹ "Mówią, że Babia tak się wzdeła Góra."

¹⁰ "Niechaj z górnego wicher Krępaku
Srogie pioruny ciska "

¹¹ The *Balon* shows a treatment of the subject-matter similar to that of Pope's *Rape of the Lock*. The story of constructing a balloon at the court of Czartoryski, with the purpose of sending the cat Filuś on an expedition, reminds one of the grotesque style of the *Babia Góra*.

¹² E.g. Książnin refers to Father J. Osiński's books on physics, to the Cracow Academy's experiments with balloons of 1784 ; his reading of French papers echoes in his remarks on other contemporary experiments and even on mesmerism.

¹³ *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, tom IV, Kraków, 1938.

¹⁴ *Botanika dla szkół narodowych*. Warszawa, 1785 (*podług prospektu P. Czenpińskiego przez Krzysztofa Kłuka*).

ciemierzycza czarna (helleborus) is given as an example, includes also *piekielne ziele* (aconitum) : the herbage of witchcraft rests safely in the pages of the Polish textbook. Here we come to an interesting link : the last stanza of *Babia Góra* (21) poetically recalls the mysteries of botany :

Wracając nam się tu do stolicy,
W nagrodę mojej pamięci,
Urwij po drodze garść ciemierzycy :
Bo mi się we łbie coś kręci.

(When returning to us in the capital,
Pluck on the way a handful of hellebore,
As a reward for my memory :
Because my head is getting dizzy.)

The hellebore was believed to possess qualities which could cure madness and the above-mentioned textbook aptly describes this group of plants.¹⁵ The hellebore, however, as a concluding twist to the poem, has another and sadder significance. This desired plant, which popular superstition endowed with such unusual medical qualities, did not prevent the poet from succumbing to the evil powers of madness.

When, under the strain of melancholy, Książnin was translating Ossian, at once grotesque and amusing images recurred with a new force ; but their relation to the poet's state of mind was profoundly different. His rendering of *Fingal* re-evoked phrases, playfully conceived before ; but this echo must have grieved his imagination.¹⁶

The fifteenth stanza of *Babia Góra* contains one of the first references in Polish literature to the Twardowski legend.¹⁷ Twardowski, the Polish Faust, found his way, of course, into the Polish Romantic ballads. Mickiewicz's *Pani Twardowska*, though endowed with full Romantic machinery, resembles Książnin's ode. The similarity lies in the humorous tone of the concept and in the

¹⁵ " . . . największa ich część jednakże do leczenia potrzebuje się: smaku są przykro szczypiącego " (Most of them, however, are used for healing diseases ; their taste is unpleasantly nipping).

¹⁶ Compare this descriptive passage from *Fingal* (*Pieśń II*) with the mock-gloom of *Babia Góra* :

" Na lasy ciemne zsuwały się wiatry :
Lecą z gór wody. Wierzch Kromli wysokiej
Deszcz obstępuje ; a gwiazdy drżą tylko
Przez latające powietrzem obłoki "

(Dmochowski's edition, 1828).

¹⁷ " Twardowski jeno mógł one zrywać
Przeszły mi dawno czasami."

grotesque clash between the fantastic and the authentic (Mickiewicz describes some aspects of the life of the Polish nobility with a flavour of personal observation). It is worth noting that the word *Krepek* appears also in this ballad.

This ironical mingling of contrasts could easily be ascribed to the characteristics of the Romantic style, and a convenient conclusion that *Kniażnin* was the true precursor of Romanticism waits ready for the critics. Nevertheless, if we are to believe the makers of definitions who state that the Romantic revival restored the supernatural to its respectable place among literary subjects, can we so hastily accept the sceptical and derisive air of Mickiewicz's *Pani Twardowska* as an example of such a reverence towards the chosen subject?

The third element in our parallel invites risk and, if this risk is accepted, we can ask ourselves: is *Kniażnin* a Romanticist, or is Mickiewicz a Classical poet? Fortunately the parallel stands on firmer ground: the texts are its meeting-place, and these texts are conditioned by analogous circumstances.

III

At the end of a study by A. S. P. Woodhouse on *Collins and the Creative Imagination*¹⁸ we read: "Sometimes one is tempted to think of Collins as the first of the Romantics."

Whatever Joseph Warton meant by creative imagination and whatever Collins gained from friendship with that great intellectual, the final proof of his artistic inclination remains to be sought in his poetry.

Collins's *Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands* not only considers them as a subject of poetry, but also shows a specific tendency of the poet's associative power: it is, indeed, as revealing in its artistic implications as *Kniażnin's* verse-address to Czenpiński. The blend of the fantastic and the authentic, although not humorous in tone, as in *Kniażnin's* ode, produces a grotesque atmosphere, especially when the English poem is considered in relation to its selected material. Of the selection of this poetic material Oliver Elton writes in his *Survey of English Literature, 1730-1780*: "The uncompleted *Highland Ode*, which lay some forty years unpublished, was inspired not by travel, but by conversation and books."

Already the first editors of its imperfect MS. supplied the text with comments concerning the circumstances in which the poem

¹⁸ See *Studies in English by Members of University College, Toronto*, 1931. There is also Alan D. McKillop's essay on *The Romanticism of William Collins* (*Studies in Philology*, Chapel Hill, Vol. XX, 1923).

Urging Home to make artistic use of his native folklore, Collins proceeds to detailed illustrations. Among them we find "Sky's lone isle" with "the gifted wizzard seer," "the grim and grisly shape" of the "kaelpie" drowning "the luckless swain," and "a pigmy-folk." Like Kniaźnin, Collins enlivens his account by introducing a longer scene dramatically conceived. The swain drowned by the fearful kaelpie appears as a ghost before his wife. The presentation is here direct and picturesque:

With dropping willows drest, his mournful sprite
 Shall visit sad, perchance, her silent sleep:
 Then he, perhaps, with moist and wat'ry hand,
 Shall fondly seem to press her shudd'ring cheek,
 And with his blue swoln face before her stand,
 And, shiv'ring cold, these piteous accents speak . . . (VIII)

Both the earlier reference to "strange lays" and the picture of parading monarchs in stanza IX bear a conventional touch in spite of the supernatural element in them. Collins, like Kniaźnin, is intellectually aware of the supernatural being a poetic subject rather than a matter of personal faith. First of all, the people living in that land so rich in superstition, are to be respected for their "blameless manners" and the state of "primal innocence" they manage to preserve: Collins (with the help of Martin) devotes a separate stanza to "Kilda's race." The natural element supports here the supernatural. The word "superstition," however, bears a rational stamp, just as the humorous device of *Babia Góra* seems to be the result of a rational attitude. The eleventh stanza of the *Highland Ode* argues rather than describes:

Nor need'st thou blush, that such false themes engage
 Thy gentle mind, of fairer stores possesst;
 For not alone they touch the village breast,
 But fill'd in elder time th' historic page.
 There Shakespeare's self . . . [etc.]

The use of the adjective "false" is here significant. Collins leaves his colourful illustrations, directly or indirectly borrowed from folklore, and seeks further justification for the proposed subject in the literature of the past. He has already referred to Spenser in stanza III and to the "old Runic bards"; in XI and XII such authorities as Shakespeare and Tasso are brought in. These great ones who dared to "depart from sober truth" should serve as models and Home can now safely follow his poetic inclination. Collins's argumentation, although seemingly conventional (verse-

address), has deep roots in his personal attitude to poetic subject-matter; ²⁴ the full title of the ode should always be borne in the reader's mind. Preoccupation with poetic subjects in *Ode on the Poetical Character* and *Ode to Fear* shows high consciousness as an artist.

The *Ode on the Popular Superstitions*, owing to the authentic character of its stimulus (Home's return to Scotland), fixed Collins's ideas on firmer ground; hence his wider use of commonplace folklore themes. Similarly, Kniażnin's interest in folklore finds a freer outlet in *Babia Góra*; hence the commonplace character of the themes, e.g. witches, werewolves, Twardowski.

In *Babia Góra* therefore the author considered a new subject of poetry, but he argued it indirectly, i.e. through its grotesque presentation. Collins's horrific description of a drowned man "with his blue swoln face" reaches unintentional grotesque when the poet makes him visit his wife; in Kniażnin's poem the humorous warning against witches reaches horror through the grotesque.

Collins sought support for the justification of his subject in literary examples, while Kniażnin mingled his native werewolves and witches with the more respectable company of Chiron and Circe. In both poems the authentic was determined by the very nature of the verse-letter, but the admission of freer association struck at the roots of rationalistic balance: ²⁵ neither the former's defence of "the rural faith," nor the latter's light-hearted tolerance of folklore superstitions, managed to keep fancy in harmony with the world of science. The result of this was a strange poetic apology, grotesque in the presentation of contrasted elements.

The strength of our parallel here seems to depend on the twofold character of the circumstances compared in this essay: the inner inclination of both poets was enveloped by the external factors which caused and, to no meant extent, determined their odes.

The Scottish clergyman John Home and the Polish doctor Paul Czenpiński occupy the background. But John Home is not only a conscious link between Collins's imagination and the folklore of Scotland: he also seems to be an unconscious link between Poland

²⁴ Note Collins's desire for authenticity of experience: "The time shall come when I, perhaps, may tread Your lowly glens . . ." (Stanza XIII).

²⁵ In the second book of Kniażnin's lyrics there is an interesting ode on the conflict between reason and the heart. Here is its first stanza:

"Inaczej serce żąda,
Inaczej myśl sądzi;
Inaczej świat spogląda,
Inaczej los rządzi"
(*Rozwaga nad rozumem i sercem*).

and Britain. For it was Home who met Macpherson in 1759, the year of Collins's death, and, seeing the samples of his "translation," encouraged him to continue his work on "ancient Gaelic poetry." In 1760 the Ossianic spell began its history and—through France—reached Polish literary circles. For a while even Bishop Krasicki betrayed his Classical ideals for Macpherson's *Ossian*, but in Kniaźnin's case the urge to render *Ossian* into Polish verse became a personal problem. About 1795, when madness was blurring his imagination, the *Fingal* world gave Kniaźnin poetic consolation.

Before his balance of mind was finally upset, Kniaźnin had defended his imagination against disturbing associations by means of a style which could successfully control even the grotesque themes of *Babia Góra*.

Less than two years passed between the composition of Collins's *Highland Ode* and the beginning of his illness. Melancholy must already have been at work, though he was still able to control his imagination with the rational tools of style. The apologetic character of his *Ode on the Popular Superstitions* seems to indicate a safeguarding system within the poem. Superstitions did not overcome the poet's fancy, just as they did not conquer the Polish writer: yet the attraction was so strong that it shifted the odes from the usual literary track of the age into a region of fascinating oddities. And, one may say, the most interesting oddity is the discussed parallel between the two odes.

It is fortunate for the parallel itself that we know the dates ²⁶ and circumstances concerning each poem, and that there is no possibility of any influence of one on the other, whether direct or indirect. This makes the comparison a literary problem by itself, explainable in terms of criticism other than those which lead to convenient illustrations of literary periods.

The grotesque call for hellebore, a flower that is supposed to cure madness, rises above the last stanza of *Babia Góra*. It departs from the Polish Highland district into a vast region of literary creation where health, reason and madness are equally necessary and equally relevant to the imagination. In that disturbing region the poetic minds of Collins and Kniaźnin found their natural meeting place.

JERZY PIETRKIEWICZ.

²⁶ *Transactions*, with Collins's *Ode*, were published in 1788; Kniaźnin's *Edycja zupełna*, with *Babia Góra*, in 1787-1788.

THE *KUDRUN* STORY IN THE BALKANS

I. RÉSUMÉ OF PART I*

IN his article "*Kudrun* in the Balkans?"¹ M. O'C. Walshe draws attention to the resemblance between the Middle High German *Kudrun* epic and the Serbian and Bulgarian ballads of *Nenad and Korun*. The question is: Is this resemblance sufficient to justify the assumption of a genetic relation between these poems?

I. NK.² Basic contents: A certain robber (a Turk) slays 9 brothers (and often their father). He carries their wives off to slavery and often tramples their mother with his horse. A posthumous child, or one who was little when his brothers and father were killed, goes in search of the murderer. He first meets his sisters-in-law, who are usually washing linen by the river. He learns from them where their murderer's home is, goes there and kills him, sometimes also his children. In some versions there is no meeting by the river. He brings home the liberated sisters-in-law.

Of this ballad, Mr. Walshe knows only two variants, one Serbian and one Bulgarian (Spasov), both of which he has translated into English.³ But there are in existence a further 27 variants, 14 of which are still unpublished. They are found over a wide area, but especially in Hercegovina and Montenegro. Besides these there exists a similar type, represented by 58 ballads, of the Brother in Search of an Abducted Sister (BSS), which must be considered in any discussion of this question.

All variants of NK can be divided into two groups, the North-Western (22 variants) and the South-Eastern (7 variants).⁴ The south-eastern group are mainly characterised by certain religious-mythological elements, which are absurdly out of place in this kind of heroic poetry. They are also scattered on the periphery while the north-western group are locally concentrated, and it is therefore clear that the north-western group has the greater claim to priority.

II. BSS. This type is even closer to K than is NK. The type BSS is recorded 58 times, being found everywhere except in Slovenia. There are two variations on this theme: the Brother who Liberates his Sister,

* ED. NOTE.—For reasons of space Part I of this paper by Dr. B. Krstić has been given only in a résumé which has been most kindly done by M. O'C. Walshe of Nottingham University.

¹ *Slav. Review*, XXVI (1948), pp. 484 ff.

² Abbreviations: K = *Kudrun*, NK = *Nenad and Korun*, LS = *The Liberated Sister*, FS = *The Faithless Sister*, BSS = *The Brother in Search of his Sister*, MF = *Marko Kraljević and Philip the Magyar*.

³ *Slav. Review*, Nos 51 and 63.

⁴ Mr. Walshe's S (Vuk) belongs to the north-western group, his B (Spasov) to the south-eastern.

and the Faithless Sister. In this latter type (recorded 25 times) the would-be liberator is betrayed by his sister. This clearly has little to do with K. The basic theme of LS (33 variants) is: A "black Arab" abducts the sister of Jakšić and marries her. The brother seeks her. By the water he meets some female slaves, bleaching linen, and they direct him to the Arab's home. The sister greets him and calls her husband. Jakšić slays him and his sons, and then leads his sister home. In some variants there is no fight, brother and sister simply flee.

III. *LS and NK*. Among the LS group there is a transitional type which is very close to NK. In this we find the motive of the murdered father and brothers: the robber carries off (usually) two sisters of the child (either posthumous or small at the time of the crime) who later becomes the avenger. This transitional type might almost be called a variant of NK rather than of LS. On the relation of the BSS group to the NK type, we can say:

1. These are two distinct ballads, not variations of one ballad. The theme of NK is: A posthumous child avenges the death of his father and brothers and liberates his abducted sisters-in-law, and of BSS: A brother seeks his forcibly abducted sister.

2. BSS can be divided into two groups, LS and FS. Mutual influences only occurred between LS and NK, while FS has no close relation to NK.

3. In the group LS a considerable number of variants (the transitional type) show such a strong resemblance to NK that they may be regarded as variants of NK transformed into LS.

4. Although NK and LS do not stem from a common prototype, they influenced each other and thus arose the transitional type.

IV. *The Relation to MF*. In certain respects there is a connection between these ballads and that of Marko Kraljević and Philip the Magyar (MF). The fact that MF influences only NK and the transitional type, but not the pure type of LS, supports our view that the transitional type of LS is derived from NK.

V. *The Relation to K*. There is no close resemblance between NK and *Kudrun*. The points of contact are of a general nature, but with striking differences of detail. If there is any relation between K and the ballads of the Balkan Slavs, it must be with those of the LS group.⁵ Among these we can distinguish two groups of variants. In the larger group (29), the abductor is slain, while in the smaller (5), the brother flees with his sister and nothing is said about the slaying of the abductor. In some poems of this group we can find some more definite resemblances to K. For example, in four variants of the transitional type not only the sister of the liberator is abducted, but several maidens as well, and in one such version there are two sisters. One variant also has the interesting statement that the liberator finds three female slaves "barefoot

⁵ A connection might have been expected with the type of the Liberator of his Betrothed. But a search of my index of motives failed to reveal one such ballad which resembled K at all.

and bareheaded" washing linen, which is reminiscent of Kudrun and Hildburg on the seashore.

There is one poem of the transitional type (*Matica hrvatska*, VIII, 8b) which has the most striking resemblances to K.⁶ Bećir of Zagorje attacks Senj and slays Ivo Senjanin, but spares his small son, telling the mother that in 15 years the child will slay him. He carries off Ivo's daughter, 9 maidens and the sister of Senjanin Djurica. When the child grows up he goes with his blood-brother Pavle to Zagorje to avenge his father. They meet the maidens (whether or not they are washing linen does not emerge from the extract), and are directed to the home of Bećir, who is absent. Ivo's sister welcomes them. A scene at the inn, which now follows, is clearly interpolated. Finally Ivo and Pavle attack the Turks and slay them. Bećir is carried bound to Senj and hanged. The slaves return to their mothers. Pavle marries Ivo's sister, and Ivo the sister of Senjanin Djurica. This is the only poem in which the liberator marries a liberated maiden. Several maidens are carried off, and the liberator does not free them single-handed. If we omit the inn-scene, the whole scheme of this poem agrees closely with that of *Kudrun*.

If we now consider the relations of the Balkan Slav ballads to K as a whole, the conclusion emerges that between LS and K there is a resemblance, not only in the basic theme, but also in a number of details, so that a genetic connection between them appears very probable. But one point still remains: How is it that in no single variant of LS is the liberator the fiancé of the maiden he liberates, whereas precisely this is the basic theme of K? It would appear that the ballad of LS has borrowed from K a number of secondary details, but not the main plot. The explanation may be that, as such distinguished scholars as F. Panzer and H. Schneider consider, the role of the fiancé in K, too, is a secondary one, and that the original liberator was Kudrun's brother. Actually, however, in K, the biggest deeds of valour are performed by Wate, but it does not seem possible to assert that the role of Herwig (Kudrun's fiancé) is less important than that of her brother Ortwin (cf. *Kudrun*, stanzas 714, 775, 1041, 1246, 1564, 1569, 1590, in all of which Herwig's valour is praised without mentioning Ortwin).

On the whole, Herwig's role is far more important than Ortwin's in K. He and Kudrun are the principal characters, and the story ends with their marriage. We can imagine the story of Kudrun without the heroine's brother, but not without her fiancé. Heusler thinks that Herwig perished originally in the pursuit of the abductor, and that that is why the main liberator is the heroine's brother. But there is no evidence in support of this view. But now we must pose the question: How is it that, if the LS ballads are an echo of K, no fiancé plays a part in them? The answer is: The Balkan LS ballads are not echoes of K, but of the *Kudrun*-ballads.

M. O'C. W.

⁶ Unfortunately it is only published in extract in *Matica hrvatska*. It is from Šipanje (Dalmatia).

PART II

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE KUDRUN BALLADS

The *Kudrun* epic dates from the 13th century, but remained in manuscript until the beginning of the 19th century; it was not printed until 1820. The oldest ballads about the Liberated Sister had, however, already been recorded in the first half and middle of the 18th century (the Erlangen MS. and the Bogišić *bugarštice*). Thus they were in existence at least a hundred years earlier. Hence the *Kudrun* epic could only have reached the Balkans, by oral transmission, in the form of some short ballad; and in consequence only the ballads on the *Kudrun* theme can come under consideration. There are several ballads which are regarded as an echo of the *Kudrun* epic, or even as its source.¹ We shall not enter here into the question as to which opinion is correct, since that would be irrelevant; but we shall only consider the question of how far these ballads may have been the source of the Balkan LS ballads. For the purpose of our research we shall divide them into two groups: those in which the meeting with the female slaves by the water, and the washing of the linen, is mentioned, and those in which this scene does not occur. Although in the Balkan LS ballads there are also some in which the meeting by the water is not mentioned (sometimes in place of this there is a meeting in the fields or in some other place), we consider that the LS ballad originated only through the influence of those ballads in which that meeting occurs, and that the poems in which it is not mentioned are of more recent origin. However, we shall examine both groups of ballads, beginning with those in which there is no meeting by the water.

1. Nearest in theme to K is the Danish "vise" *Isemar*. A certain Saxon count had a son Segelffar and a daughter Isemar. The count dies, and the brother and sister are left to rule his land. The brother goes to Rome and the sister stays at home. King Hagen comes by boat, abducts Isemar and leaves her in the care of his wife, because he wishes to marry her to his son. When Segelffar returns from Rome and sees that his sister has disappeared

¹ I am acquainted with the full text of only three of the ballads connected with K. the *Sudeh* ballad (3 versions), *Die schone Meererin* (3 versions), and the *Svend* ballad (Grimm's translation). My authority for facts about the others is an article by R. Menéndez Pidal: "Das Fortleben des Kudrungedichtes," published in the *Jahrbuch für Volksliederforschung*, 5 Jahrgang (1936), pp. 85-122. Unfortunately I have been unable to obtain the text of the Danish ballad No. 379 in Grundtvig and Olrik's editions. This ballad is of especial significance because it appears to be the only poem in which it is clearly stated that the liberator is Kudrun's fiancé, and not, as is usually the case, her brother.

he builds ships and goes to Hagen's court. He entreats the queen, and promises her gold if her maiden will serve him with wine. The queen awakens Isemar, who dons fine clothes, takes a golden goblet, and goes to Segelfar. He tells her who he is, puts her on his horse, and takes her away to the ship. The queen cries after him: "If King Hagen were at home you would not be able to abduct the maiden."

It is striking that in this ballad, although there are so many points of resemblance to K, there is no mention of the scene by the water. Otherwise it has, without doubt, the same basic theme as the Balkan LS ballad: the brother liberates the abducted sister. But, apart from that fact, we find nothing further which would suggest any particular connection with the LS ballad. For this reason, and taking into consideration their geographical remoteness from each other, and still more the slightness of the cultural historical connections between the Balkan and Scandinavian lands, we consider it impossible that the LS ballad could have arisen through the influence of the *Isemar* ballad.

2. Another Danish ballad connected with K is the *Hafsfru* ballad. Villfar asks his mother why he has no sister. She tells him that he had one, but that Hafsfru (a kind of nixie) had carried her off. Villfar rides off on horseback to seek his sister. He arrives at a castle, and perceives Hafsfru at a window. She boasts to him of the exceeding beauty of her maiden Izemo. Villfar offers her gifts if she will allow him to see the girl. She rejects them, but nevertheless tells the maiden that a knight is awaiting her. Izemo dons magnificent garments and takes a goblet of wine in her hand. Villfar asks her who is her father. She tells him about her father, mother and brother. Thus they recognise each other. Villfar takes her away on his horse and Hafsfru is left lamenting.

The beginning of this ballad has a certain interest for us: the son asks his mother why she never bore him a sister. We have seen that many Balkan LS ballads begin with this question. Otherwise this ballad, too, shows no particular similarity to the LS ballad. Hence what we have already said about the *Isemar* ballad applies also to this one.

3. The *Südeli* ballad resembles the *Hafsfru* ballad to a certain extent. There are about 20 variants of this. We are acquainted with only 3.² Since they resemble each other very closely we give

² L. Uhland was the first to publish this ballad. More recently, J. Meier has published its three variants in *Balladen*, II Teil, No. 46, A, B, and C (*Die wieder-gefundene Schwester*), Leipzig, 1936.

the story of only one (Variant A). A certain king has a daughter Annelein. While she is playing, a certain foreign merchant (Krämer) appears and takes her away with him. He puts her in the charge of a woman who keeps an inn, who promises to care for the girl as if she were her own child. One day a certain nobleman sets out to seek a wife. He comes upon the inn, and the girl brings him wine. The nobleman asks the woman whether the girl is her daughter or her daughter-in-law. She tells him that the girl is neither, but the poor Südeli who cleans the guests' rooms. The nobleman asks her to let him have the girl for two or three nights. The woman consents. He takes the girl into a bedroom and asks her who were her father and mother. The girl tells him that her father was a king, her mother a queen, and that her brother's name is Manigfalt. He tells her that she is his sister, draws his sword and places it on the bed between himself and her: *Das Schwert soll weder hauen noch schneiden, Das Annelein soll ein Mageteli bleiben.* In the morning the woman calls the girl to her work. The king's son tells her that the girl is his sister. He sets her on his horse and bears her away to their mother. She thinks that her son is bringing her a daughter-in-law. He tells her that the girl is her daughter. The mother welcomes them joyfully.

J. Meier³ considers that this ballad has fundamentally no connection with K, but is an echo of a very widely diffused story of a girl from some aristocratic family who is kidnapped and abducted. Some male relative, usually a brother, finds her and restores her to her home. As regards the relationship of this ballad with LS, it is less similar to it than the majority of the other ballads which are mentioned in connection with K. The kidnapping of the girl, her being given into the care of the woman at the inn, and sleeping with her brother—all these episodes have no connection whatever with LS. Thus this ballad cannot have served as its source, either.⁴

³ *Balladen*, II Teil, p. 22.

⁴ There are, however, 12 other Yugoslav ballads which show a certain similarity to the *Sudeli* ballad. The nearest to it is ballad No. 35, *Matka hrvatska*, II. Here Marko Kraljević sees a young woman who keeps an inn in Sarajevo and woos her. She tells him that she is a slave. The pasha's wife appears, and Marko asks her to give him her slave. She tells him that the girl is very young. Marko replies that his mother will take care of her. The pasha's wife then gives her to him gladly, and 100 ducats and a rich garment into the bargain. Marko takes the girl away to his mother, and lies down, weary, to sleep. The girl lies beside him. A swallow, a raven and a crow, one after the other, sing, "Dear God, praise be to thee, the brother sleeps upon the mattress with his sister." Marko's mother hears this and awakens Marko. He asks the girl from what family she comes. She tells him that the Turks abducted her when she was a child, and she had heard, from them, that she was the sister of Marko Kraljević. They recognise her by marks on her body. Marko says he will go to Sarajevo to find another girl for himself.

The basic theme of this and the other similar Yugoslav ballads is this : a young man seizes or woos a girl, and afterwards it is discovered that she is his sister. This theme has no connection with LS, but an obvious similarity with the *Südeli* ballad. The question of whether there exists any genetic connection between them would be outside the scope of this treatise.

4. The ballads which Menéndez Pidal describes as Wendish-Bohemian are very similar to the *Südeli* ballad ; hence, as regards their relationship with LS, what we have already said about the *Südeli* ballad applies also to them.

We have now examined all those ballads known to us in which the episode of the meeting by the water and the washing of the linen does not occur. We have seen, however, that this scene occurs in most of the variants not only of LS, but also of NK, and very often in MF. We therefore consider that if it is a question of the foreign origin of any of these ballads, then only those ballads can be taken into consideration in which the episode of the meeting by the water occurs. Let us now pass on to these.

The Danish *Svend* ballad ⁵ has this theme : A maiden is washing linen in a stream beneath a green hill. Knights, the sons of King Hagen, come riding by. One goes on his way, but the other stops and seeks her favours, offering her a golden necklace, which she rejects. He then asks her who are her parents. She tells him that her father, mother and sister died long ago. She has only a brother, Svend. He left her to the care of a foster-mother, who had brought her up. The knight tells her that she is his sister ; he will marry her to a fine knight. Both by reason of its theme and for the cultural-historical reasons which we have mentioned in connection with the *Isemar* ballad, it is scarcely probable that this ballad could have reached the Balkans and been the source of our LS ballad.

5. The case of the Spanish romance *Don Bueso*, of which Menéndez Pidal speaks in the article already mentioned, is totally different. The Moors abduct the king's daughter and give her to the Moorish king. The queen is jealous of the slave girl's beauty, and forces her to work in the kitchen and to wash linen three times a day in the river or on the seashore, so that the sun, wind and rain may destroy her beauty.⁶ Her brother, Don Bueso, seeking a wife

⁵ This ballad has been translated into German by W. Grimm (*Altdänische Heldenlieder, Balladen und Marchen*, Heidelberg, 1811, No. 15, p. 117). We have taken the story from this translation.

⁶ This episode does not occur in the LS ballads, but it occurs in the ballads in which the husband finds his wife's sister in the forest and takes her home. The sister does not recognise her, and, from jealousy, forces her to do heavy work in

for himself, comes upon the maiden as she is washing linen. When he discovers that she is a Christian slave he offers to set her free. The girl consents, since he has promised her that he will do her no harm, and flings the queen's linen into the water. Bueso mounts his horse and rides away with her. They discover, as they talk, that they are brother and sister. When they arrive home the mother cannot recognise the daughter.

A ballad recorded near Split in Dalmatia (*Matica hrvatska*, II, 34) is nearest to this romance. Here it is related how Marko Kraljević asks his mother why she never bore him a sister or brother. She tells him that he had a sister, but that the Turks abducted her nine years ago. Marko sets out to find her. On the way he becomes thirsty and notices nine maidens bleaching linen by the water. He asks them for water. The most beautiful of the girls brings it to him. Marko flings her on his horse behind him and rides off, whereupon the sky becomes overcast and a drop of blood falls on his face. Marko asks the girl who she is. She tells him that she is the sister of Marko Kraljević. They go to the mother. She does not recognise her daughter, and thinks that her son is bringing her a daughter-in-law. She then recognises her by a mole on her hand, but dies immediately (of joy?).

This ballad has several elements in common with the *Don Bueso* ballad. The brother finds the sister washing linen by the water, does not recognise her, takes her on his horse and goes off with her. On the way they discover that they are brother and sister. When they arrive home the mother does not recognise her daughter. The Spanish Jews may have brought the ballad to Dalmatia, or even the Spaniards themselves, for they were not unknown in Dalmatia.⁷ It is therefore quite possible that the Dalmatian ballad arose through the influence of *Don Bueso*. On the other hand, one must bear in mind that this Dalmatian variant differs considerably from the other variants of LS. This is the only variant in which the brother seizes the sister, not knowing who she is, and only afterwards discovers that she is his sister. It would be difficult to explain how LS could have arisen from such a ballad. Its significance does not lie in the fact that it explains the LS theme, but in the fact that it indicates to us one of the ways by which K ballads may have reached the order to destroy her beauty, or poisons her. Finally they recognise each other and embrace; or both die (*Kordunas*, I, II, 22—10 variants)

⁷ During the 1538-1539 war the Spaniards captured the town of Herceg Novi in Southern Dalmatia, but were soon forced to abandon it. A fortress behind Herceg Novi is still called "Spanish" (Fort Spagnuolo). A *bugarštice* ballad (Bogišić 59) relates how the Spaniards captured Herceg Novi and punished the Spanish duke Don Carlos because he brought shame upon two girls.

Balkans. No Italian versions of the K epic are known, otherwise the possibility of Italian influence could also be considered.

6. Geographically, the ballad *Die schöne Meererin* is nearest to the Balkans. Three versions of this ballad were recorded by K. J. Schröder in Kočevje (German Gottschee), in Slovenia—a German-speaking district surrounded by Slovenes.⁸ The first version is the most important. The story of this one is as follows: The young Meererin sets off in the morning to wash linen. Two gentlemen come in a boat and cry "Good morning!" to her. She complains to them that there are few good mornings. One offers her a ring from his finger. She tells him that she is not the "scheane Merarin" but a "Bintelbascherin" (Windelwäscherin). They take her into the boat and she takes a kerchief with her. When they cross the sea:

*Dort grüssen sie sie und halsen sie sie
Und küssen sie die Meererin,
Die schöne, die junge Meererin.*

When I read this ballad for the first time, I imagined, as did E. Martin, that it told of the maiden's abduction.⁹ Only when I read Schröder's article did I realise that another interpretation was possible: the return home and the family embraces. Whichever is the case, it is not possible that the Yugoslav LS ballads could have originated from such a vague ballad, in which one cannot determine who took the girl away, whither they took her, and why.

The first six stanzas of the second version of the ballad *Die schöne Meererin* are the same as in the first version. Then it is related that the Meererin is weeping. Two young gentlemen come sailing over the sea, cry "Good morning" to her and ask her why she is weeping. She tells them that it is seven years since her brother went away to the army. They ask her whose garments she will wash better, her lover's or her brother's. She answers that she will wash her brother's three times better:

*Einen Liebsten krieg ich wieder.
Einen Bruder nimmermehr.
Er will ergreifen die Meererin.
Halt ein Schwager liebster mein.*

⁸ K. J. Schröder, "Das Fortleben der Kudrunsage," *Germania*, 14 (1869), pp. 327-36.

⁹ A lively exchange of polemics arose between Schroer and Martin over the question of the meaning of the last two lines. Schröder thinks that they mean that the maiden is taken to her own home and that there her family joyfully welcome her and kiss and embrace her. Martin believes that her "abductors" do this, when they have disembarked from the boat. (See *Germania*, 17, pp. 208 and 425.)

It is clear that this ballad, too, bears no resemblance to the Balkan LS ballad, but five variants of it are included in K. Štrelj's collection of Slovene ballads (Vol. I, Nos. 711, 712, 713, 714a, 714b). Their theme is, in the main, as follows: A maiden is washing two shirts in the sea. Two young men come and ask her for whom she is washing them. She tells them that one is her brother's and the other her lover's. Both have gone away to the army. They then ask her which of the two she loves more. She answers, if she loses her brother she will never find him again; if she loses her lover she will soon find another. One of the young men cuts off her head.

This ballad is also fairly well known among the Serbs. One of its variants is in Vuk's Vol. I (305), and in Vol. V there are two (358, 359). The last of these has only nine lines, and runs: "O maiden, have you any dear ones?" "I had a brother and a lover; both did I make ready when they went to the army." "What would you give for one to return to you?" "For my brother would I give my dark eyes; but for my lover would I not give a farthing. Bosnia is wide; there are lovers enough for me. There is no brother until a mother bears one. It is hard for a sister who has no brother."

After this, I think there would be more reason to seek the source of the second version of the *Meererin* ballad in the Yugoslav ballads than *vice versa*.

The first 12 lines of the third version of the *Schöne Meererin* are, in the main, the same as in the first version, but there are three men in the boat instead of two. The Meererin complains to them that she has but few good mornings: at home she has an unkind husband and son; they prevent her from working by day and from sleeping by night. The three men call her to them and say that they have various roots and herbs: if she gives them to her son he will let her do her work. She gets into the boat and they make off with her. The Meererin weeps. One of them shows her his castle and tells her she shall be the most beautiful woman there, and have charge of his keys and be his *Schlüsselträgerin*. She tells him that she will mind his swine—be his *Saudirn*. He promises her that it shall not be so. The Meererin stays with him seven years and three days, and then wishes to return home. He shows her a withered tree and tells her he will let her go when it bears leaves. The Meererin prays to God, and the tree immediately becomes green. Thus she returns home, and sees six shepherds. They are all merry except one, because his mother had gone away seven years and three days before. She tells him that she is his mother.

Schröer has already drawn attention to the similarity of this version to the Slovene *Lepa Vida* ballad, but it has, of course, no special connection with LS.

If the ballad *Die schöne Meereserin* has some connection with the Yugoslav LS ballads, then only its first version could come under consideration. We have seen that its story is so vague that there is no probability that the LS ballads could have originated from it in such an incomplete and hazy form. But there is a possibility that a much clearer and more definite ballad preceded *Die schöne Meereserin*, and this may have served as the source for the Yugoslav LS ballads. From it may have arisen, for example, those variants of the LS ballad in which the brother does not go to seek his abducted sister himself, but in the company of some friend or servant. Unfortunately no Slovene variants of LS have been recorded (which does not mean that they have not existed), so we are unable to determine more precisely the genesis of these ballads. The *Meereserin* ballad cannot explain to us *how* the LS ballad arose, but it indicates to us the way by which the K epic may possibly have reached the Balkans.

Our study up to this point shows that the K epic and ballads and the LS ballads have so many features in common that chance resemblance is out of the question. As regards the K ballads, they are in some respects more similar to the Yugoslav LS ballad than is the K epic, and in others less. Thus in all the ballads mentioned here, except in *Die schöne Meereserin*, the liberator is only the brother, as in LS.¹⁰ This fact seems so important to us that we feel that it justifies our seeking the origin of LS in the K ballads and not in the K epic. But here, too, similarity does not imply identity. In five ballads (*Hafsfru*, *Südeli*, the Wendish, *Svend*, *Bueso*) the young man takes the girl away unaware that she is his sister. In one of them (*Svend*) he declares his love for her. Thus these ballads tell rather of a maiden's abduction than of a sister's liberation. In them, the liberation is an involuntary and unconscious act. In this respect they differ very much from the Yugoslav LS ballads, in which (with the exception of the one about Marko Kraljević) the liberation is the result of a deliberate action and not a matter of chance. The liberation in *Die schone Meereserin*, too (if one can speak of the liberation of a sister there at all), appears more a matter of chance than a planned undertaking.

¹⁰ Only in one Danish ballad (Grundtvig and Olrik, No. 370) is the rescuer the fiancé. We are unfortunately not acquainted with its text, and we have therefore been unable to discuss it here.

Our research has thus led to a somewhat paradoxical conclusion. The Yugoslav LS ballads, regarded as a whole, are nearer to the K epic than to any known *Kudrun* ballad, although they evidently arose through the influence of some K ballad. Hence it only remains for us to assume that there existed some ballad which resembled the Yugoslav poems much more closely than does any known K ballad. Its theme would be in the main as follows: A brother sets off to seek his sister, who has been abducted. He finds her by the water, washing linen. He recognises her immediately, perhaps by some particular mark, and takes her away with him, having first killed her abductor. Such a ballad would be closer not only to the Yugoslav LS ballads but also to the K epic. But if the LS ballad is in its basic theme much closer to the K ballads, we must not forget that it is in some respects more similar to the K epic.

1. In four of the ballads (*Isemar*, *Hafsfru*, *Südeli* and the Wendish) there is no meeting with the female slaves by the water—which is so characteristic both of the LS ballad and of the K epic. It is true, there are also many variants of the LS ballad in which that meeting is absent; but we consider that it is an essential feature of the original LS ballad, and that it disappeared in the course of time from some of the more recent variants. From the LS ballad, this scene has passed into the majority of the variants of NK, and into many MF ballads, while it has completely disappeared from the majority of the variants of the FS ballads.

2. In all four above-mentioned ballads the brother finds the sister at the home of some woman and takes her away with him. This is possibly a reminiscence of Gerlind, but has no connection with LS. In the latter, as in the K epic, the brother rescues the sister from her abductor. The only exception is the *Marko Kraljević* ballad (mentioned above in connection with the *Südeli* ballad), in which Marko takes the female slave away from the pasha's wife.

3. In the other three ballads (*Svend*, *Bueso*, *Meererin*) we have, of course, as in the K epic and in LS, the meeting with the female slaves by the water, but neither in them nor in the first four ballads does the brother liberate his sister by fighting. He finds her alone by the water and takes her away with him without any opposition; while in LS there almost always ensues a duel with the abductor in which the latter is slain. Here LS is again considerably nearer to the K epic than to the K ballads.

4. There are some other details which bring LS closer to the K epic than to any K ballads known to us. Thus, in LS, sometimes other maidens are abducted besides the liberator's sister. Then

again, in LS, we often find the murder of the children, and sometimes also of the mother or wife of the abductor. The first is, to some extent, reminiscent of the murder of Gerlind as Hartmuot's mother, and the second of her murder as Ludwig's wife. All these are elements which do not appear in a single K ballad, but we find them in the K epic.

Hence the Yugoslav LS ballads would, from one point of view, form a transition between the K epic and the K ballads. They are connected with the former by certain details, and with the latter by their basic theme. This gives us reason to think that LS did, in fact, spring from some K ballad, but that that ballad was, in its theme, much nearer to the K epic than are any ballads about that epic which are known to-day. There is a possibility that two such ballads reached the Balkans fairly long ago; then some variations among the Balkan ballads could be explained by a difference in their sources. Thus, for example, the ballads in which the brother finds the sister and takes her away without fighting, and those in which he liberates her only after he has killed her abductor might have two different sources. The first would originate from some ballad about K which does not differ much from one of the ballads already mentioned, while the others originate from some ballad which is much nearer the K epic.

If this study has thrown some light on the question of the origin of the Yugoslav LS ballads and their relationship with the K epic and ballads, there remain nevertheless several unsolved problems. We have already spoken of some of these, and here we will mention also the following:

1. How is it that ballads of the transitional type predominate in Dalmatia—the principal source of LS ballads—while there are no such ballads, or very few, in other provinces?

2. How is it that not a single NK ballad has been recorded in Dalmatia, while they are so frequently found in the neighbouring provinces of Hercegovina and Montenegro that one must certainly seek their origin there?

3. How is it that an episode so important for identification with the K epic and ballads as the meeting with the female slaves by the water, is found more frequently in the variants of NK than in the variants of LS? Not only that. This scene is even more appropriate to the theme of NK than to that of LS. In LS it gives the impression of being inserted, while in NK it follows naturally on the preceding abduction of the wives of the murdered brothers.

4. How is it that one ballad of the transitional type (*Matica hrvatska*, VIII, 8b) is nearest to the K epic? This fact is contradictory to our thesis regarding the origin of the ballads of that type, according to which one would necessarily expect such a ballad to occur among the LS ballads.

We are not in a position to answer these questions, but that does not prevent us from giving a general idea of the route by which the K epic and ballads reached the Balkans. They first reached Dalmatia¹¹ or Slovenia, or both—probably the former. Under their influence LS originated, and from there spread over the whole Slav Balkans. It is difficult to say when this took place. As the oldest LS ballads were recorded at the beginning of the 18th century (Erlangen MS. and Bogišić *bugarštice*), these K ballads must have reached the Balkans at the latest at the end of the 17th century. In the course of time a different turn was given to the ending, and a new ballad developed from the LS ballad, namely, the Faithless Sister.¹² It seems that the K epic reached the south-eastern districts only in that form, which became fairly popular there. Once LS had become firmly established in the Balkans, contamination through the influence of other ballads took place. This occurred principally in two forms:

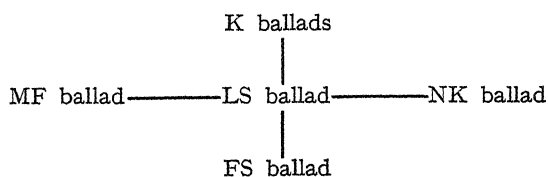
1. By contamination through the influence of NK we have two groups of variants: (a) the variants which we have described as variants of the transitional type, in which the maiden's father and brothers are first killed, and then her abduction follows, and finally her liberation. In these variants the avenger is usually, as in NK, a posthumous child; (b) NK ballads in which occurs, through the influence of LS, the meeting with the female slaves washing linen—an episode not in them originally.

2. By contamination through the influence of the Marko Kraljević and Philip the Magyar ballads there have arisen (a) variants of MF in which, through the influence of LS, the meeting with the female slaves washing linen is mentioned; (b) variants of LS (only of the transitional type) in which, through the influence of MF, there occurs the meeting with the abductor's wife, and the account of the violent treatment to which she is subjected.

¹¹ No Italian versions of the K epic are known, otherwise the possibility of Italian influence would have to be considered before all else. J. Entwistle (*European Balladry*, p. 85) mentions in this connection an Italian ballad, *The Sister Avenged*, but its subject is, unfortunately, not known to us.

¹² Such a process is not infrequent in popular poetry, but an alteration from an unhappy to a happy ending is much more frequent than an alteration from a happy to an unhappy ending, as is the case in FS.

The following diagram, therefore, would illustrate the influences of the K epic and ballads on the popular poetry of the Balkan Slavs :



Mr. Walshe's theory—that NK is probably an echo of the K epic—is correct in so far as the K epic contains elements which did, in fact, reach the Balkans from the epic, but it requires amplification in two respects : (a) these elements did not reach the Balkans from the *Kudrun* epic but from the *Kudrun* ballads ; (b) they did not come to NK directly from these ballads, but, through their influence, first the LS ballad arose in the Balkans, and only from this ballad did some elements present in the K ballads enter the NK ballad. Although Mr. Walshe had at his disposal only two out of 87 ballads, and those two differing considerably from the epic which was their source, he instinctively realised where that ultimate source lay.

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SOURCES OF OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC

Selbst wo das Quellenmaterial sich nicht ändert, ändert sich die Würdigung und Auffassung dieser Quellen von Generation zu Generation.

V. JAGIĆ.

I

FIVE names have been applied in the course of a century and a half to the earliest written Slavonic language, viz., "Old Slavonic," "Church Slavonic," "Old Church Slavonic," "Old Slovene," and "Old Bulgarian." The first goes back to Josef Dobrovský's *lingua slavica dialecti veteris*,¹ the second to Vostokov (Osteneck),² the third combines the first two in an attempt at greater precision by simultaneously specifying time and place in the attribute, and the fourth and fifth define phases in both the dialectal analysis of the language and in the history of Slavonic philology. The last and almost the least popular term, except in German and Bulgarian scholarship, is the final outcome of long and persistent research, and belatedly recognises the regional basis of the language, which its widespread extraterritorial use over several centuries had effectively obscured. After Dobrovský, "Old Slavonic" was used, for instance, by Chodzko, who has *paléoslave*,³ Fortunatov, and Meillet; Jagić, Vondrák, and Kul'bakin generally preferred the more precise "Old Church Slavonic," reserving "Church Slavonic" for the language of MSS. later than the 11th century, and "Old Bulgarian," alternately with "Old Church Slavonic," is found in the writings of Schleicher, Johannes Schmidt, and Leskien. The now obsolete "Old Slovene" was introduced by Kopitar and popularised by another Slovene, Miklosich, till Oblak and Jagić proved it to be untenable. Of the foregoing five names, "Old Slovene" is inaccurate, except, as P. Diels suggests, when it is used to identify the language of the Freising Fragments; "Old Slavonic" is vague and misleading, and none of the other three is strictly adequate. Nevertheless, one of them must be selected, and the least satisfactory is perhaps "Old Church Slavonic," which is neutral and abstract, and accordingly we shall adopt it here,

¹ *Institutiones linguæ Slavicæ dialecti veteris* (Vienna, 1822).

² E.g. *Грамматика церковно-словенского языка* (СПБ, 1863).

³ This is the French equivalent of the Latin-Greek term *lingua palæoslovenica*, which is found, for instance, in the title of F. Miklosich's *Chrestomathia palæoslovenica* (Vienna, 1861). The synonymous *lingua vetero-slovenica* appears in J. Berčić, *Chrestomathia linguæ vetero-slovenicæ caractere glagolitico* (Prague, 1859).

with the more pointed and therefore more combated "Old Bulgarian" implied as a synonym, to indue it with geographical reality.⁴

II

Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian) is associated with the names and the missionary and diplomatic ⁵ activities of two brothers from Thessalonica, Constantine (Cyril) and Methodius, in late 9th-century Moravia and Pannonia.⁶ They were the sons of the *dragonarius* Leon, and Byzantine Greeks in speech and mental habit, but they appear to have been familiar with a Macedonian dialect of Bulgarian spoken on the outskirts of their native town, and, as both of them had had experience of Byzantine religio-political missions, they were chosen by the Emperor Michael III to counter the German and Roman Catholic penetration of Moravia. The younger brother, Constantine, who is better known to posterity as St. Cyril, was a trained and subtle scholar and had devised a special alphabet, presumably the Glagolitic, based to some extent on the contemporary Greek minuscule, but written without ligatures, to symbolise the phonetic system of the Bulgarian dialect he knew. Moreover he had translated parts of the Scriptures, viz., the *evangelistarium* or *aprkos-evangelium*, into that language, hoping perhaps to use both letter and word for the conversion of Bulgaria. But he and his brother were destined to expend their zeal and energies in another Slavonic-speaking country, and accordingly in 863 they set out for Moravia, taking with them their manuscripts and the relics of St. Clement, which Cyril had discovered during his stay in the Tauric Chersonese (Crimea). Their proselytising activities extended in due course into *Pannonia infra Danubium*, i.e. Kocél's Blatno (Balaton) principality, but were interrupted after a few years by an enforced visit to Rome, where Cyril, now a monk, died in 869. The remaining years of missionary endeavour, down to the death of Methodius in 885, witnessed a losing struggle against the German Catholic clergy,

⁴ The ancient name, used by the monk Chrabrŭ, John Exarch of Bulgaria, and the anonymous author of the "Pannonian Legends," was *slouéniskŭ*, but over against this the 10th-century Greek *Vita S. Clementis* mentions the translation of Holy Writ as having been made *ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος γλώσσης εἰς τὴν βουλγαρικὴν*. Both names, "Slavonic" (more properly "Slovenic") and "Bulgarian," are applied to the language from the outset.

⁵ V. F. Pastrnek, *Dějiny slovanských apostolů* (Prague, 1902); A. Bruckner, *Die Wahrheit über die Slavenapostel* (Tübingen, 1913); F. Dvorník, *Les slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX^e siècle* (Paris, 1926).

⁶ The language was their creation in the sense that Scriptural Gothic was the creation of Bishop Wulfila (Ulfilas), whose much earlier work was similar to theirs, but of shorter duration and more limited scope and influence, circumscribed as it was by Arianism whereas that of Cyril and Methodius received the sanction of Rome as well as Byzantium.

in which Methodius was aided by the blessing of Pope John VIII and his rivals had the unswerving support of the hostile Moravian prince Svatopluk. It was this Svatopluk, too, who expelled Methodius's disciples in 885 and effectively suppressed the Slavonic liturgy in the West Slavonic world.

The close of the 9th century saw the conversion of the Bulgarian tsar Boris and his court to Byzantine Christianity, and it was this favourable turn of events that saved the Slavonic liturgy from extinction. Proximity to Constantinople, the influence of Byzantine policies, and the Greek origin of Bulgarian Christianity combined to dictate the replacement of the earlier Glagolitic by the later and more manageable Cyrillic alphabet. This is the commonly held view, but there is a substantial body of opinion, which is inclined to accord chronological priority to Cyrillic and to regard Glagolitic as a subsequent stylisation to mask the Byzantine origin of Cyrillo-Methodian Christianity (*v. infra*).⁷ The Old Bulgarian language, till then represented by mainly Scriptural translations—legend says that almost the entire Bible had been translated under the supervision of Methodius, though only a fraction of it survives—was enriched, especially in the reign of Tsar Simeon (892–927), by translations from other sources, patristic, liturgical, and hagiographic, as well as by a few original works like the “Pannonian Legends,” or lives of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, and Chrabrŭ's treatise “On the Alphabet” (*O pisŭmenichŭ*). All these naturally show traces of local dialects, but the language, by and large, remains fundamentally the same till about the end of the 11th century, when it assumes a more markedly localised cast and becomes a hybrid of earlier and later, literary and spoken, and lends itself to description only in terms of regional recension.

III

The primary type of Old Bulgarian, representing the language used by St. Cyril and St. Methodius (“Apostolic Slavonic”), has not survived. The earliest transcripts of their original MSS. do not go back, on palæographic evidence, beyond the late 10th and the early 11th century, but there is a very short inscription in the Cyrillic character dated 993 on a tombstone, which was found near Lake Prespa, in Bulgarian Macedonia, and this helps in the approxi-

⁷ The case for the priority of the Cyrillic alphabet has recently been made by Е. Георгиев (*Началото на славянската писменост в България. Старобългарските азбуки*, София, 1942).

mate dating of the Cyrillic MSS.⁸ It is quite possible that the first modification of Apostolic Slavonic took place in Moravia, where Byzantine Christianity found a Roman "substratum," and this, according to Łoś,⁹ sensibly influenced the Slavonic ecclesiastical terminology. The language underwent further changes from the end of the 9th century onwards, when it was transferred to two new centres, an eastern and a western, viz., Bulgaria and Croatia. It was from the former of these that it made its way, along with the Christian religion, to the third centre, Kievan Russia, in the 10th century. The nearest of the later regional modifications to the original Apostolic Slavonic would naturally be the Macedonian Bulgarian type, whose phonetic and morphological characteristics emerge sporadically in some of the oldest MSS. (e.g. *Codex Zographensis*), written presumably at Ochrida (Serb. Ohrid), and the most divergent is the Russian type, which, moulded by an alien East Slavonic environment, exhibits less affinity to the Bulgarian than does the Serbian type, which at least shares with the Bulgarian a common regional basis.

IV

On the priority of the two alphabets, in which the Old Church Slavonic monuments have come down to us, there still does not appear to be unanimity among scholars, but the majority of them, as we have already noticed, prefer to regard the Glagolitic (*glagolica*) as the "invention" of St. Cyril and the Cyrillic (*kirillica*) as the work of a later anonymous reformer. The contrary view has been held chiefly by Russian scholarship from Sreznevskij to Karskij, but its author appears to have been Kopitar, who, in the preface to his edition of the *Glagolita Clozianus* (1836), wonders: "Aut quid si ipse postea Methodius ad vitandam græcizantis alphabeti Cyrilliani inter Latinos invidiam glagolitici auctor exstiterit?"

Whatever may be the origin of Glagolitic and Cyrillic, and whichever should prove to be the rightful claimant to a slightly greater antiquity, it is obvious that they are interdependent in the names and nature of the mainly Slavonic characters.¹⁰ Both the alphabets share the same letter-names and have similar symbols for *d*, *e*, *ž*, *l*, *r*, *f*, *ω*, *št*, *c*, *č*, *š*, *θ*, and to some extent for *m* and *ju*, only slightly

⁸ There are also fragmentary Glagolitic inscriptions of the 9th and 10th centuries on the walls of Tsar Simeon's ruined cathedral at Preslav, in Eastern Bulgaria. V. Вера Иванова, "Следите от глаголица в Источна България" (*Byzantinoslavica*, IV, Prague, 1932).

⁹ *Gramatyka starostowiańska* (Lwów-Warsaw-Cracow, 1922).

¹⁰ V. Georgiev *op. cit.* pp. 66-82.

differentiate between the symbols for the pair of semivowels *ǫ* and *ǫ̇*, and exhibit identity in the constitution of the variant digraphs for *y* and the compound characters for the nasals *jē* and *jǫ*. Equally obviously Glagolitic and Cyrillic derive from the Greek, as both alphabetic and letter-numeral systems, and owe all their diacritics, many of them superfluous, and two-thirds of their characters to the same source. Twenty-five Cyrillic characters from *azŭ* to *ižica* are completely identical with contemporary prototypes in the Byzantine majuscule (uncial) script, and the indebtedness of the two alphabets to a Greek original is especially evident in the use of two parallel characters for the sounds *i* (viz., *ἦτα* and *ιώτα*) and *o* (viz., *ὀ μικρόν* and *ὦ μέγα*) and of a digraph for *u*. The members of the Glagolitic series that can be traced back to Greek originals are generally regarded, since Taylor and Jagić,¹¹ as having been deliberately stylised as uncials without ligatures from the Byzantine minuscule (cursive) of the 9th century. The differences between Glagolitic and Cyrillic are in the general conformation of the letters, which have to be mastered as two distinct systems, and in certain points of phonological detail, viz., the use of one symbol for *ja* and *ě*, the presence of *g'*, discrimination between *e* and *jē*, and the absence of Greek *ξ* and *ψ* in Glagolitic. The non-Greek symbols of both alphabets, in effect about a third of the total, have been variously and intricately explained as descended from Semitic (Samaritan and Hebrew), Coptic (Greco-Egyptian), and even supposedly ancient Albanian sources,¹² and some investigators (e.g. Taylor) have attempted to interpret them as Greek minuscule digraphs.

We have already learnt that the priority of the Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabets has been vigorously debated by two irreconcilable schools of thought down to recent times. F. Durych (in 1777), Dobrovský, and Russians like Lavrov, Pogodin, and Sobolevskij in the 19th century were prone to regard Cyrillic as the foundation and scaffolding of Glagolitic, and A. Rahlfs has shown that the Greek characters in the alphabetic tables adduced by Taylor and Jagić in support of their theories hardly present a true likeness of the 9th-century Greek minuscule. If these doubts are valid, and if the convictions of Georgiev,¹³ which favour the primacy of Cyrillic, should ultimately prevail, the entire classification of Old Bulgarian

¹¹ I. Taylor, "Über den Ursprung des glagolitischen Alphabets" (*Archiv für slavische Philologie*, V, Berlin, 1881); V. Jagić, *Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1913²).

¹² Cf. E. Ф. Карский, *Славянская кирилловская палеография* (Ленинград, 1928); J. Vajs, *Rukověť hlaholské paleografie* (Prague, 1932); E. Георгиев, *op. cit.* (fn. 7).

¹³ *Op. cit.* in fn. 7.

MSS. would need to be reversed, and the fewer Cyrillic codices would have to be given precedence over the more numerous Glagolitic. It must be admitted, however, that the received order of the MSS. has a great deal to recommend it linguistically as well as psychologically, quite apart from palæographic evidence, and the few ancient references to the alphabet of St. Cyril's specific invention would seem to suggest that the more original of the two was also the older. Glagolitic is so much less like Greek than the Greek-looking Cyrillic that it would naturally have been chosen for a mission which was as much political as it was religious, in order to efface its origin in territories subject to the rival fiat of Rome. Moreover a cultivated mind of "philological" bent, such as we know St. Cyril's to have been, would presumably reject the easier course of merely copying the Greek characters. St. Cyril's familiarity with Semitic alphabets and perhaps Semitic languages ¹⁴ would also claim satisfaction, and the formidable task of creating an altogether new alphabet for a still unwritten language no doubt took him out of himself and perhaps quite unconsciously led him to introduce into his work the complexities of his scholarly temperament. The plain and angular Cyrillic gives, by contrast, the impression of an attempt by a less original and more practical mind. The two alphabets have survived in a modified form to the present day. A late 17th-century Russian revision of Cyrillic (*graždanka*) is used for modern Russian, White Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, and Serbian, but varies in the number and character of its component letters from one language to another. Glagolitic, in a later, less crabbed outline is entirely restricted to ecclesiastical use and to a few Croatian monasteries in the *č*a-dialect area, both littoral and insular.

V

Old Church Slavonic appears to have been devised as a literary *κοινή διάλεκτος*, for which Byzantine Greek served as the obvious model. This would consequently impose a broad uniformity of grammar and vocabulary and concurrently give scope to local linguistic differentiation, and the extant MSS., with their patent lack of homogeneity, would seem to reflect considerable freedom in the handling of the literary language. Whatever the speech codified by St. Cyril and St. Methodius may have been like, the Old Church Slavonic which has come down to us is far from uniform

¹⁴ Cf. *inter alia* E. Minns, "Saint Cyril Really Knew Hebrew" (*Mélanges publiées en l'honneur de P. Boyer*, Paris, 1925).

in either grammar or spelling, and accordingly attempts have been made to determine the local source of the various MSS. on which it is based. Phonetic and, to a less extent, morphological criteria are used for this purpose, and the application of these, coupled with historical evidence, has resulted in the establishment of Czech (Moravian), Macedonian, and East Bulgarian recensions of the language in that chronological order. This constitutes the final phase of classification. The initial is represented by the recognition of the alphabetic dichotomy. Leskien contents himself with a broad and "natural" division into Glagolitic and Cyrillic MSS.¹⁵ Vondrák¹⁶ expands this palæographic classification by introducing the time factor and marshals his material in historical order. Conev¹⁷ and especially Kul'bakin¹⁸ make their classifications an intersection of three sets of criteria—alphabetic, chronological, and dialectal. All these investigators draw on the results of both linguistic and palæographic research.

The phonetic criteria of classification consist of a limited number of characteristics, which are adduced by all students of the MSS., but differently emphasised. They include such major characteristics as the use and differentiation of nasal vowels (*ę*, *ǫ*) and so-called "surds" (Russ. *gluchiye*, Bulg. *erove*) or semivowels (*ъ*, *ь*, transcribed *ǔ*, *ǖ*) and the presence of *št/žd* (< **tj/dj*, **sk/st* + *j* or a front vowel), as well as such minor ones as the differentiation of *dz* and *z*, the use of epenthetic *l'*, *sc* < *sk* before *ě* and *i* of diphthongal origin, and the semantic synonymy of *ě* and *ja*, which are represented by the same letter in the Glagolitic alphabet. These features and certain others (e.g. the use of *y* and discrimination between *e* and *ě*) are conjectured to have characterised the language that St. Cyril had reduced to writing. In the main they are reproduced in 18th-century copies of the original MSS., but these already disclose the presence of literary dialects, which no doubt incorporate features of the copyist's mother tongue. We may distinguish two such literary dialects, both Bulgarian, which are substantially like Apostolic Slavonic. One of them illustrates a kind of vowel harmony, i.e. the assimilation of *ǔ* (*ъ*) and *ǖ* (*ь*) to the vowel of the following syllable, and the substitution of *ǔ* for *ǖ* after *š/ž*. The third literary

¹⁵ *Grammatik der albulgarischen (altkirchenslavischen) Sprache* (Heidelberg, 1920²⁻³).

¹⁶ *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1912²).

¹⁷ *История на българския език*, I (София, 1919).

¹⁸ *Граматика церковно-славянскаго языка по древнейшим памятникам* (Энци. слав. фил., X, Петроград, 1915); *Древне-церковно-славянский язык* (Харьков, 1917²), and *Le vieux-slave* (Paris, 1929).

dialect, which, in contrast to the other two, appears to be Moravian, has *c/z* for *št/žd* and shows no signs of vowel harmony. In the 11th century, with the inroads of the local dialects on the literary language, the dialectal differences in the MSS. are further emphasised, and we can already distinguish two predominant types, viz., a south-western (Macedonian) and a north-eastern (East Bulgarian). The former illustrates the change of *ŭ* and *ĭ* into *o* and *e* respectively, with some MSS. exhibiting the additional change of *o* into *u*, which is regarded as a specifically Serbian feature, and others the breakdown of the correlation *ę/ǫ*. The north-eastern group of MSS. generally retains *ŭ*, but divergences in the treatment of *ĭ* make it possible to subdivide this group into MSS. which have original *ĭ* and those which have *e* from *ĭ*.

Besides phonetic criteria, grammatical and lexical ones are resorted to as auxiliaries in classification. The grammatical comprise morphological and syntactic features such as the general discrimination between masculine *o*- and *u*-stems in declension; the ending *-oǫ/-eǫ* in the instr. sing. of *ā*-stems; a masculine nom. sing. of the present participle active in *-y* (e.g. *bery*, "taking"); uncontracted forms of the definite ("articulate") adjective (e.g. m. gen. sing. *-ajego*, dat. *-ujemu*, etc.); the ending *tŭ* in the 3rd person sing. and plur. of the present tense (e.g. *beretŭ*, "he takes"; *berotŭ*, "they take"); conservation of the primary or "asigmatic" aorist (e.g. *padŭ*, "I fell"; *padŭ*, "they fell") and of the shorter "sigmatic" or *s*-aorist in certain verbs (e.g. *věsŭ*, "I led"; *věsę*, "they led") with a corresponding paucity of the longer sigmatic types (e.g. *vedochŭ*, "I led"; *vedošę*, "they led"); the presence of uncontracted imperfects (e.g. *veděachŭ*, "I was leading," *veděachŭ*, "they were leading"); the formation of the conditional mood with the auxiliary paradigm (*bimŭ-bi-bi-bimŭ-biste-bŭ*); the use of the possessive dative for the genitive (e.g. *skřižiti zobomŭ*, "gnashing of teeth"); the dative absolute construction (e.g. *pozdě byvŭšju*, "as it was late"); the locative case without a preposition (e.g. *i iscělě otrokŭ tomŭ časě*, "and the child recovered in that hour"); and differentiation between the indefinite (nominal) and the definite (pronominal) form of the adjective, which results from suffixation of the 3rd person pronoun as a deictic morpheme to the basic nominal form. The lexical criteria are fewer and comprise the discriminative use of affixes in derivation (e.g. *pqđiti*, "to drive"; *raspqđiti*, "to scatter") and a preference for direct Greek loanwords to native translations (e.g. *vlasfimiĭa/chula*, "blasphemy") and for words discarded in later MSS. for other synonyms (e.g.

balii, "physician" for *vračŭ*; *godina*, "hour" for *časŭ*; *sŭnimŭ*, "congregation" for *sŭborŭ*).

Of the principal Old Church Slavonic MSS., seven are Glagolitic, viz., the Kiev Missal (or Folia), Codex Zographensis, Codex Marianus, Codex Assemanianus, Psalterium Sinaiticum, Euchologium Sinaiticum, and Glagolita Clozianus, and two are Cyrillic, viz., the Book of Savva and Codex Suprasliensis. Russian scholarship, followed among others by Ohijenko¹⁹ and Weingart,²⁰ adds the dated Ostromir Gospels (1056-1057) to the Cyrillic group, but Western Slavists exclude it as bearing the obvious marks of Russian recension. The subsidiary MSS., like the Kiev Missal, consist, at best, of a few folia on parchment or vellum and are insufficient, whether taken singly or collectively, to give more than a "glimpse" of the language. The Glagolitic ones are few and include the fragmentary Evangelium Achridanum, the Prague Fragments, and the Macedonian Glagolitic Folium. On the other hand the minor Cyrillic MSS. are fairly numerous, as if to make up for the relative lack of major ones. Among them we find the Undol'skij Folia, the Chilandar (or Chilen-dar) Folia, the Stuck Psalter fragment, now lost, and the Macedonian Cyrillic Folium (Hilferding's), as well as P. A. Lavrov's Zographus Folia, discovered on Mount Athos in 1906, and the Tsar Samuel Epitaph of 993. In all these cases, except the last, we have to do with fragments of no more than 2-5 parchment folia, but the cumulative impression is clearer than that yielded by the minor Glagolitica, not only because they exceed these in number, but because of their greater variety of content.

VI

The subject matter of the Old Church Slavonic texts is of three kinds, viz., Scriptural, liturgical, and patristic. The nucleus of the Scriptural is the Gospel narrative, either in full (*tetraevangelium*, e.g. Codex Zographensis) or in excerpt (*evangelistarium* or *lectionarium*, e.g. the Book of Savva). The Book of Psalms is imperfectly reproduced by the Psalterium Sinaiticum. Relics of the Roman liturgy are contained in the Kiev Missal. There are ritual prayers in the Euchologium Sinaiticum and passion offices in the Prague Fragments. Patristic lore, comprising homilies and legends, makes up the Glagolita Clozianus, Codex Suprasliensis, Chilandar Folia, and Zographus Folia.

The *evangelistaria* appear at the outset of Cyrillo-Methodian

¹⁹ Найважливіші пам'ятки церковно-слов'янської мови, I (Warsaw, 1929).

²⁰ *Rukověť jazyka staroslověnského*, I-II (Prague, 1937-1938).

translation, but it is, naturally, the *tetraevangelium* and the psalter which represent its peak and constitute the foundation of the study of Old Church Slavonic. Of the Gospel codices, the Codex Zographensis and Codex Marianus reflect the same original, and the first is, on the whole, the more conservative transcript. The original *tetraevangelium* may be restored on the basis of these texts and of auxiliary Cyrillic material like the Book of Savva and the Evangelium Achridanum, as well as the Ostromir Gospels, if used with caution. For not a few Gospel texts we are fortunate to have, as it were, four "synoptic" variants, and the *lacunæ* in the others may sometimes be filled in from the minor MSS. and from 12th-century monuments. In comparison with the task of restoring the *tetraevangelium*, however, that of restoring the original *evangelistarium* is exceedingly difficult, because MSS. of it are not only incomplete, but they do not coincide throughout. The Psalter, a minor nucleus, was the starting-point of a translation of the Old Testament, which, as we have observed, legend ascribes to St. Methodius. He is supposed to have completed this formidable task, which did not include the Book of the Maccabees, in under six months, after his return to Moravia from a visit to Constantinople. His version of the Old Testament, apart from fragments of the Book of Psalms, has not been preserved. The Euchologium Sinaiticum, which shares its attribute with the surviving Psalter fragment, appears to be a codification of several Glagolitic MSS. differing among themselves in age and place of composition. Parts of it probably arose in the Moravo-Pannonian archdiocese, and one confessional prayer (Fol. 72) is a translation of an Old High German prototype known to literature as the *St. Emmeramer Gebet*.²¹ Like this, the thirty-eight collects, offertories, prefaces (*præfationes*), and posteucharistic prayers of the Kiev Missal closely follow a Western text, in this case the Latin of the Codex Padanus (D47), but there are errors in the interpretation. The fragmentary *menæum* Glagolita Clozianus is made up *inter alia* of parts of four homilies, two of them by St. John Chrysostom. There are correspondences between these and the homilies in the Codex Suprasliensis, in one case—that of St. Epiphanius—word for word. The contents of the *menologium* Codex Suprasliensis consist of roughly three sections, which do not correspond to its present accidental distribution in three different places, viz., legends, mostly martyrological, Easter homilies, and laudatory biographies of saints. Twenty of the twenty-three homilies are Chrysostom's, and their total number

²¹ V. V. Vondrák, *Církevněslovanská chrestomathie* (Brno, 1925), pp. 81–83.

(23) is nearly the same as that of the included legends (24), which makes the massive codex, as a collection, half-homiletic and half-hagiographic.²² The Greek originals of some of the legends are, incidentally, still undiscovered.

VII

For detailed analysis, the various Old Church Slavonic manuscript sources may be arranged, according to the alphabet in which they are written, in two comprehensive groups, and these may be graded chronologically on the basis of palaeographic and linguistic evidence, or else the alphabetic division may be disregarded and the MSS. grouped regionally. The former treatment is the more general, but as the latter embodies the results of dialectological research, which are not easily accessible, its findings may be given here as a preface to the commoner classification. Ivan Ohijenko,²³ for instance, divides the MSS. of the 10th and 11th centuries in three groups or recensions, viz., South, West, and East Slavonic, and subdivides the first and the last of these into Bulgarian/Serbian and Ukrainian/Russian respectively. The Bulgarian division includes the Codex Zographensis, Codex Assemanianus, Codex Suprasliensis, the Book of Savva, Psalterium Sinaiticum, Euchologium Sinaiticum, Chilandar Folia, Macedonian Glagolitic Folium, Macedonian Cyrillic Folium, Evangelium Achridanum, Undol'skij Folia, Stuck Psalter, and the Tsar Samuel Epitaph. The Codex Marianus and Glagolita Clozianus, on the contrary, are grouped together as Serbian. The West Slavonic corpus is equally small and consists only of the Kiev Missal, classified as a "transitional" MS. between South and West Slavonic recensional types, and the Prague Fragments. The Russian recension of Old Church Slavonic begins with the Ostromir Gospels, which, after the Tsar Samuel Epitaph, is the earliest dated monument of the language. But these and the remaining numerous items of this group are strictly outside our survey because of the prevalence of Old Russian characteristics. By contrast, the Zographus Folia disclose the features of an archaic type of Old Church Slavonic, but so far their "local colour" remains a matter of doubt. According to N. van Wijk²⁴ the criterion of the semi-vowels makes all the major Glagolitic MSS. West Bulgarian (Macedonian) and the major Cyrillic MSS. East Bulgarian. On the other hand, the minor Glagolitica emerge as "Eastern," the minor

²² M. Weingart, *op. cit.* in fn. 20.

²³ *Op cit.* in fn 19.

²⁴ *Geschichte der althochenslavischen Sprache* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1931).

Cyrillica as "Western," though van Wijk concedes that the Macedonian Glagolitic Folium and the Undol'skij Folia may be Macedonian. As for the Cyrillic Epitaph of 993, its locality, curiously enough, is Lake Prespa in Western Bulgaria. Van Wijk's "West Bulgarian" and "East Bulgarian" correspond to Kul'bakin's "South-Western" and "North-Eastern" grouping.²⁵

At this point we may proceed to catalogue and describe the major and minor sources of Old Church Slavonic. The Glagolitica seem to most scholars to be the more ancient, and represent two distinct recensions. The Bulgaro-Macedonian includes those which have just been given under the heading of Bulgarian and Serbian MSS., and the isolated Moravian (West Slavonic) consists of the Kiev Missal and the Prague Fragments.

The Codex Zographensis, an incomplete *tetraevangelium* on 303 parchment folia, derives its name from the Bulgarian monastery on Mt. Athos, where it was housed till the monks presented it to Tsar Alexander II in 1860. It is now in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library in Leningrad. The text of the codex begins with Matthew iii. 11, and there are several folia missing in the middle. The Gospels end at Fol. 288, the rest (Folia 289-303) being a *synaxarion*, i.e. a calendar of the Church year illustrated with lives of saints. The Codex Zographensis would seem to have been copied in the 10th century, apparently in Macedonia, except the *synaxarion*, whose defective *glagolica* shows the marks of a later period. Cyrillic annotations appear in various parts of the MS. associated with the name of the "sinful priest Ioanĭ," who writes a 12th-century hand. V. I. Grigorovič was the first to describe the codex,²⁶ and a facsimile of it was made in 1857, but it was not published till 1879 by Vatroslav Jagić, whose elaborate edition²⁷ represents the beginning of an epoch in the study of both the Glagolitic alphabet and Old Church Slavonic grammar.

The Codex Marianus, also a *tetraevangelium* (173 parchment folia), first edited by Jagić and now in the Lenin Library in Moscow, appeared in St. Petersburg, in 1883,²⁸ and has a history similar to that of the Codex Zographensis. It had been acquired by Grigorovič at Athos thirty years previously. Part of it (St. Luke) was photographically reproduced in 1881, two years before the

²⁵ "Du classement des textes vieux-slaves" (*Revue des études slaves*, II, 3-4, Paris, 1922).

²⁶ Очерк учёного путешествия по Европейской Турции (Уч. зап. каз. уп., III, Казань, 1848).

²⁷ *Quattuor evangeliorum codex glagoliticus olim Zographensis nunc Petropolitanus* (Berlin, 1879).

²⁸ *Quattuor evangeliorum versionis palæoslovenicæ codex Marianus* (Berlin, 1883).

appearance of Jagić's Cyrillic transcript. Jagić thought the MS. to have originated in 10th-century Serbia, but the Bulgarian scholar L. Miletič prefers to regard it as Macedonian.

Unlike the two foregoing codices, the Codex Assemanianus is the oldest extant Glagolitic *evangelistarium* and was known as early as the 18th century, having been discovered by Canon J. Assemani, the Syrian custodian of the Vatican Library, at Jerusalem in 1736. It comprises 159 parchment folia, and the end is missing. Dobrovský knew it in his day and characterised it as a 13th-century MS. in his *Institutiones*. A consensus of modern opinion, on the other hand, regards it as a Macedonian codex of the 11th century. Its calendar of Macedonian saints includes the name of Methodius, who is described as the "brother of Cyril the philosopher." F. Rački's (1865) and I. Črnčić's (1878) editions of it are both likely to be superseded by that of Vajs and Kurz.^{28a}

The two MSS. associated with St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai, viz., the Psalterium Sinaiticum and the Euchologium Sinaiticum, were copied hurriedly in the course of a month by the Czech L. Geitler "under the oppressive surveillance of the monks."²⁹ The Psalterium, edited by Geitler,³⁰ covers 177 parchment folia, and its text begins with the first and ends with the 137th Psalm. It seems to be the work of several Macedonian copyists, and palæographic evidence assigns it to the 11th century. As a relatively late discovery the Psalterium Sinaiticum was unknown to Miklosich when he published his *Altislovenische Formenlehre in Paradigmen* (1874). The Euchologium Sinaiticum, also edited by Geitler,³¹ has 106 folia and looks like a fragment of a much larger MS. It is an 11th-century liturgical text of Macedonian origin. The original appears to have been Latin, but some of the prayers go back to Greek prototypes and one is of German origin. Geitler's editions of the two MSS. were naturally defective and have been replaced by more accurate later ones, viz., S. Severjanov's of the Psalterium³² and J. Frček's of the Euchologium.³³

The fragment of the Orthodox breviary or *μηναία βιβλία* (Russ. *čet'ja mineja*), known since Kopitar as the Glagolita Clozianus, contains both homiletic and hagiographic matter arranged according to the days of the Christian month and consists of fourteen parch-

^{28a} *Evangeliarium Assemani*. I. *Prolegomena* (Prague, 1929).

²⁹ V. W. Vondrák, *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1912²).

³⁰ *Psalterium*. *Glagolski spomenik manastira Sinai brda* (Zagreb, 1883).

³¹ *Euchologium*. *Glagolski spomenik manastira Sinai brda* (Zagreb, 1882).

³² *Синайская псалтырь*. Глаголический памятник XI века (Петроград, 1922).

³³ *Euchologium Sinaiticum* (Paris, 1933).

ment folia, twelve of them housed in the Tridentine Museo Civico, and the remainder in the Ferdinandeum at Innsbruck. It was an heirloom of Count Paris Cloz, who bequeathed it at his death in 1856 to the Trento (Germ. Trient) Municipal Library, and it derives its name from its former owner. There is reason to believe that it formed part of a much larger MS., which is known to have belonged to Johannes Frangepani of Veglia (Krk) in the 15th century. Palæographic criteria define it as an 11th-century monument of Macedonian origin, copied by a Croatian *glagolita*. Kopitar's edition of 1836³⁴ contains a grammar of the language and was an important event in contemporary philological scholarship, but it has given place to Vondrák's more comprehensive treatment.³⁵

Although only a fragment, the Kiev Missal must be ranged here with the foregoing and, generally, with the major Glagolitic MSS. It is made up of seven parchment folia embodying a Roman missal or *sacramentarium* of thirty-eight prayers. The language of the text shows one outstanding West Slavonic feature, viz., the presence of *c/z* for *št/žd*, but otherwise it is remarkably regular in its archaic phonology and illustrates a scrupulous discrimination in the use of the correlated nasals (*ę/ǫ*) and semivowels (*ǐ/ǔ*). Its abundant diacritics have been subjected to close scrutiny by Sievers³⁶ from the standpoint of his very subjective *Schallanalyse* and interpreted as aids to recitative. G. L. Trager, who has also studied them, is less fanciful and distinguishes stresses as well as purely imitative Greek-style breathings.³⁷ Jagić's classical edition of the Kiev Missal³⁸ has now to be supplemented by P. C. Mohlberg's, which gives the text of its conjectured Roman prototype.³⁹

The minor Glagolitic fragments are, as we have seen, even smaller than the Kiev Missal. The Evangelium Achridanum, found by Grigorovič at Ochrida (Yugoslavia) in 1845 and now preserved at Odessa University, consists of two badly damaged parchment folia of an *evangelistarium*. It was first published by Sreznevskij in 1866. Linguistically it seems to be older than it is palæographically, and Geitler assigned it to the oldest period of Old Church Slavonic. An equally ancient MS. is the so-called Macedonian Glagolitic

³⁴ *Glagolita Clotianus, id est Codicis Glagolitici . . . λειψανον . . . Interis totidem Cyrillicis transcriptum* (Vienna, 1836).

³⁵ *Glagolita Clozův* (Prague, 1893).

³⁶ *Die altslawischen Verstecke von Kiew und Freising* (Leipzig, 1925).

³⁷ *The Old Church Slavonic Kiev Fragment. Its Accents and their Relation to Modern Slavonic Accentuation* (Language Monograph, 13, Baltimore, 1933).

³⁸ "Glagolitica. Würdigung neuentdeckter Fragmente" (*Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, XXXVIII, Vienna, 1890).

³⁹ *Il messale Glagolitico di Kiew (Sec. IX) ed il suo prototipo Romano del Sec. VI.-VII* (Rome, 1928).

Folium, alternatively known as the Rila Folium, because Grigorovič discovered it in the Bulgarian monastery at Rila. It is thought to have originated in the 11th century, although it shows traces of the language of Tsar Simeon's day. The text consists of parts of two homilies translated from the *Parænesis* ("Exhortation") of Ephrem Syrus. The MS. is now in the keeping of the Academy of Sciences, and there are two editions of it, one by Sreznevskij (1866), the other and better by G. A. Il'jinskij (1909). Its present lamentable condition is paralleled by that of the Prague Fragments, which may be included with certain reservations among the canonical sources of Old Church Slavonic. This MS. consists of two defective folia, the first of which is a palimpsest superimposing one Glagolitic text on another and the second a rather older piece of work. Like all the minor Glagolitica, it has been traced back to the 11th century and, like the Kiev Missal, seems to have a Moravian source, in view of the characteristic West Slavonic substitution of *c/z* for *št/žd*. Šafařík edited the Prague Fragments in 1857, two years after their discovery in the Metropolitan Chapter-House of the city, and Vondrák has supplied a later edition (1904).

The Cyrillic MSS. consist of two large codices and a series of smaller monuments, containing, at best (e.g. the Štuck Psalter), no more than a half-dozen parchment folia. The major Cyrillica are the Book of Savva, sometimes described as the Savva Gospels, and the Codex Suprasliensis. The first covers 129 folia, or rather more than half of an estimated original MS. of 200. It is, as we have said, an incomplete *evangelistarium* with an attached *synaxarion*, originating in the 11th century, presumably as the transcript of a Glagolitic prototype (cf. the use of one character for *ě* and *ja*), and it is supposed by Vondrák to have been copied in a part of North-Eastern Bulgaria, where the Slavs were later absorbed by Rumanians. Formerly in the keeping of a Pskov monastery, the Book of Savva is now in the Moscow Historical Museum. V. N. Ščepkin's edition of it ⁴⁰ was an improvement on Sreznevskij's,⁴¹ but nevertheless it has been shown by N. M. Karinskij ⁴² to contain a considerable number of errors. Ščepkin too is responsible for the fullest analysis of the Codex that has so far been made.⁴³

The other major MS. of the Cyrillic division, the extensive Codex

⁴⁰ Саввина книга (СПБ, 1903).

⁴¹ Древние славянские памятники юсowego письма. Сборник III (СПБ, 1868).

⁴² "Перечень важнейших неточностей последнего издания Саввиной книги" (изв. И.А.Н., XIX, 3, СПБ, 1914).

⁴³ Рассуждение о языке Саввиной книги (СПБ, 1899).

Suprasliensis, consists of 285 parchment folia and represents the *menæum* for the month of March. It owes its discovery to the Uniate *canonicus* Bobrovskij, who came across it in the Suprasl' Monastery near Belostok (Pol. Białystok) in 1824. The lion's share of the codex (118 folia) is now in the Lyceum Library at Ljubljana, a small fraction (5 folia) is in Warsaw, and the remaining sixteen folia are in the Leningrad Public Library. The Codex Suprasliensis came to be partitioned in this way at the death of Kopitar in 1844. Bobrovskij had sent him the MS. for study, and Kopitar had not been able to return it in its entirety before he died. This 11th-century MS. remains a fragment even *in extenso*, with the beginning and end missing and considerable *lacunæ* in the middle portion. Like the Book of Savva, it is apparently of East Bulgarian origin and uses various symbols for the front nasal (ѣ), but its prototype, unlike that of the Book of Savva, is likely to have been Cyrillic. The Codex Suprasliensis contains a notable quantity of untranslated græcisms. It was edited in 1851 by Miklosich, who put it under contribution for his Old Church Slavonic grammar and dictionary,^{43a} and has engaged the attention of a number of scholars down to recent times.⁴⁴

The minor Cyrillic monuments have already been mentioned by name. The Undol'skij Folia, two pages of an *evangelistarium*, which receive their designation from the Russian bibliographer who discovered them, are at present in the Lenin Library in Moscow. Sreznevskij (1868), Jagić (1882), and Karskij (1904) each produced an edition of the MS. Ščepkin thought it a Cyrillic copy of a Glagolitic original.⁴⁵ Like the Undol'skij Folia, the Chilandar Folia are a two-page fragment of an 11th-century MS. They take their name from a monastery on Mt. Athos, where Grigorovič found them in 1848, and are at present housed in Odessa. The catechetical text, which represents a version of a work by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, can be completed from a later MS. Russian philologists, e.g. Sreznevskij (1868), Kul'bakin (1900), and Karinskij (1911), as well as Jagić, who was most closely associated with Russian scholarship, have naturally been prominent in studying it. Its 11th-century origin is shared by the relatively original text of the Macedonian Cyrillic Folium (Hilferding's), which freely adapts John the Exarch's

^{43a} *Monumenta linguæ palæoslovenicæ e codice Suprasliensi* (Vienna, 1851).

⁴⁴ E.g. A. Margulies, *Der altkirchenslavische Codex Suprasliensis* (Heidelberg, 1927); K. H. Meyer, *Altkirchenslavisch-griechisches Wörterbuch des Codex Suprasliensis* (Hamburg, 1935).

⁴⁵ "Листки Ундольского" [(Сборник статей посвященных, Ф.Ф. Фортунатову, Варшава, 1902).

"prologue" to his version of St. John Damascene's *De fide orthodoxa* ("Ἐκδοσις ἀκριβῆς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως"). The parchment of this folum, however, is in a very poor condition, and there are considerable and unbridgeable gaps. Hilferding discovered it in Macedonia and was the first to publish it in 1863. It has been examined by Il'jinskij,⁴⁶ who is inclined to push its origin back to the end of the crucial century. A similar patristic text, but longer and better preserved, is the *Zographus Folia*, a fragment of the major monastic Regula ("Ὁροι κατὰ πλάτος) by St. Basil the Great. We owe our still limited knowledge of it to Lavrov's edition of 1930.⁴⁷ As the last item of this group of MSS. we may consider the *Štuck Psalter*, whose whereabouts are now unknown. According to Sreznevskij, who published it in 1868, it was a "recent discovery" at that time. A portion of the original five folia was found among his private papers. More than one hand appears to have participated in copying it, and Jagić was unwilling to consider it as a member of the Old Church Slavonic canon and allocated it to the South Slavonic class of recensions.

Apart from the foregoing Glagolitic and Cyrillic MSS. there is one in Latin, which shows very strong Slovenian affinities. These hardly make it expedient to treat it as an Old Bulgarian MS., though its language may be covered by the designation "Old Church Slavonic," and we shall consider it here on that account. It has been known to Slavonic philology as the *Freising Folia* since its discovery in a Bavarian monastery in 1803, and it is now in the Munich State Library. The three texts into which it naturally falls are a confessional formula, the exegesis of a homily, and a confessional prayer, all of them translated from Latin originals. Vostokov (1827), Kopitar (1836), Miklosich (1854), Vondrák (1896), J. Stanislav (1932), and the Slovenes Nahtigal and Ramovš have all studied it, and Sievers, in his later years, thought it to be in verse.⁴⁸ A date as early as the 10th century has been suggested for the MS. by German palæography, but Vondrák, who was satisfied that it was of Pannonian origin, preferred to regard it as belonging to the next.⁴⁹

VIII

The ten principal Old Church Slavonic monuments, investigated philologically, give results which lend themselves to convenient

⁴⁶ Македонский листок (СПБ, 1906).

⁴⁷ *Les feuillets de Zograph* (Paris, 1930).

⁴⁸ *Op cit.* in fn. 36.

⁴⁹ "Altslovenische Studien" (*Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Kl., CXXII, Vienna, 1890).

summary. The Kiev Missal is, palæographically and in language, one of the most archaic Old Church Slavonic MSS. It is remarkable for its almost systematic differentiation between the "surd" and nasal pairs, but its frequent use of *c/z*, and sporadically of *šč/s*, for the requisite Bulgarian-type *št/žd* (e.g. *čistjęce*, "honouring" for *čistjęšte*; *otūdazǐ*, "give back" for *otūdažǫdi*; *podasǐ*, "give" for *podazǫdi*; *zaščiti*, "protect" for *zaštiti*) is perhaps its most salient characteristic and at the same time convincing proof that the MS. does not derive from Bulgaria. A similar phonetic "consistency" is one feature of the important Codex Zographensis, whose second half, containing the Gospel of St. John, appears to be the older. In the more recent first half we find, as a sign of antiquity, the regular correlation of *z/dz*, represented by well-defined symbols, and, on the other hand, the unaccented "surds" are assimilated throughout to the vowel of the next syllable ("Jagić's law"), which offers an incipient, if "inverted" vowel-harmony (e.g. *bǫrati*, "to take" for *bǫrati*; *vǫdova*, "widow" for *vǫdova*; fem. *dǫvě*, "two" for *dǫvě*), epenthetic *l'* in a palatal environment is fairly general, and *sk* followed by *ě* and *i* of diphthongal origin normally gives *sc*, seldom *st*. The almost equally important Codex Marianus is more conservative than the Codex Zographensis in forms (e.g. uncontracted adjectives, frequency of asigmatic aorists, etc.) and vocabulary, but its phonetic system is more recent. There is the substitution of *o* and *e* for *ǫ* and *ǐ* respectively, *q* and *u* are occasionally confused, *dz* becomes *z*, as in the older part of the Codex Zographensis, *sk* before "diphthongal" *ě* and *i* becomes *sc*, and *ǐ* becomes *ǫ* after hush sibilants and affricates (e.g. masc. nom. sing. *bračǫnii*, "bridal" for *bračǫnii*). Like the Codex Zographensis, this codex exhibits *št/žd* for the *c/z* of the Kiev Missal, and these make its South Slavonic origin certain. The Codex Assemanianus prefers *ǫ* to *ǐ* and illustrates the lapse of "weak" or unaccented "surds" and the change of "strong" or accented ones into *o/e*, in which it resembles the Codex Marianus. Other peculiarities of the Codex Assemanianus are less prominent: *dz* occurs, *st* results from *sk* followed by *ě* and *i*, there is no epenthetic *l'*, and, as in the Codex Marianus, *ǐ* before *j* becomes *i*, where in the Codex Zographensis there is hesitation in such cases between *ǐ* and *i*. The Psalterium Sinaiticum and the Euchologium Sinaiticum both have certain common features, viz., syncope of unaccented *ǫ* and *ǐ* and their change into *o* and *e* respectively when accented, and the interchange of *ǫ* and *ǐ* in connection with vowel assimilation or harmony is regular. Both MSS. sometimes replace *q* by *o*, a Bulgaro-

Macedonian characteristic, and less frequently by *u*, and lexically the Psalterium bears some resemblance to the Codex Marianus in its relatively archaic character. The Glagolita Clozianus too has important linguistic contacts with the Codex Marianus. As in this, *o* and *u* are interchangeable, *ŭ* is preferred to *i* after hush sibilants and affricates, assimilation of *ŭ* and *i* follows Jagić's law of vowel harmony, accented *ŭ* and *i* are lowered to *o* and *e* respectively, unaccented "surds" tend to disappear, *dz* loses its plosive element, *i* remains before vowels (e.g. *abie*, "thereupon"), and *sc* results from the effect of *ě* and *i* on *sk*. The two major Cyrillic codices show linguistic affinity to the Glagolitic. The Book of Savva often presents *i* for *ŭ* after hush sibilants and affricates and before palatalised consonants; its accented "surds" do not change into *o* and *e*, but the lapse of its unaccented ones is frequent; *jě* does not occur at all; "uniotated" *e*, a Bulgarian characteristic, is usual; *ě* instead of *ja* follows palatalised *l'* and *r'*; and there is no *dz*. In the Codex Suprasliensis, while accented *i* often becomes *e*, accented *ŭ* rarely becomes *o*; interchange of *ŭ* and *i* is a common phenomenon; *e* and *jě* are distinguished initially, the former appearing in Greek words; *ě* for *ja* occurs after *n'*, *l'*, and *r'*; epenthetic *l'* is exceptional; *sk* followed by *ě* and *i* becomes *st*; and, as in the Book of Savva, *z* is exclusively used.

IX

The importance of Old Church Slavonic is considerable. Unlike the "isolated" Gothic of Wulfila, which is "embalmed" in the Codex Argenteus and has left no literary tradition to commemorate it, Old Church Slavonic survives in a number of MSS., which have been enumerated and studied above, and, as the modified Church Slavonic, extends over centuries of development in a multiplicity of East and South Slavonic recensions. As a literary language it is at the source of many other Slavonic literary languages, and to this day a Russianised form of it continues in use as the liturgical medium of all Orthodox Slavs. As the oldest recorded type of Slavonic speech, Old Church Slavonic presents an archaic aspect in sound and structure, and accordingly has often been treated as the representative or "embodiment" of the entirely fictitious, if philologically convenient, Common Slavonic (Protoslavonic).⁵⁰ From the outset of Slavonic studies in the 18th century, i.e. since the pioneer thinking of the Czechs V. F. Durych⁵¹ and J. Dobrovský,

⁵⁰ V. A. Meillet, *Le slave commun* (Paris, 1934²).

⁵¹ *De slavo-bohemica sacri codicis versione* (Prague, 1777).

Old Church Slavonic has been the foundation of research into the nature of the Slavonic language-type. Throughout the 19th century, with the steady inflow of fresh materials, especially in the older curvate or "baroque" Glagolitic script, the status of the language has become increasingly clearer. The stages in this progress are associated with the names of Dobrovský, Kopitar, Miklosich, Leskien, Jagić, and Vondrák. Nearly all the Slavonic-speaking peoples have been provided with adequate grammars of Old Church Slavonic, and non-Slavonic scholars (German, Dutch, Scandinavian, Finnish, Roumanian, and French) have shown keen and unflagging interest in it ever since Franz Bopp, following Dobrovský and correcting him with Kopitar, took it into the first edition of his "Comparative Grammar" ⁵² over a century ago.

W. K. MATTHEWS.

⁵² *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litthauischen, Altslawischen, Gothischen und Deutschen* (Berlin, 1833-1852). "Altslawisch" appears in the title only from Sect. II onwards, i.e. in 1835. In the second edition of this capital work (Berlin, 1857-1861) Bopp draws mainly on Miklosich for his information on Old Church Slavonic.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON RUSSIA, 1949

[THIS list is a continuation of that which appeared in the *Slavonic Review*, Vol. XXVII (1949), pp. 556-62. It covers the period January-December 1949, but includes a few items accidentally omitted from the 1948 list. American publications are not included, apart from a few which have appeared in this country with the imprint of an English publisher. Some of the works listed in the section on *Foreign Relations* are not ostensibly or primarily concerned with Russia, but are included because they devote considerable attention to this country. Reprints are generally omitted, unless the works in question have been out of print for some time.]

ART

- Architecture of the U.S.S.R.* 36 pp. Illus. S.C.R., 1948.
 Bainbridge, H. C. *Peter Carl Fabergé, Goldsmith and Jeweller to the Russian Imperial Court and the Principal Crowned Heads of Europe.* 300 pp. Illus. Batsford. £7 7s.
 Bruce, H. J. *Thirty Dozen Moons.* 189 pp. Constable. 12s. 6d.
 Chen, J. *Russian Painting of the 18th and 19th Centuries.* A commentary and a catalogue [of an exhibition held in London]. 30 pp. Illus. S.C.R., 1948.
 Culshaw, J. *Sergei Rachmaninov.* (Contemporary Composers.) 174 pp. Dobson. 8s. 6d.
 Moisenko, R. *Realist Music.* 25 Soviet Composers. 277 pp. Meridian Books. 15s.
 Rice, T. T. *Russian Art.* 276 pp. 32 pl. Penguin Books. 2s. 6d.
 Rotha, P. (and others). *Eisenstein, 1898-1948.* 28 pp. S.C.R. (Film Section), 1948.
 Werth, A. *Musical Uproar in Moscow.* 103 pp. Turnstile Press. 6s.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS

- Buber, M. *Under Two Dictators.* Transl. by E. Fitzgerald. xii + 331 pp. Gollancz. 21s.
 Dukes, Sir P. *Secret Agent "ST 25."* Adventure and Romance in the Secret Intelligence Service in Red Russia. (Pocket Library Series.) 288 pp. Cassell. 6s. (Reprint.)
 Haldane, C. *Truth Will Out.* 339 pp. Weidenfeld & Nicolson. 12s. 6d.
 Keyserlingk, R. W. *Unfinished History.* 329 pp. Hale, 1948. 12s. 6d.
 Koriakov, M. *I'll Never Go Back.* A Red Army Officer Talks. Transl. by N. Wreden. 216 pp. Harrap, 1948. 10s. 6d.
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PHILIP GRIERSON.

Cambridge.

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

A. THE SERBO-BULGARIAN SECRET TREATY OF 19 FEBRUARY, 1897 ¹

IN his account ² of projected alliances between Balkan states, each struggling to achieve for itself the greatest share of the inheritance of the "Sick Man" of Europe, Bouchier commences with the unsuccessful attempt by the Greek statesman, Tricoupis, in 1891, to achieve an understanding with Belgrade and Sofia about the eventual partition of European Turkey. In the following decade, numerous were the political manœuvres but there was never reached even a small measure of agreement. The greatest prospect of a successful alignment, that is before the formation of the actual Balkan League of 1912, occurred in 1904. The Young-Slav idea was then at its most potent and the exchange of visits by students, artists and artisans from Belgrade and Sofia most regular. The atmosphere was such that there was open discussion in both capitals about an impending offensive and defensive alliance between the two countries. Pasić, Milovanović, Kessaptchiev and Dimitri Risov, the Macedonian revolutionary now turned diplomatist, are the names of some of the people who took part in these *pourparlers*. Actually, no agreement was concluded which could have solved the conflicting claims of the Serbs and Bulgarians to possession of certain Macedonian vilayets, and the idea of an offensive alliance was thus put aside. However, a defensive alliance between the two countries was concluded in April 1904. It was a vague understanding and knowledge of it leaked out shortly afterwards through the *Neue Freie Presse*.

With regard to the last decade of the 19th century, in spite of the fratricidal Serbo-Bulgarian war and the Greek-Turkish hostilities, it can be maintained that the restraining influence of Russia and Austria-Hungary eliminated any definitive action by the Balkan states themselves. In spite of the pressure of the Supreme Macedonian Committee which had its headquarters in Sofia, the governments of Bulgaria and Serbia anticipated the fiat of the Austro-Russian Balkan entente by affirming their mutual obligation to desist from any separate action which would upset the *status quo*.

¹ Copies of relevant documents are appended. Wiener Staatsarchiv: Geheim XXXIII/31.

² See the series of five articles in *The Times*, June 1913, entitled "The Balkan League."

They agreed to limit themselves to a policy of cultural penetration in Macedonia and to respect each other's endeavours. Joint military action was envisaged in two sets of circumstances. First, the development of a revolutionary and chaotic situation in northern Macedonia, the preponderantly Slav area, would necessitate a joint Serbo-Bulgarian military occupation to offset oppressive and punitive measures by the Turkish authorities. Secondly, in the event of unilateral Austrian action in Macedonia, which the Serbs would regard as a threat to their independence and would fight against, Bulgaria promised her ally full military support.

Particularly interesting is the following commentary on the 1897 treaty by the Bulgarian minister-president, Stoilov.³ His emphatic indication of Serbian distrust of the Greeks was probably exaggerated and subjective. Actually, when the Tricoupis proposals were being discussed in 1892, Bulgaria withdrew very early from the talks but they continued for some time between Athens and Belgrade, and it was a Serbian draft proposal which was the basis of these extended negotiations. A certain measure of Serbian ill-humour against the Greeks did certainly arise, probably because the latter made agreement impossible, even after receiving reasonable concessions, by enlarging their demands.

EUROF WALTERS.

University College, Exeter.

Der Gesandte in Sofia, Graf Forgách, an den Oesterreich-Ungarischen Minister des Aeussern, Graf Goluchowski, Wien.

No. 21C

Streng vertraulich.

Sofia, am 4. Mai 1904.

Hochgeborener Graf,

Im Verfolge meines ergebensten Berichtes No. 19B vom 20. v.M. ueber die Reisen Risoff's zwischen Sofia und Belgrad, erlaube ich mir die anruhende Relation Legations-Sekretäers von Storck ueber eine confidentielle Unterredung mit einem mit dem Gange der serbisch-bulgarischen Verhandlungen vertrauten Gewaehrsmanne Euer Excellenz ergebenst zu unterbreiten.

Es ist jedenfalls das Bestreben Herrn Risoff's auch irgend welche politische Abmachungen zwischen den zwei Laendern zu Stande zu bringen. Ob dieselben jedoch auf der in der Anlage geschilderten Basis zu einem Abschlusse gelangen werden, erscheint mir zweifelhaft.

³ For a concise summary of the tangle of negotiations during this period, see W. L. Langer: *Diplomacy of Imperialism*, Vol. 1, p. 308 et seq. The author notes the 1897 treaty but makes no reference to the considerations which Stoilov indicated in his secret memorandum.

Genehmigen Euer Excellenz den Ausdruck meiner tiefsten Ehrfurcht.
Forgách.

Beilage zu Bericht Sofia No. 21C vom 4.5.1904.

Heute suchte mich eine ueber die hiesigen und die Balkanverhaelt-nisse im allgemeinen gut informierte Persoenlichkeit auf, die gestern mit Risoff, der somit noch immer hier ist, ueber dessen wiederholte Missionen in Belgrad zu sprechen Gelegenheit hatte.

Risoff, der auf seine angeblichen diplomatischen Erfolge ungemein stolz ist, erklarte meinem Gewaehrsmanne, dass die bekannten wirtschaftlichen und Passpolizeilichen Vereinbarungen zwischen den beiden Nachbarstaaten keineswegs den einzigen Gegenstand seiner Unterhandlungen mit Pasic und Koenig Peter gebildet haetten, sondern dass es sich um die Anbahnung einer Defensiv- und Offensiv- Alliance gehandelt habe, die demnaechst unterzeichnet werden solle.

Zu diesem Zwecke werde Fuerst Ferdinand, Hoechstwelcher nur den Besuch Munir-Bey's abwarte, um dann eine Reise nach Westeuropa anzutreten, mit Koenig Peter in Nisch zusammentreffen. Der Conseilpraesident Petroff und der fuerstl. Kriegsminister Savoff wuerden Seine koenigl. Hoheit dahin begleiten, um den Vertrag zu contrasigniren.

Durch das in Rede stehende Uebereinkommen verpflichten sich die beiden Staaten zu einem gemeinsamen bewaffneten Vorgehen fuer den Fall als Macedonien von einer dritten Macht occupiert werden sollte. Als Basis der Verstaendigung wird die kuenftige Autonomie Macedoniens vereinbart.

Der vorbereitete Vertragstext spricht nur von Macedonien im Allgemeinen—Altserbien wird uebergangen oder doch nicht speciell erwaeht ; nach bulgarischer Auffassung wuerde sonach fuer den Fall einer Occupation dieses letzteren Gebietes, der casus foederis fuer das Fuerstenthum nicht eintreten.

Zum Beschlusse bestimmt der vorbereitete Vertragstext, den mein Gewaehrsmann gelesen haben will, folgendes :

“ En cas de litige, les deux hautes parties contractantes s'engagent à se soumettre respectueusement au haut arbitrage du Zar.”

Montenegro erscheint in den Vertrag nicht aufgenommen ; doch soll Koenig Peter es als seine Sache bezeichnet haben, sich mit seinem Schwiegervater eintretendenfalls zu verstaendigen. Letzterer Umstand waere nicht ohne Interesse, weil im Jahre 1897 Fuerst Nikolaus ein aehnliches Uebereinkommen thatsaechlich unterzeichnet hat.

Mein Gewaehrsmann misst der Convention, selbst falls es thatsaechlich zu ihrer Unterzeichnung kommen sollte, keine sonderliche Bedeutung bei. Er haelt sie nur fuer ein momentanes Auskunftsmittel, welches dauernde Annaeherung zwischen den beiden Staaten nicht herbeifuehren wird. Er behauptet, dass die russische Regierung von den Verhandlungen Kenntniss haben muesse, und Fuerst Ferdinand glaube, durch dieses—

ostentativ gegen die k.u.k. Monarchie gerichteten Abkommens in Petersburg angenehm zu beruehren.

Von anderer, von meinem Gewaehrsmanne ganz unabhaengiger Seite erfahre ich, dass die von bulgar. Officieren waehrend des vorjaehrigen Aufstandes angefertigten kartographischen und photographischen Aufnahmen strategisch wichtiger Punkte in den macedonischen Grenzdistricten, im hies. Militaergeographischen Institute vervielfaeltigt und dem serbischen Kriegsministerium mitgetheilt worden sind.

No. 27.

Sofia, 9. Juni 1904.

Streng geheim.

Hochgeborener Graf,

So wie mit meinem gehorsamsten Berichte No. 21C vom 4. v.M., erlaube ich mir neuerlich eine die bulgarisch-serbischen geheimen Verhandlungen betreffende Relation Legations-Secretaer von Storck's Ew. Excellenz ergebenst zu unterbreiten. In der Anlage derselben befinden sich photographische Reproduktionen und eine Uebersetzung der im Jahre 1897 zwischen Fuerst Ferdinand und Koenig Alexander abgeschlossenen geheimen Vertrages und eine Abschrift sowie Uebersetzung der von Herrn Stoilow verfassten, die Gedanken der contrahierenden Parteien erlaeuernenden Instructionen. Ich brauche wohl nicht hervorzuheben, dass diese historischen Documente im gegenwaertigen Augenblicke, wo zwischen Serbien und Bulgarien, auf vermutlich aehnlicher Basis, analoge, mehr oder weniger gegen die k.u.k. Monarchie gerichtete Annaeherungs- und Verstaendigungsversuche vorliegen, von doppeltem Interesse sind.

Es ist mir, bei dieser Gelegenheit, noch eine sehr angenehme Pflicht, Ew. Excellenz besonderes Augenmerk auf die, bei Beschaffung dieser Documente bekundete, Geschicklichkeit und politische Verwendbarkeit Legations-Secretaers von Storck zu lenken, da der genannte Beamte nicht nur mit unermuedlichem Eifer und Fleisse seinen zahlreichen amtlichen Agenden nachkommt, sondern auch ausgezeichnete private Verbindungen aufrechterhaelt und, wie der vorliegende Fall beweist, zum Nutzen des allerhoechsten Dienstes verwertet.

Genehmigen Ew. Excellenz den Ausdruck meiner tiefsten Ehrfurcht.
Forgách.

Beilage zu Bericht Sofia No. 27.

Streng geheim.

2 Beilagen.

In meiner mit Bericht vom 4. Mai 1.J. No. 21C guetigst nach Wien unterbreiteten Meldung ueber die geplante Nischer—Fuersten—Begegnung erlaubte ich mir, des im Jahre 97 zwischen Weiland Koenig Alexander und Fuerst Ferdinand abgeschlossenen Vertrages, dem spaeter auch der Fuerst von Montenegro beigetreten ist, Erwaehnung zu thun.

Da die Bestimmungen obigen Vertrages mit den kuerzlichen Nischer (muendlichen oder schriftlichen?) Abmachungen fast identisch sein sollen,—abgesehen von der Basis der Verstaendigung, die damals in einer Theilung Macedoniens nach Interessensphaeren gesucht wurde, waehrend heute angeblich auch serbischerseits das Project einer kuenftigen Autonomie acceptiert worden ist—habe ich getrachtet, mir wenigstens den Text des 97ger Vertrages zu verschaffen.

Indem ich mir erlaube, denselben in photographischer Aufnahme anbei vorzulegen und gleichzeitig eine Copie der erlaeuternden Betrachtungen beizuschliesse, mit denen seinerseit Stoiloff eine Abschrift des Uebereinkommens an den damaligen bulgarischen diplomatischen Agenten in Belgrad einbegleitete, bitte ich tiefergebenst, um strengste Geheimhaltung der Photographien, da aus der von der Hand des Fuersten Ferdinand stammenden Randbemerkung (rechts oben) die Quelle, aus welcher mir das Schriftstueck zugeht, mit Leichtigkeit eruirt werden koennte.

Die erwaehnte Instruction Stoiloff's ist im hiesigen Ministerium des Aeusseren nach dem im Acte befindlichen brouillon des gedachten Ministers von einem Beamten der genannten Centralstelle copiert worden.

Die betreffende Platte, auf welcher dieses Schriftstueck aufgenommen war, habe ich nach Abschriftnahme vernichtet, um die Moeglichkeit einer Compromittierung meines Vertrauensmannes auszuschliessen.

Zur Aufklaerung ueber die Provenienz der Photographien erlaube ich mir noch folgendes auszufuehren :

Nachdem mir die in Rede stehenden Documente fuer eine bestimmte Stunde in meiner Wohnung zur Einsichtnahme in Aussicht gestellt worden waren, hatte ich, in richtiger Voraussicht der kurzen Spanne Zeit, waehrend welcher mir die Schriftstuecke zur Verfuegung stehen wuerden, Vice-Consul v. Pottere in einem Nebenzimmer mit bereits eingestelltem photographischen Apparate postiert. Dank diesen Vorbereitungen war es moeglich, die Aufnahmen in wenigen Minuten fertigzustellen.

Storck.

Sofia, 9. Juni 1904.

Beilage zu Bericht Sofia No. 27.

Streng geheim.

(A conserver chez Vous
F.)

Deutsche Uebersetzung :
Vertrag.

Se. Majestaet der Koenig von Serbien und Se. Koenigl. Hoheit der Fuerst von Bulgarien, von dem Wunsche beseelt, in all jenen Fragen, welche sich auf das Glueck und den Fortschritt der serbischen und bulgarischen Nation beziehen, gemeinschaftlich vorzugehen, haben sich ueber folgendes geeinigt :

1. Alle jene Fragen, welche die Interessen der serbischen und bulgari-

schen Nation beruehren, werden durch die beiden Regierungen—die serbische und bulgarische—im gegenseitigen Einvernehmen entschieden werden.

2. Keine der beiden erwaehten Regierungen darf, einseitig und ohne vorheriges Einvernehmen, irgendetwas unternehmen, was den gegenwaertigen Status quo im Oriente stoeren koennte, folglich keine wie immer geartete politische oder militaerische Aktion.

3. Solange die Sphaere der serbischen und bulgarischen Interessen in den Provinzen des Ottomanischen Reiches im gegenseitigen Einvernehmen nicht festgesetzt sein wird, verpflichten sich die beiden Regierungen, in nationalen, kirchlichen, und Schuldfragen sich nicht nur einander nicht behinderlich zu sein, sondern sich auch gegenseitig zu unterstuetzen.

4. Dieser Vertrag wird Ser. Hoheit dem Fuersten von Montenegro zur Kenntniss gebracht werden und wird dieser eingeladen werden, dass auch Er sich demselben anschliesse.

Vorstehender Vertrag, von den beiden Herrschern—dem serbischen und dem bulgarischen—sowie von deren Ministern des Aeusseren unterzeichnet, wird in zwei gleichlautenden Exemplaren ausgefertigt.

Sofia, 19. Februar 1897.

Der Ministerpraesident und
Minister des Aeussern.
Dr. K. Stoiloff.

Ferdinand
Alexander

Beilage zu Bericht Sofia No. 27.

Streng geheim.

Uebersetzung einer Abschrift eines im fuerstl. Ministerium des Aeussern erliegenden eigenhaendig geschriebenen Commentars des Ministers Stoiloff zum serbo-bulgarischen Vertrage en 1897 (nach einer photographischen Aufnahme, deren Platten vernichtet wurden):

Von H. Stoiloff's Hand.

1. Die Serben wuenschen nicht, sich mit Griechenland zu verstaendigen. Sie trauen ihnen nicht.

2. Die Serben fuerchten sich vor Oesterreich und glauben, dass dieses die Gelegenheit benuetzen will, um in Macedonien einzumarschiren und es Kraft des Berliner Vertrages zu pacificiren. In diesem Falle wird sich Serbien mit den Waffen in der Hand widersetzen; car nous ne pouvons pas devenir une enclave Autrichienne. Wir versprachen ihnen unseren Beistand in diesem Falle, indem wir am Kriege gegen Oesterreich teilnehmen wuerden.

3. Wir sind uebereingekommen, dass wir ein Interesse haben, den Frieden und den status quo—und folglich auch die Integritaet der Tuerkei zu wahren.

4. Autonomie oder Annexion der Insel Kreta, ein Krieg zwischen

Griechenland und der Tuerkei sind keine genuegenden Motive, damit wir aus unserer Reserve und Passivitaet heraustreten.

5. Eine Revolution in Suedmacedonien interessiert uns ebenfalls nicht.

6. Wenn sich die Revolution nach Nordmacedonien weiterverbreitet, wo es Slaven gibt, und wenn dann tuerkische Graeuelthaten folgen, koennen wir *gemeinschaftlich* intervenieren. Serbisch-bulgarische Militaerokupation.

B. A SUGGESTED OFFENSIVE MILITARY ALLIANCE AGAINST RUSSIA BETWEEN SWEDEN AND TURKEY, 1904

King Oscar II of Sweden was seventy-five years of age when he made this curious approach, whose authenticity is vouched for by Calice,¹ the Austrian ambassador at Constantinople, to Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey for a military alliance through which the two countries would attempt to deal a fatal blow to Russian expansion in the Scandinavian and Balkan peninsulas. Since the beginning of the year Russia had been engaged in the war against Japan, and reports reaching Europe from the east about her armies and navy were not encouraging.

The external security of the two kingdoms of Sweden and Norway had rested since November 1855 on the alliance with England and France in which these two powers had pledged themselves to help the Scandinavian countries to oppose Russian pressure and pretensions. However, the second half of the century saw a changed situation in Europe. The value of the Anglo-French guarantee had been undermined by the defeat of France in 1870, and Germany herself had already pushed northwards through Denmark. To maintain the integrity of his territory, King Oscar's only course was to affirm a strict neutrality and a careful avoidance of Great Power politics. Internal economic and political controversies also dictated this as the safest road. This objective was successfully achieved, and it was only at the very end of the century that the old bugbear once more caused serious anxiety. Russian policy in Finland from 1898 onwards again made the Scandinavian countries acutely aware of the Russian danger. And, furthermore, Russia was now allied to France.

In these circumstances, the security of Scandinavia seemed problematical, a side-issue, depending, as it were, on the outcome of larger questions and the exigencies of a particular moment. It

¹ Copies of relevant documents are appended. Wiener Staatsarchiv : Geheim XXXIII/33.

is imaginable, therefore, that this Swedish king, whose motto had faithfully been "*quieta non movere*," should have entertained a dream-like plan to remove *une fois pour toutes* the perennial threat of Russian power. That it was fantastic is shown by his choice of an ally, for Europe would scarcely have agreed that a solution to the Russian problem lay in the success of Turkish arms. That it was shortsighted is seen in the naïve suggestion that such a military adventure would have entailed ultimate British intervention in favour of the aggressors.

E. W.

Der Botschafter in Konstantinopel, Heinrich Freiherr von Calice, an den oesterreich-ungarischen Minister des Aeussern, Graf Goluchowski, Wien.

Constantinopel,
am 16. November 1904.

Hochgeborner Graf,

Ich halte es fuer meine Pflicht Euer Excellenz auf den Inhalt der im Anschlusse mitfolgenden vier Telegramme, welche eine geheime Correspondenz zwischen dem Palais und dem tuerkischen Gesandten in Stockholm bilden und sich auf ein vom Koenig von Schweden dem Sultan offerirtes Allianzverhaeltnis der beiden Souveraene gegen Russland beziehen, ganz ergebenst aufmerksam zu machen.

Diese Telegramme halte ich fuer echt.

Ich machte darueber eine vertrauliche Andeutung meinen russischen Collegen, welcher laengere Zeit Gesandter in Stockholm war. Er sagte mir: "Autant que je connais le Roi de Suede il me paraît tout-à-fait capable de cela."

Ohne diese Confidenzen zu erwaechnen, fragte ich kuerzlich Baron Marschall wie das Verhaeltnis zwischen Schweden und Russland sein moege? Seine Antwort war: "Schlecht. Schweden hasst Russland. Die schwedische Presse fuehrt eine sehr feindliche Sprache, auch waere Schweden eventuell fuer Russland kein zu verachtender Gegner. Es besitzt eine ganz ansehnliche Armee, sowie eine nicht unbedeutende Flotte, darunter 10 Panzerschiffe, allerdings kleinerer Gattung, mit insgesamt 30.000 Tonnen. Hiezu kommt noch die norwegische Flotte, welche ebenfalls einige kleinere Panzerschiffe aufweist, waehrend Russland seit Abfahrt der baltischen Flotte zur See ganz ohnmaechtig ist." Nun kommt hinzu—und dies verdanke ich anderer, wohlinformierter Quelle—dass die schwedische Armee sich jeder russischen Streitmacht gewachsen fuehlt, welche ueber Land dorthin kaeme und auf dem Landweg gepflegt werden muesste.

Diese Umstaende zusammengekommen lassen mir die aus den obenverwahrten geheimen Telegrammen hervorgehende Kriegslust des Koenigs

von Schweden, welcher den Moment fuer gekommen erachten kann, Finnland zurueckzuerobern, umso glaubwuerdiger erscheinen.

Jedenfalls scheint mir die eventuelle Stellungnahme Schwedens angesichts des russisch-japanischen Krieges ein nicht unwesentliches Element in der gegenwaertigen Weltlage. Wie sich nun der Sultan zu obiger Einladung verhalten wird, ist eine weitere interessante Frage. Ich meine, dass Er sich's lange ueberlegen duerfte.

Genehmigen Euer Excellenz den Ausdruck meiner Ehrfurcht.

Calice.

De Stockholm à Yildiz 3 novembre

J'ai expédié en date d'hier à Votre Excellence un rapport concernant la grave déclaration que Sa Majesté le Roi m'a faite au cours de l'audience privée qu'il a bien voulu m'accorder. Je prie Votre Excellence de vouloir bien m'accuser réception de ce rapport aussitôt qu'il sera parvenu.

De Yildiz à Stockholm 3 novembre

Urgent. D'ordre Impérial, veuillez m'adresser télégraphiquement un résumé succinct de Votre entrevue avec Sa Majesté le Roi. La Légation de Suède et Norvège à Constantinople ayant, de son côté porté à la connaissance Impériale que des déclarations très importantes Vous ont été faites par le Roi, notre Auguste Maître tient à les connaître un moment plus tôt.

De Stockholm à Yildiz 4 novembre

Très confidentiel. J'ai l'honneur, conformément aux ordres de notre Auguste Maître, de rendre compte succinctement à Votre Excellence du résultat de l'audience privée que Sa Majesté le Roi m'a fait l'honneur de m'accorder ces jours-ci.

Dès le début cette audience, Sa Majesté le Roi, après s'être enquis, avec son amabilité coutumière, de la précieuse santé de notre Auguste Maître, m'a parlé de la guerre russo-japonaise et démontré par des considérations fort perspicaces les nombreuses chances que le Japon a de sortir victorieux de la lutte. Après m'avoir, par des aperçus historiques, rappelé la paine séculaire qui a toujours divisé la Suède et la Russie, ainsi que les attentats systématiques portées dans le temps, et même encore de nos jours, par cette Puissance à l'Empire Ottoman, Sa Majesté m'a dit que, quoique ne jouant pas un rôle prépondérant en Europe, il suivait avec la plus grande attention les évolutions de la politique actuelle vis-à-vis de la Sublime Porte et que, en se référant à l'expérience et à des renseignements authentiques, il regrettait d'avoir à constater que, tôt ou tard, la Russie se livrerait à une nouvelle agression contre la Turquie. Tout en me rappelant le traité d'alliance qui avait existé un

moment entre la Suède et la Turquie et me rappelant aussi que ses déclarations d'aujourd'hui ne sont que la suite de celles qu'il m'avait faites l'an dernier, le Roi m'a prié de soumettre à notre Auguste Maître que le moment actuel était le mieux désigné que tout autre pour être mis à profit par la Sublime Porte qui était à même de se refaire des désastres du siècle écoulé ; que si Sa Majesté le Sultan se décidait en prenant facilement prétexte d'une seule même des injustices flagrantes commises par la Russie à l'égard de la Turquie, la Suède de son côté, lancerait contre le Gouvernement Russe une armée qui, d'après les évaluations les plus scrupuleuses, faites par le Département de la Guerre se chiffrait par 310,000 hommes bien armés et bien instruits, et qu'enfin cette entente qui mettrait absolument la Turquie et la Suède à l'abri, une fois pour toutes, des menaces constantes de la Russie, pourrait fort probablement entraîner en notre faveur l'entrée en scène de l'Angleterre. Tel est le résumé des déclarations que Sa Majesté le Roi a bien voulu me confier et au sujet desquelles il espère recevoir l'avis de notre Auguste Maître. Je prie Votre Excellence de prendre ses dispositions pour que le contenu de ce télégramme ainsi que le rapport qui est en route soient tenus absolument confidentiels.

De Yildiz à Stockholm 4 novembre

Confidentiel. J'ai placé sous les yeux de Sa Majesté Votre télégramme confidentiel.

Veillez, d'ordre impérial, transmettre à Sa Majesté le Roi l'assurance de la plus haute satisfaction de notre Auguste Maître à ce sujet et lui dire que la réponse de Sa Majesté le Sultan ne pourra, naturellement, lui être communiquée qu'après les deux ou trois jours d'examen et de réflexion qui devront suivre l'arrivée de Votre rapport circonstancié à ce sujet.

À l'occasion de cette audience, Sa Majesté, tout en Vous transmettant ses Salutations Impériales, me charge de Vous informer qu'elle a, en outre, daigné Vous conférer le grade de général de division en premier et Vous accorder une gratification de 500 livres. De plus, pour Vous donner une nouvelle preuve de son estime personnelle, notre Auguste Maître s'est plu à faire don à Votre épouse d'une broche en brillants.

Constantinople,
am 23. November 1904.

Hochgeborner Graf,

Ergebenst beziehnehmend auf mein Schreiben vom 16. d.M. beehre ich mich Euer Excellenz hierneben zwei weitere, mir auf geheimem Wege zugekommene telegraphische Correspondenzen zwischen dem Palais und dem tuerkischen Gesandten in Stockholm, betreffend die vom Koenig von Schweden dem Sultan angetragene Offensiv-Allianz gegen Russland, gehorsamst vorzulegen.

Das eine dieser Stuecke stellt die vorlaeufige Antwort des Sultans an Koenig Oskar vor, in welcher das Bestreben, die Angelegenheit dilatorisch zu behandeln deutlich hervortritt, indem Seine Majestaet Abdul Hamid II sich vorbehaelt, seine definitive Antwort in Monatsfrist zu ertheilen und was Fristen beim Sultan bedeuten, weiss alle Welt zur Genuege.

Die zweite Pièce ist die Rueckaeusserung des koeniglich schwedischen Allianzwerbens und in dieser wieder zeigt sich die Ungeduld, mit welcher Koenig Oskar der weiteren Stellungnahme des Sultans entgegenseht.

Dass Letzterer sich diesfalls nicht beeilen duerfte, habe ich vorausgesehen und dies auch in meinem eingangs bezogenen Schreiben angedeutet. Genehmigen Euer Excellenz den Ausdruck meiner Ehrfurcht.

Calice.

De Yildiz à Stockholm 13 novembre

Confidentiel. Le rapport que Votre Excellence m'a ordonné pour me rendre compte des détails de son entrevue avec Sa Majesté le Roi a été placé sous les yeux de Notre Auguste Maître. Ainsique je Vous l'avais fait savoir par le télégramme que je Vous avais expédié en réponse à celui me rapportant, en résumé, des déclarations de Sa Majesté le Roi, Notre Auguste Maître a été vivement satisfait et touché de l'initiative prise par le Roi. Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan tout en reconnaissant l'intérêt qu'offrirait au Gouvernement Impérial l'examen approfondé de la proposition de Sa Majesté le Roi, considère, dans sa haute sagacité politique, que les circonstances actuelles ne sont pas de nature à déterminer l'adoption de décisions aussi graves sans avoir, au préalable étudié non seulement le fond de la question mais consulté aussi la situation générale de l'Europe. En conséquence, Votre Excellence est chargée, tout en ménageant les susceptibilités du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi et en ayant surtout soin de ne laisser s'opérer au moins pour le moment aucun revirement dans les heureuses dispositions dont il a témoigné à notre égard, de temporiser jusqu'à ce que Sa Majesté le Sultan juge venue le moment de donner aux déclarations du Roi une réponse précise et détaillée. Vous pouvez même affirmer que d'ici un mois ou plus tard, cette réponse sera déjà parvenue à Stockholm. Veuillez Vous acquitter de cette démarche avec tout le tact qui Vous distingue.

De Stockholm à Yildiz 15 novembre

Confidentiel. J'ai reçu le télégramme de Votre Excellence et me suis empressé d'en faire porter le contenu à la connaissance du Roi. Sa Majesté a daigné, en réponse, m'honorer de ses compliments et m'a fait savoir qu'Elle attendait avec impatience la réponse définitive promise par Notre Auguste Maître.

UNPRINTED DOCUMENTS:

RUSO-BRITISH RELATIONS, 1875-1878

2ND SERIES. XII. THE *DÉTENTE* BETWEEN LORD SALISBURY AND COUNT SHUVALOV (APRIL 1878)

446. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 23 MARCH/4 APRIL

(ch) Conversation un peu vive avec Salisbury, à la suite de fausse nouvelle que avançons sur Gallipoli. J'ai répondu à sa demande de nous voir rester calmes, que c'est nous qui avons lieu de demander attitude calme à l'Angleterre, en présence de surprises cotidiennes, telles que mobilisation, circulaire. Il a répondu avec vivacité que ces mesures étaient anodines, comparées à la présence d'une armée formidable à Constantinople et Bosphore. J'ai dit que craindrais conséquences d'une nouvelle surprise anglaise. Il a répondu: voulons solution pacifique, ne comptons faire de plus en ce moment.

447. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 23 MARCH/4 APRIL

(cl) Received expedition of 17/29. (ch) Salisbury désire remettre sur tapis Conférence préliminaire de Berlin, il sera probablement démarche ad hoc.

448. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 23 MARCH/4 APRIL

(cl) Je vois malheureusement que sans s'être préalablement concertés Andrassy et Salisbury tous les deux ont emboité le même pas.

Press greets Salisbury's circular with enthusiastic *éloges*.

449. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 23 MARCH/4 APRIL

Daily Telegraph quotes Ignatyev's remark at Vienna "mon ami Salisbury." Il me revient que Salisbury les accepte comme une ironie, et dans ses rapports avec moi, comme j'ai pu le remarquer, il craint outre mesure de devenir "mon ami" à moi.

450. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 24 MARCH/5 APRIL 1878

(cl) Received telegrams of 22 and 23.

(ch) Ce n'est que si escadre anglais quittait Mer Marmora et s'éloignait de Gallipoli, que nous pourrions donner *excuse* (explication ?) au sujet du Bosphore et des Dardanelles.

451. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 25 MARCH/6 APRIL

(cl) Répétition du télégramme No. 1 du 23 Mars.

(ch) (as above) with word *Assurance*.

452. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 8 APRIL

Calm since some days. Opposition begins to se relever. Pourparlers of London and Vienna—can't learn anything, Beust étant très réservé à mon égard et mes relations avec Lord Salisbury rien moins que cordiales. Comme Vous le savez, mon intimité avec Lord Derby et la prétendue influence que j'exerçais sur sa politique rendent le Marquis plus raide à mon égard. Appears to fear above all too frequent and too intimate visits.

453. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 28 MARCH/9 APRIL

(cl) Received Votre télégramme No. 2. Aujourd'hui 1 heure matin, discussion au Parlement du Bill de mobilisation continue encore. Derby a vivement critiqué circulaire, qui résultera non en triomphe mais en humiliation diplomatique.

(ch) Langage ministériel plutôt pacifique. C'est un bon symptôme, mais qui ne resout encore rien. On fait pressentir de Berlin concessions russes.

454. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 28 MARCH/9 APRIL

(cl) Viens de lire séance d'hier in extenso.

(ch) Discours Salisbury le plus mauvais de tous. C'est un développement de sa circulaire, empreint d'hostilité envers nous, et faisant appel, s'il y a lieu, aux mâles vertus de l'Angleterre.

455. GORCHAKOV TO OUBRIL, 9 APRIL 1878, ST.-PETERSBOURG (ENCLOSED IN ABOVE)

Acknowledges

La poste de ce matin a emporté une dépêche a Votre adresse à laquelle se trouve annexée ma dernière correspondance avec M. le Général de Schweinitz concernant les mouvements de l'escadre anglaise, si elle repasse les Dardanelles et mouille de nouveau à Besika.

C'est le chaînon que désirait le Prince de Bismarck.

Nous avons été bien faiblement édifiés de son action en notre faveur, surtout en ce qui concerne l'Autriche. Mais je dissimule cette impression vis-à-vis de M. de Schweinitz.

Quant à l'Angleterre, il me semble que M. de Bismarck ne serait pas mal disposé à retirer son épingle du jeu, même dans les pourparlers avec le Cabinet britannique, ou l'insistance qu'il met à recommander des négociations directes entre nous et Londres, dont Vous seriez l'intermédiaire. Je rends justice à l'habileté de l'intermédiaire, mais je crois, comme Vous, qu'il vaut mieux laisser ces négociations, qui peut-être n'amèneront pas à grande chose, entre les mains de M. le Chancelier d'Allemagne. Cela vaut mieux que de lui fournir un prétexte pour reprendre ce rôle d'inaction qui paraît répondre à sa nature quand il s'agit de nous.

Au reste, Vous avez parfaitement jugé la situation dans Vos dépêches de 4/16, 5/17 avril, c'est-à-dire ne pas nous exagérer l'efficacité de l'intervention allemande et conclure que la clef de la question est à Vienne.

Jusqu'ici nous n'avons de sérieux sur les pourparlers de M. Novikov que les deux télégrammes sur son premier et second entretien avec le Comte Andrassy qui contient le dossier diplomatique. Nous attendrons les rapports détaillés de M. Novikov pour former notre jugement. Ce que nous savons jusqu'ici n'est guère satisfaisant.

Vous serez aussitôt renseigné.

456. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 29 MARCH/10 APRIL

(cl) Received No. 4.

(ch) On m'a confié sous grand secret que Munster a proposé aujourd'hui médiation de Bismarck dont première condition serait sortie de flotte et recul équivalent de notre armée. Salisbury a accepté en principe, mais s'expliquera quand saura si nous acceptons médiation.

457. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 29 MARCH/10 APRIL

(ch) Discours Derby a vivement froissé l'Empereur d'Autriche et le Gouvernement français. Ils l'ont fait savoir à Londres. Salisbury trouve l'article 9 de Votre réponse raide et désobligeant pour l'Angleterre.

458. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 30 MARCH/11 APRIL

(ch) Jeudi. No. 6 received. Bismarck nous a en effet fait proposition dont Vous parlez et dans les mêmes termes, nous demandant secret surtout vis à vis de l'Autriche. Avons accepté. C'est par Russell qu'il a fait la démarche. En attendant apprenons que Sultan a confié en secret au Grand Duc Nicholas que la même idée lui a été communiqué directement au nom de la Reine Victoria. Donc notre ami de Berlin aurait agi d'après insinuation venue de Londres, ce dont il ne nous a pas parlé. Tout cela pour vous seul.

459. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 31 MARCH/10 APRIL [*sic—really 12*]

No. 6. Reçu 6.

(ch) Prie que Schweinitz ignore mes communications. Gouvernement Anglais consent retirer flotte de Marmora, Dardanelles et golfe Saros à Besika, si nous retirons armée derrière ligne tracée ainsi : de Deagaç à Andrinople le long derrière chemin-de-fer qui resterait à nous, d'Andrinople derrière ligne tirée à l'est jusque Mer Noire. Comme dernière concession Gouvernement admettrait si insistons beaucoup que Midia soit englobé dans notre sphère. Anglais prétendent nous offrir ainsi avantage relatif sur flotte puisque avec usage des voies ferrées pourrions être les premiers à Constantinople et surtout mettre immédiatement torpilles dans les Dardanelles. Ces négociations sont connues à Vienne.

460. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 1/13 APRIL 1878, ST. PETERSBOURG
Mon cher Comte,

Votre expédition confiée au Colonel Wellesley nous est parvenue. J'y répons sans retard en Vous envoyant un dossier de pièces diplomatiques que je prie M. d'Oubril de Vous expédier par messenger spécial.

Il Vous mettra au courant de toutes les nuances de la situation. Vous y trouverez entre autre *notre correspondance complète avec le Cabinet de Vienne* sur les questions qui nous divisent.

Nous l'avons portée à la connaissance du Cabinet de Berlin en l'invitant à se prononcer sur la manière dont le Gouvernement austro-hongrois comprend et pratique l'entente à trois.

Si la démarche actuelle de médiation du Prince de Bismarck réussit, elle aura pour effet une détente pacifique dont l'influence se ferait sentir à Vienne. Le Comte Andrassy devrait renoncer aux exigences qu'il n'a mis en avant qu'en s'appuyant sur l'attitude menaçante de l'Angleterre.

Il est possible qu'il en résulte un accord sur la base des concessions que nous lui offrons.

En pareil l'Angleterre perdant son unique allié éventuel, devrait également restreindre ses exigences ou en chercher la satisfaction dans la voie des compensations que le Marquis de Salisbury Vous a fait entrevoir.

Cette situation, si elle se développe, peut rouvrir les portes du Congrès.

Nous n'avons pas d'idées arrêtées à ce sujet. S'il y avait chance à ce qu'on abordât les délibérations avec des dispositions conciliantes et équitables, nous ne voudrions pas nous fermer cette issue pacifique. Mais si nous devons nous trouver devant un tribunal prévenu où nous serions condamnés d'avance, mieux vaudrait pour nous maintenir le *status quo* en recherchant des ententes séparées.

Notre circulaire responsive est entre Vos mains. Elle paraît produire une impression calmante. S'il y avait quelque bonne foi à Londres, on devrait reconnaître qu'elle écarte les reproches adressées à notre attitude au sujet du Congrès, puisque chaque point des objections du Marquis de Salisbury s'y trouve discuter. Mais entre discuter ou se soumettre d'avance la distance est grande, et nous ne la franchirons pas.

461. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 1/13 APRIL 1878

(ch) Bismarck a répondu que trouvait proposition anglaise acceptable et l'avait communiquée à St. Petersburg. Prie me tenir au courant.

462. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 1/13 April

(cl) Received telegram No. 6. Demain matin courrier pour Londres.

(ch) Ne saurions consentir à la dislocation de nos troupes telle que le Cabinet anglais la désire. Elle ne répond pas à la proposition Bismarck, basée sur la parité du calcul de temps quant aux distances. Chemin de fer n'est pas la mer et ce n'est pas ainsi qu'on peut transporter une armée. Bismarck nous a fait textuellement par Schweinitz la proposition anglaise.

favorable pour nous que l'admission d'un tiers. C'est pourquoi je Vous prie de garder ces renseignements pour Vous seul.

463. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 2/14 April, No. 8

(cl) Reçu 7. J'ai prévu Vos intentions et me suis tenu entièrement.
(ch) à l'écart des pourparlers. Vous tiens au courant, pour que puissiez vérifier exactitude. Vous demande réciprocité dans même but.

464. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 2/14 April

(cl) Received telegram No. 8.

(ch) Bismarck trouve comme nous que les contrepropositions de l'Angleterre ne sont pas admissibles. Il télégraphiera dans ce sens à Münster. S'il ne reçoit pas de réponse, il ne poursuivra l'affaire que si nous le désirons. Je lui ai répondu que l'Empereur lui serait gré de la continuation de ses bons offices.

465. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 3/15 APRIL, No. 9

(ch) Wellesley est venu m'assurer de la part de Salisbury de son extrême désir de paix et de réunion du Congrès, si acceptions conditions anglaises et prenions engagement de discuter toute question qui serait proposée dans cette réunion. J'ai dit que ne comprenais pas le sens de la demande anglaise, qu'avions déjà déclaré à maintes reprises liberté complète de discussion pour tous comme pour nous, ce qui est parfaitement entendu dans les termes. Liberté d'appréciation et d'action : mais que je ne pouvais admettre qu'on nous citât devant le Congrès comme devant un tribunal dont nous aurions à accepter l'arrêt : ce que l'Angleterre n'admettrait pas pour elle-même. J'ai prié Wellesley de dire à Salisbury que nous partagions désir de paix qu'il a manifesté par son entremise.

466. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 3/15 APRIL, No. 9

Received No. 8. (ch) Lundi. Bismarck a chargé Münster de se concerter avec moi sur situation et lui faire connaître mon opinion. J'ai répondu en termes généraux que resterions dupes si acceptions arrangements désavantageux en présence de solution pacifique trop précaire, mais qu'il est très désirable que pourparlers ne soient pas rompus, ce qui rendrait situation beaucoup plus mauvaise qu'avant. Bismarck fait demander au Gouvernement anglais s'il consentirait pour le cas où russes accepteraient délimitation anglaise, pour termes de quelques jours pour dénoncer d'avance intention de reprendre positions actuelles. Bismarck croit que si anglais acceptaient il n'y aurait plus inégalité pour nous.

467. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 3/15 APRIL, No. 10

Me referant a No. 9.

(ch) Salisbury accepte proposition dénoncer préalablement reprise de

positions actuelles attendra que Bismarck fixe le nombre de jours ad hoc. Il conteste possibilité pour flotte de revenir dans 24 heures, privée de phares, flotte ne peut marcher de nuit sans danger et a besoin de deux jours et une nuit pour revenir Constantinople. Je doute que Gouvernement anglais fasse plus grandes concessions, surtout quant à ligne démarcation proposée par lui : mais il admet que Turcs ne devraient également pas sortir des positions qu'ils occupent.

468. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 3/15 APRIL

Re efforts of Bismarck for Congress. Allows England to fix line of demarcation behind which Russian troops are to retire.

469. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 4/16 APRIL, NO. 11

Received No. 9.

(ch) Langage et attitude Salisbury en effet plus pacifiques mais base d'entente manque. Je regrette que Bismarck traite question militaire isolément de question Congrès. A quoi bon des mouvements militaires désavantageux pour nous avant de savoir si pas ultérieur vers solution est possible ou non.

470. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 4/16 APRIL

. . . transmits sympathies of Princess of Wales. Le Prince de Galles très intempéré dans son langage, surtout après dîner, a dit à une de ses amies qui s'est empressée de me le répéter "ces malheureux (c'est de nous qu'il parlait) ne savent pas à quoi ils s'exposent. Nous leur préparons trois expéditions de différents côtés."

Words seem significant because "elles se rattachent à la démission de Lord Derby."

471. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 4/16 APRIL

Münster instructed by Bismarck to keep Shuvalov *au courant* before discussing with Salisbury.

472. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 5/17 APRIL

Malentendu between Bismarck re demarcation.

473. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 5/17 APRIL 1878, NO. 10

Received Nos. 9 and 10.

(ch) Admettons en principe dernière proposition germano-anglais, mais devons d'abord nous entendre avec porte sur élargissement de zone neutre et d'autres dispositions concernant notre position militaire. Oubril nous mande que l'Angleterre nous réserve de fixer terme de dénonciation pour retour éventuel de l'escadre anglais. A ce sujet pourrions nous expliquer plus tard.

474. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 6/18 APRIL, NO. 12

Received No. 10.

(ch) Oubril fait erreur. Angleterre réserve à Bismarck de fixer terme dénonciation. Bismarck télégraphie aujourd'hui : Gorchakov demande réunion Congrès : Sondez Angleterre. Münster répond avec raison : Angleterre prête à aller en Congrès, si sa condition maintenue, ou sur quelque base nouvelle. Il ajoute que Gouvernement anglais accepterait formule suivante. Révision des Traités de '56 et '71 dans leurs rapports avec S. Stefano. Veuillez me dire si je dois appuyer ou contrecarrer cette formule.

475. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 6/18 APRIL, NO. 13

(cl) Papers announce despatch of Indian troops to Malta, and do not deduce war from this.

476. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 6/18 APRIL, NO. 14

Jeudi. Received expedition Stendmann.

(ch) Salisbury se montre très conciliant. A répondu Münster que était prêt à entrer Congrès aussitôt que discussion de tout le traité serait assurée. Il croit préférable ne pas poser nouvelles bases à réunion Congrès afin de ne pas soulever nouvelles difficultés mais pense que Congrès sans entente préalable sur points principaux entre St. Petersbourg et Londres conduirait non à paix mais à guerre : il propose accord préalable sur points principaux soit directement soit par entremise de Berlin. Je crois ce dernier moyen le meilleur. Salisbury attache grande importance à ce que question militaire soit résolu afin d'éloigner dit-il contact dangereux et matières inflammables.

477. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 7/19 APRIL, NO. 11

Mes relations avec Lord Salisbury sont trop froides pour qu'il me mette de la confiance de ses visées. Danger to Russia gains from two sides. Austria-Hungary opposing in Europe, England in Asia.

478. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 7/19 APRIL 1878

(cl) Received No. 12.

(ch) Il y a exagération. Me suis borné à dire à Schweinitz que Vous regrettiez que Bismarck s'occupe seulement de la question militaire et ne parle pas de Congrès. Je m'étonne qu'à Londres on ne se soit pas contenté de mon télégramme No. 9. Il y a de l'enfantillage ou de mauvais vouloir déguisé. Formule révision des Traités de '56 et '71 dans leurs rapports avec S. Stefano nous avait déjà été proposée par Bismarck dans premiers jours de mars. Nous l'avons trouvée assez correcte, n'y avons pas objecté et n'objectons pas. Seulement il faut qu'on se contente de la communication déjà faite du Traité de S. Stefano à toutes les Puissances et qu'on n'insiste pas que nous le présentions au Congrès de nouveau, comme devant un tribunal.

[Copy in Shuvalov's hand, from " Je m'étonne " to end, on separate sheet evidently for use by Shuvalov.]

479. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 8/20 April, No. 15

(cl) Received No. 11. C'est ma profonde conviction que (ch) nous ne devons pas bouger armée avant que Congrès soit assuré. Communications allemandes deviennent impatientes. J'ai prié Munster de ne pas transmettre celle d'aujourd'hui disant : " Russie se réserve à Ellemême de formuler terme dénonciation. Cela serait compromettre négociations, puisque Angleterre a abandonné cette initiative à Bismarck, qui est libre de s'approprier terme que nous fixerons."

480. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 9/21 APRIL 1878

(ch) Dimanche. No. 12. Reçu télégramme No. 15.

Avons proposé à Bismarck fixer six fois vingtquatre heures comme terme de dénonciation du retour, s'il y a lieu, de l'escadre anglais de Besika dans la Mer Marmora.

481. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 9/21 APRIL

(ch) Par voie très secrète. Savons que le Cabinet anglais demande à Porte si elle consentirait à autoriser entrée de son escadre dans la Mer de Marmora dans le cas où aujourd'hui par un arrangement avec la Russie il la retirait à Besika. Pour Vous seul.

482. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 10/21 APRIL, ST. PETERSBOURG

Mon cher Comte

Dans la crise que nous traversons je crois important de Vous tenir régulièrement au courant de tous les détails de la situation. Vous les trouverez dans les pièces du dossier diplomatique [...?...]. Elles me dispensent de tout commentaire. Ma lettre confidentielle à Oubril du 9 Avril expose le jugement que nous formons. Au reste le terrain est si mouvant que souvent le lendemain modifie ce qu'avait annoncé la vielle.

Mon pli du jour sera emporté jusqu'à Paris par le Baron Velho. Le Prince Orlov Vous l'expédiera para messenger spécial.

Les données que je Vous ai transmises par mon télégramme d'hier No. 13 sont puisées aux sources les plus secrètes. Vous les devinerez. Il en résulte, que le Cabinet anglais a déjà en vue rentrée de son escadre dans la mer de Marmora, mais que cette fois il recherche un consentement de la Porte (pour qu'on ne puisse plus lui reprocher d'être en violation flagrante du Traité de 1856). Personnellement je continue à croire à une guerre avec l'Angleterre, plus tôt ou plus tard, et n'espère guère de bons résultats du Congrès s'il a lieu.

483. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 10/22 APRIL 1878

(cl) Received 13. Je réponds à Votre 12. Fêtes suspendent affaires jusqu'à mercredi. Pourriez en profiter pour examiner ce qui suit :

(ch) Angleterre, craignant le plus pour Gallipoli, n'acceptera jamais six jours, si ce terme s'étend aussi aux Dardanelles, Bulair se trouvant à deux marches de nos positions futures, pourrions intercepter détroits par torpilles. Mon opinion personnelle que dénonciation faite, les deux côtés auraient faculté avancer immédiatement sur Dardanelles. Nombre de jours ne concernerait que Constantinople, c'est-à-dire que flotte ne devrait entrer Marmora qu'à l'expiration du terme, autrement pourparlers ne réussiraient pas.

484. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 11/23 APRIL, No. 14

(ch) Mardi. Ce matin courrier pour Londres voie de Paris. Hier Loftus est venu me réitérer les dispositions pacifiques de son Gouvernement, me témoignant le désir d'entrer en relations soit directement soit par entremise de Bismarck. Je lui ai répondu que ne demandions pas mieux que de connaître les intentions pour un accord du Cabinet anglais, mais que jusqu'ici ne pouvions pas les saisir. Nous préférons l'entremise de l'Allemagne sans interdire les explications directes.

485. GIERS TO SHUVALOV, 12/24 APRIL, No. 15

Mercredi. Reçu 16. Chancelier alité forte fièvre. L'Empereur trouve que simple dénonciation pour Gallipoli ne nous conviendrait pas. Voudrions terme primitif de 72 heures pour rentrée dans Dardanelles et six jours après dénonciation pour rentrée dans Mer de Marmora.

486. GIERS TO SHUVALOV, 12/24 APRIL, No. 16

Received expedition 8 April.

(ch) L'Empereur croit aussi lenteurs calculées pour gagner du temps et nous éloigner de Constantinople. Nécessaire que transaction coïncide avec certitude Congrès après accord préalable sur points divergence. Ne declinons pas (envisager) négociations (?) directes mais croyons intermédiaire Bismarck désirable, selon remarque Salisbury pour rendre mutuellement plus acceptables propositions venant par lui, s'il peut se borner à transmettre idées reciproques sans se prononcer. Si ce mode rencontrait des difficultés, pourriez en venir à explications directes.

487. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 12/24 APRIL 1878, No. 17

Received No. 14.

(ch) Beust commence à faire de fréquentes visites à Salisbury. Ils ont eu deux entrevues aujourd'hui.

488. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 14/26 APRIL

(ch) Münster a communiqué aujourd'hui au Gouvernement anglais Votre lettre à Schweinitz, fixant six jours. Ces transmissions simples sans rien appuyer ne peuvent donner bons résultats.

489. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 15/27 APRIL

(ch) Pas de réponse définitive avant lundi mais on semble disposé à accepter terme six jours pour Constantinople et Gallipoli à condition de conserver quelques croiseurs dans Dardanelles.

490. GIERS TO SHUVALOV, 15/27 APRIL, No. 17

(ch) Bismarck croyant préférable continuer directement pourparlers entre nous et Londres informez Salisbury que nous y sommes tout disposés. Comme témoignage de franchise pouvez lui faire part des conditions auxquelles devons subordonner retraite de nos troupes dans lignes démarcation proposées. Ne pourrions consentir à retraite que si distance et terme dénonciation convenus sont acceptés par Angleterre. Porte exécute préalablement clause traité préliminaire sur livraison pacifique Shumla, Varna et Batum et si Porte prend engagement de n'élever aucune fortification nouvelle sur zone neutre élargie. Ajoutez que si accord général se faisait entre Angleterre et nous, il faciliterait retraite réciproque ou rendrait maintien position actuelle sans danger.

491. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 16/28 APRIL

(cl) Reçu No. 17. Voudrais prompt réponse à 19 concernant Votre opinion sur (ch) croiseurs. Permettez-moi pas mentionner Batum, car j'apprends que c'est là et à Poti que l'Angleterre médite futur débarquement. Loin de faciliter livraison de Batum elle intriguera contre. Devrions peser énergiquement sur Porte mais pas faire de Batum condition de retraite aux yeux de l'Angleterre.

492. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 17/29 APRIL 1878

(ch) Indiscrétions du "Times" continuent et font du mal. Ses télégrammes de St. Petersburg annoncent abstention Bismarck que Münster conteste—et de Stefano condition de livraison préalable des forteresses que Votre télégramme No. 17 me charge de communiquer comme témoignage de franchise pour Salisbury.

493. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 17/29 APRIL

(cl) Craignant un malentendu j'ai suspendu jusqu'à nouvel ordre la communication de Votre télégramme No. 17.

(ch) Münster ne sait rien et continue pourparlers. Si nous nous croisions Bismarck en profiterait pour rejeter l'insuccès sur nous.

494. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 17/29 April, No. 23

(ch) Lundi. Pas de réponse sur durée de terme dénonciation avant mercredi, évident qu'anglais n'accepteront aucun terme pour Dardanelles. Salisbury dit : présence de flotte sans troupes de débarquement ne Vous menace nullement même si arrivions semaine avant Vous tandis que garder passage ouvert est notre plus grand intérêt. Salisbury dit à Münster : si journaux disent vrai et que Russie rattache livraison de

forteresses en dehors de zone neutre à retraite de son armée, je considère négociations rompues.

495. GORCHAKOV TO SHUVALOV, 17/29 APRIL, No. 18

(cl) Reçu No. 20.

(ch) D'ordre de l'Empereur pouvez ne pas faire mention Batum, Varna, Shumla. Bornez-Vous à dire que subordonnons retraite de nos troupes à règlement avec Porte de certaines conditions militaires. Quant au croiseurs, il y a un principe d'inviolabilité de traités. Porte y insiste. Si celle-ci consente à maintien provisoire dans Dardanelles d'un ou deux bâtiments légers outre les stationnaires à la disposition de l'Ambassadeur anglais, ne nous y opposerions pas.

496. SHUVALOV TO GORCHAKOV, 18/30 AVRIL (LETTRE TRÈS CONFIDENTIELLE)

Après les points de vues exprimés par Lord Salisbury et que j'ai consigné dans mon rapport précédent, sa conversation devint plus intime et porta sur la politique de Lord Derby qui n'avait pas été "assez conciliant à notre égard" [*sic* !] et sur la situation du moment si pleine de danger aux yeux du Marquis.

J'ai profité de ces moments d'épanchement pour faire parler mon interlocuteur, ou plutôt mon adversaire, et pour pénétrer les replis cachés de sa pensée.

Je commençais par faire observer à Lord Salisbury que quelle que soit l'espèce des négociations pendantes il y avait un pas de plus à faire aussitôt après. Aboutissaient-elles, il fallait passer immédiatement à la discussion préalable des points principaux du traité de St. Stefano; échouaient-elles, il ne devait pas y avoir pour cela rupture entre nous et faudrait aborder de même le *sine qua non* anglais.

Je ne pensais pas que le Prince de Bismarck consentit à être l'intermédiaire dans ce second stage de la question et je ne le tenais même pas pour désirable. Sa médiation a pu être utile quand il s'agit de marches et contre-marches de la flotte et de l'armée, mais quand nous en serons arrivés à discuter les intérêts vitaux de nos deux pays, nul ne pourra le faire mieux que ceux qui ont des intérêts les plus à cœur, lui ceux de l'Angleterre, moi—de la Russie.

Le Marquis abonda entièrement dans ce sens et nous nous mimes à examiner les moyens les plus pratiques de conduire ces futurs pourparlers.

A la remarque que me fit Salisbury qu'il faudrait se prémunir contre les malentendus télégraphiques et fausses interprétations des communications écrites, je lui dis que j'étais tout prêt si Sa Majesté l'Empereur m'y autorisait à porter moi même à St. Pétersbourg le *sine qua non* anglais et les considérant à l'appui et revenir avec la réponse du Cabinet Impérial.

Le Marquis approuva cet offre avec chaleur et ajouta que de cette façon nous mettrions notre échange d'idées à l'abri des nuisibles indiscretions de la presse et du télégraphe.

Je suis fermement convaincu, mon Prince, que si nous entamons ces négociations directes, le mode que je propose est le seul qui puisse nous amener à une entente si toutefois elle est encore possible. Je suis persuadé en même temps que les pourparlers par télégrammes ne feront qu'augmenter les difficultés et les malentendus et que nous résoudrions verbalement dans une quinzaine de jours ce que nous ne pourrions obtenir par correspondance que dans l'espace de mois entiers. Le temps est précieux et surtout coûteux.

Lorsque plus tard dans le cours de notre entretien le Marquis m'exprima le désir—au moins enfantin—que nous lui fassions connaître quels étaient les points du traité aux quels nous accordions une importance majeure et pour lesquels “ nous nous battrions ” [*sic*] et ceux sur lesquels nous serions disposés à céder—je répondis :

Vous voulez rire, mon cher Marquis, en me faisant une pareille proposition. Vous savez ce que nous voulons puisque Vous avez le traité entre les mains. A vous à dire ce que Vous ne voulez pas. Le fait que nous consentons à la discussion du traité prouve que nous sommes disposés s'il y a lieu à admettre de certaines modifications, mais on ne saurait nous demander d'indiscrètes confessions et d'annuler notre œuvre en l'abjurant nous-mêmes.

Salisbury a la mauvaise habitude de rire aussi bruyamment que mal à propos. C'est donc avec un de ces éclats de rire qu'il me répondit : “ C'est extraordinaire ! C'est donc Vous qui venez provoquer un “ultimatum de ma part !”

Non,—repliquai-je,—c'est Vous qui m'avez dit au contraire que le Congrès s'il se réunissait sans entente préalable entre nous, devait infailliblement échouer, qu'alors c'était la guerre imminente et que Vous insistiez pour l'éviter sur une entente préalable. C'est donc à Vous à formuler Votre *sine qua non* et à nous à l'examiner et à y répondre.

Le Marquis finit par se ranger de cette opinion—il eut été difficile de continuer à soutenir la thèse contraire.

Je reviens encore une fois sur l'urgence d'écarter au Marquis de Salisbury dans le plus bref délai son programme de résistance et sur l'utilité de Vous l'apporter moi même, de le discuter avec Vous, de rapporter Vos décisions armé de tous les arguments que je recueillerai de Vous.—Je suis loin de croire à la réussite de cette combinaison, mais elle offre le plus de chances de succès.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

THE CODE OF STEPHAN DUŠAN

Translated with Notes by MALCOLM BURR, D.Sc.

PART II¹

Article 101. On Violence

There shall be no violence against any man in my dominions: and if there should be a case of assault or violence, let all his horses be taken from him, one half to the Tsar, the other to him who was attacked.

The Athos text adds that the penalty shall be "as set forth in the Law Book of the Holy Fathers," where (in the *Syntagma* of Matthæus Vlastaris, bk. Φ, chap. 8) we read that in the event of a death ensuing as a result of an armed attack, if the guilty party were noble, his estate was forfeited, and if a commoner, he was beheaded and his body thrown to the wild beasts.

Article 102. On Cautionary Deposits

There shall not be deposited any caution by any man at any time. And whoso shall so do, he shall pay sevenfold.

This is probably a prohibition of the making of large deposits of caution money, the *deposita in lris æstimationem pecunia*, of Justinian, and the "wed" of old English law. Šafářík has shown that it existed in old Czech law, under the name *vzdání*, where it was chiefly invoked for material damage of a rural nature, such as felling timber, damage by straying cattle, poaching and land disputes. The Serbian word, *uzdanije*, is the phonetic equivalent of the Czech word.

Article 103. On the Trial of Slaves

In the case of slaves, they shall be tried before their own lords for all their own affairs, but for crimes they shall go before the judges, that is for bloodshed, murder, theft, brigandage and harbouring men.

For the crime of harbouring, see note under Article 141. This article illustrates the development of what were in English law called "pleas of the crown," of which the royal courts took cognisance even in the case of the unfree, inasmuch as such crimes involved a breach of the king's peace.

Article 104. On Officers in Absence of Husband

The officer of the court shall not call upon a wife when the husband is not at home, nor shall a wife be summoned to court without her husband, but a wife shall give her husband notice when she goes to court. And in that matter a husband is guiltless, until she give him notice.

This article shows a regard for the sanctity of the home which is quite in keeping with the Serbian tradition.

The word translated "officer" is *pristav*.

¹ Cp. this *Review*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 70, pp. 198 seq.

Article 105. On the Contradiction of Charters

Imperial charters which are produced before the judges in any matter, which my Code contradicts, and which the court find invalid shall be brought and submitted to me.

The wording of this clause is involved, but the meaning seems clear enough. The Tsar had evidently found that cases were liable to occur where charters and deeds of gift ran counter to the law as written in the Code. Therefore he orders the judges, in cases of such collision, to refer the matter back to him and produce the original deed. Compare also Arts. 78 and 83.

But experience showed that this procedure was unsatisfactory and in 1354 he amended it, in Article 171, where he issues direct orders to the judges that the Code itself is final and authoritative and overrides any separate deeds or enactments issued separately by the Tsar.

The word translated "charters" is *knige*, literally "books."

Article 106. On Lord's Servants

If any servant of a lord do any crime, if he be the son of an official let him be judged by his father's household by jury; but if he be a commoner, let him be taken to the cauldron.

A lord had his own servants or officials (*dvorani*) to whom he made grants from his estates in the form of *promje* or fiefs (see Art. 68). He would employ the sons of such officials as pages, messengers and so on, as the officials must have been men of education, very likely of noble birth since their privileges are here expressly protected.

Commoners, on the other hand, probably employed as cooks, grooms, servants, craftsmen, would have to undergo the ordeal by boiling water (see Art. 33).

For trial by jury (*porota*), see Arts. 151 et seqq.

Article 107. On Beating Cooks

Whoso shall beat the cook or officer of a judge shall be imprisoned and all that he hath taken from him.

Dušan's judges were itinerant, constantly travelling about the country, as Novaković comments, where inns were few and probably confined to the cities and towns, so there is nothing remarkable in their taking a personal cook with them, as well as their beadle. It was also a protection against poisoning. The effect of the Article is to protect the personal staff of the judges and to add dignity and security to the judicial service, and in this way is quite consistent with Art. 111, and the general trend of Dušan's legislation to promote the efficiency and independence of the judiciary.

The words translated "cook" and "officer" are *sokalnik* and *pristav*.

Article 108. The Tax on Taking Possession

Touching the tax on taking possession, let it be thus: on land, three perpers to the officer on a village; on a mill three perpers: on a district, three perpers on each village and on a city, a horse and raiment: on a vineyard three perpers: on a horse one perper: on a mare six dinars: on a bull four dinars: on a sheep three dinars.

This tax, *izdav*, seems to have been a payment to the office of the court by successful litigants.

The "district" is the *župa*.

Article 109. On Poisoning

If a magician or poisoner be detected, let him be punished according to the Law of the Holy Fathers.

The Law of the Holy Fathers means the Syntagma of Matthæus Vlastaris. No copy of the Code exists without having the Syntagma attached to it.

The word translated "magician" is *Maginik*.

Article 110. On Violence

Judges who travel about my dominions and in their own province may not take their maintenance by force, nor ought else, save only gifts which may be given them by free will.

The interest of this clause lies in the evidence that the judges were on circuit within a definite district (*oblast*) and that they had the right to a fixed maintenance (*obrok*) for themselves and their staff, payable by the county.

For the province, functions and duties of judges, see Arts. 175, 179 and 182.

Article 111. On Insulting Judges

Whoso shall insult a judge, if he be a lord, let all be taken from him ; but if it be a village, let it be scattered and confiscated.

This Article, together with No. 107, protects the persons and dignity of the judges, who were by their very duties exposed to the anger of disappointed and often formidable, litigants.

For scattering, see Art. 24.

Article 112. On Escape from Prisons

If any man escape from prison, so soon as he come to my court, be he my man or a man of the Church or of a lord, forthwith let him be free. And if he escape, whatsoever he leave, let it belong to him from whom he hath escaped.

The word translated "prison" is *temnica*, literally, a dark place.

Article 113. On Asylum

And any prisoner kept in my court, if he escape to the court of the Patriarch, let him be free, and similarly if to the court of the Tsar, let him be free.

This version of the right of asylum is framed on more generous terms than at Byzantium, where exception was made of heretics, heathens, slaves, murderers, adulterers and traitors. Dušan excludes only serfs (Art. 72).

Article 114.

Men who have broken a bail and return from abroad to my dominions, those who have given security for them shall pay nought.

Novaković quotes a modern instance of the use of bail when, in 1825, Milosav Resavac cleared the Resava of brigandage, which was very rife in that district at the time, he made use of the system of guarantors.

Article 115. On Absconders

If any man receive another from another estate who shall have fled from his own lord or court, if he produce the Tsar's letter of pardon, it shall not be contradicted.

But if he shew no pardon, let him be sent back.

This clause once more illustrates the tendency of Dušan's legislation to strengthen the hold of the landowners upon their men and their power of judgment over their own villeins and serfs.

Article 116. On Finding

If any man find anything within my territory, let him not take it and say: "I will return it if any man find out." If any man take or seize aught, let him pay what a thief or robber would pay. But whoso find anything while in the army in a foreign land, let him bring it to the Tsar or to the commander.

Article 117. Of Seizures

If anything come to any man in the Tsar's realm out of some city or other district which belonged to some other lord before the Tsar took that land or county, there shall be no claim, neither of man nor of aught else. But if that happen after the Tsar annexed those lands to his realm, it may not be claimed with these words: "This is from the war-time, when the lands and towns did not belong to the Tsar."

The text is somewhat corrupt and I have followed the transcription of Novaković, which makes the meaning clear enough.

Article 118. Of Merchants

No man, noble or other, may molest merchants who travel about the Tsar's dominions, nor rob them by force nor scatter their merchandise, nor take their money by force. Whosoever shall be found seizing or robbing their merchandise shall pay five hundred perpers.

This clause was evidently inserted for the sake of ratification and promulgation from the text of the commercial treaties with Dubrovnik, the party most vitally interested in the trade of Dušan's dominions, as the security of their numerous agents, depôts and caravans was of capital importance. A commercial treaty with Dubrovnik had been signed as early as 1195-1228 by Stephan the First-Crowned, who held the counties responsible for the safety of passing traders. One of the first acts of King Milutin was to make the villages liable, or in their default the crown itself, as a guarantee and to decree the penalty of five hundred perpers.

Article 119. Of Merchants

Merchants who trade in scarlet cloth of better or inferior quality shall travel freely without hindrance in my dominion and sell and buy and trade however commerce may require.

Scarlet cloth was used in the state robes of the court and noblemen. The Serbs evidently first heard of it from Italy, as they called it *skrlat*, probably from the Persian *sagalat*. It was originally the name of a heavy cloth, introduced to Europe by the Venetians.

Article 120. On Customs Officers

An Imperial customs officer may not hinder nor detain any man in order to sell his goods at a low price: to every man the markets are free and every man may take his goods wheresoever he will.

This general order for the protection of the right of free commerce was constantly enacted and repeated in commercial treaties and is inserted in the Code for final confirmation.

Article 121. On Pre-emption

And no lord, either small or great, nor any other man may detain and hold as security his own or other merchants, to prevent them from proceeding to the Imperial markets. Let every man proceed freely.

This is a prohibition of the right of pre-emption which some lords had enjoyed, and an implied reservation of the right to the crown.

Royal pre-emption of meat is mentioned in a commercial treaty between King Milutin and Dubrovnik.

Still, the lords seem to have been strong enough actually to use the right, certainly after Dušan's death, for it survived into Turkish days. Novaković quotes a local enactment of the Sanjak of Nikopolis, which reserved to the pasha the first right of selling young wine and grapes for "two or ten days after the harvest," to enable him to dispose of his own supplies without competition. It was, in fact, probably a universal privilege of the ruling authorities throughout the Ottoman Empire, a legacy of the feudal days.

Dušan set his face against it. At the very beginning of his reign, before he assumed the imperial title, he issued a decree prohibiting anyone from hindering the men of Dubrovnik, or any other "man of the land," that is, agriculturist, from dealing freely in corn, under fear of the king's displeasure and a fine of 500 perpers.

Article 122. Of Merchants

And if any lord detain a merchant, let him pay three hundred perpers: and if a customs officer detain him, let him pay three hundred perpers.

Article 123. On Saxons

On market towns. Wheresoever Saxons have cleared forest up to the date of this Council, that land let them have. And if they have unlawfully taken any land from any lord, let the Lord sue them according to the law of the Sainted King. But from henceforth a Saxon may not clear and that forest which he clears shall not belong to him, nor shall

they settle people there, but it shall stand empty, so that the forest grow. Let no man forbid a Saxon so much timber as he need for his business, so much let him fell.

The "Saxons," i.e. German immigrants, who were engaged in mining and metallurgy, had cleared forests and squatted in the same way as the original Serbs; Dušan was determined to stop this, though at the same time allowing them such timber as they needed for fuel or constructional work.

It is curious that this clause is only in the Prizren and Rakovica texts, the latter differing in only a few minor orthographical discrepancies. Its omission by the later copyists is understandable, since its provisions were by their time obsolete, but its absence from the Athos and Struga texts is surprising.

The word clearing, *krčevina*, means the original estate of a family, cleared by them from the primeval forest, it was free and could not be alienated, as distinct from a *baština*, which could be bought and sold.

Article 124. Of the Law in Towns

Greek towns which the Lord Tsar hath taken, whatsoever charters¹ and decrees² have been granted to them, whatsoever they have and hold up to the time of this Council, let them hold, and it is confirmed to them and let no man take aught from them.

¹ i.e. *chrisoboulie*, Gk. χρυσόβουλλα.

² i.e. *prostagme*, Gk. προστάγματα.

Article 125. Of Maintenance in Towns

Towns are not liable to the maintenance of officials. When a countryman come, let him go to the inn, either small or great, and let him hand over his horse and all that he hath, that the innkeeper take charge for him entirely. And when the guest leaves, let the innkeeper hand to him all that he hath received from him; and if anything be lost, let him pay its full value.

As was the general custom in mediæval Europe, State officials and employees and foreign ambassadors and envoys enjoyed the right of demanding board and lodging (*prisēhce*) on their journeys. This right was probably abused and Dušan did all he could to limit it. The system was necessary in remote places, where the liability was thrown on the counties (cf. Arts. 155 and 156). But in the towns there were inns "both great and small," so the system was unnecessary.

"Inn" is *stanamna*.

Novaković quotes an interesting extract from Jireček (*Arch. f. Slav. Phil.*, xiv, pp. 75-77), describing an actual case arising under this clause. It is from the records of the courts of Dubrovnik for the year 1405. Some traders from that city arrived at Vučitrn, coming from Priština, and entrusted their horses and goods to the innkeeper, who took charge of them and locked them up. But owing to some incident connected with the unexpected arrival of a Turk, something was lost. The merchants brought an action against the innkeeper under this clause and won their case.

a duel, and no other soldier shall help them. And if anyone go to succour or help, let him be flogged.

The Struga Text has for the last words *da se ubiju*, let them be killed, for while *biti* means to beat, strike or fight, *ubiti* means to kill. Novaković regards this as a copyist's slip, but the Athos group of texts prescribe the ferocious penalty, "let their hands be cut off," for those who intervened in the quarrel.

Article 132. Of Booty

If anyone in the Imperial dominions buy aught from booty taken on foreign soil, it is free to him to buy that booty provided he do so not within the territories of my Empire, but on foreign soil. And if someone accuse him, saying: "That is mine," the dispute shall be settled before a jury according to the law, whether he bought it on foreign soil and is not a thief nor a receiver nor an abettor: and such let him hold as his own.

From this clause and No. 116 it is clear that looting was recognised as a custom, but subject to certain restrictions.

Article 133. Of Ambassadors

An ambassador proceeding from a foreign country to the Tsar, or from the Lord Tsar to his own lord, when he come to any village, let honour be done him, that he have enough; but he must only stay for dinner or for supper and go his way to another village.

The word translated "ambassador" is *pokhsar*, from the Byzantine ἀποκρισιάρχης.

Article 134. Of Hereditary Estates

When the Tsar grant a hereditary estate, let him to whom a village is given pay the logofet thirty perpers for the charter: but to whom a county is given, for each village thirty perpers and six to the clerk for the writing.

The word translated "hereditary estate" is *baština*, the "charter" is *chrysoboul*, and "county" is *župa*.

For the functions of the *logofet*, compare Art. 25. The word for clerk is *dijak*, from the Greek δίδκωνος, "servant," whence the English word deacon.

Article 135. Of the Army

If the army go through the Tsar's land and lodge in any village, let not the train¹ which follows the army lodge in the same village.

¹ *drouga*.

IN THE YEAR 6862, the SEVENTH OF THE INDICTION

Article 136.

My Imperial writ may not be disobeyed, to whomsoever it be sent, be it to the Lady Tsaritsa, or to the King, or to the lords, great or small, or to any man. No man shall disobey what is written in my writ. But if such a writ cannot be fulfilled, then let him who received it go forthwith back with the writ to me to explain to me.

This clause is the first Article in the Supplementary Code, dating, according to the majority of the MSS., from the year 6862, that is, 1354. The clauses are of a somewhat different character, less generalised, dealing less with general principles, and more particular, evidently inspired in the light of experience gained since the first Code was promulgated.

The Tsar had been granting very extensive privileges to the Church and to the nobles, but here by special edict he asserts his paramount authority over all, including the Empress herself, and the *kralj*, or King, which in the Code always means his son Uroš.

The word translated "writ" is *kniga*, lit. "book."

Article 137. Of Charters

My charters which I have granted to the towns of my Empire, that which is written in them may not be changed, even by the Lord Tsar himself, nor by any other man. The charters are firm.

Art. 124 had already confirmed the existing rights of the Greek cities incorporated within the empire by Dušan's conquests. This may have caused some apprehension among the Serbian nobility that their privileges were in some way threatened, and consequently their charters, here also called by the Greek name of "golden bulls," *chrysoboli*, are definitely and finally confirmed.

Article 138. Of Errors

If there be in any charter a word wrongly written and there be meanings changed and words altered otherwise than my Majesty commanded, let these charters be torn up and they shall not have the inheritance.¹

¹ i.e. *baština*.

Article 139.

No master may do to a serf within the territories of my Empire aught that is contrary to the law, save only what I have written in the Code. That shall they do and give. And if he do aught to him against the law I enact, every serf is free to lay plaint against his master, be it I the Tsar, or the Lady Tsaritsa, or the Church, or my lords or any man. No man is free to withhold a serf from my Imperial Court, only the judges shall judge him according to right. And if the serf win against his master, let my judge give warranty that his master pay all to the villein at the appointed time, and that his master do no evil to the villein after the sentence.

The words translated "master", "serf" and "lord" are respectively *gospodar*, *měrop'ch* and *vlastělin*.

Here again is evidence that this part of the Code is a supplement to the original, in the reference to the earlier part, that is, to Art. 68, which confirms the division of the land into State or Imperial, ecclesiastical, and the baronial, and that of the free men, and confirms the terms of feudal service due in *baštine*, or hereditary estates, and *promije*, or fiefs granted in return for service, which differed only in the power of disposal and inheritance.

Article 140. Of Receiving Men

My Majesty commands. No man may receive any man, neither I the Tsar, nor the Lady Tsaritsa, nor the Church, nor a lord, nor any other man whosoever may receive any man without my Imperial writ. And if he receive him, let him be punished as a traitor.

Article 141.

And also in the market-towns, county prefectures, and in the cities, if anyone receive any man, in the same way shall he be punished and given up.

After protecting the villeins against the tyranny of their lords, the Code now proceeds to forbid once more the crime of harbouring fugitive serfs, and to bind them more irrevocably to the land.

Article 142. Of Lords

Any lord, greater or less, to whom I have given land and towns, if any one of them be found to have seized villages and people against the law of my Empire which I have enacted in my Council, let his estate be taken from him and all that damage which he has done, let him pay for from his own house and let him be punished even as a deserter.

This clause is supplementary to Art. 57, which deals with the abuse of authority and hospitality on the part of barons when travelling on duty or some temporary service. But this clause deals with cases where the barons were appointed to administer newly acquired territories. Dušan's policy was to administer the new provinces wisely and justly, so he sharpened the punishment for misdemeanour from mere confiscation to that of a deserter, which included mutilation.

Article 143. Of Brigands

If any brigand, coming through a frontier province, rob anywhere and again return with his booty, let the Warden of the Marches pay sevenfold.

This clearly supplements Art. 49, which provided for Wardens of the Marches or counts palatine (*kraištniki*), who were held responsible for raids by foreign enemies; they are now held liable for the incursions of armed brigands (*gousari*) from across the frontier.

Article 144. Of Those who go Abroad

If any lord, great or small, or any other man of my Empire fare abroad, and the neighbouring village and the county around arise and

plunder his home and cattle which he has left, those who do so shall be punished as traitors to my Empire.

This supplements Art. 58, which provides quiet succession in the event of the death of a landowner and protects his property during the interval.

Article 145. Of Brigands and Thieves

My Majesty commands. In all lands and in the towns and counties and in the marches there shall be no Brigands nor thieves in any region. And in this manner shall thieving and brigandage be stopped. In whatsoever village a thief or brigand be found, that village shall be "scattered" and the brigand shall be hanged forthwith, and a thief shall be blinded and the headman of the village shall be brought before me and shall pay for all that the brigand or thief hath done from the beginning and also shall be punished as a thief and a brigand.

Article 146. Of Bailiffs

And also prefects and lieutenants and bailiffs and reeves and headmen who administer villages and mountain hamlets. All these shall be punished in the manner written above, if any thief or brigand be found in them.

The words used for these village officers are *knezovŭ, prēmikjorje, vladal'ar, prěastanici* and *čel'nici*.

Article 147. Of Bailiffs

If any bailiff make a report to his master and that lord be inattentive thereto, he shall be punished as a brigand or a thief.

(In the condition of the manuscripts the translation of this clause must be accepted only as provisional.)

These three clauses go together and illustrate the extent of brigandage in the country at the time, as well as Dušan's resolution to stamp it out.

The word *gospodar*, translated "headman" in Art. 145, literally "lord," must not be taken in this context to mean more than a prominent yeoman in the village, having his own holding, and acting in the capacity of representing the village, on the analogy of the present-day *mukhtars* of Macedonia and the *predsednici opštine* of Serbia.

In Art. 146, Dušan includes various administrative officials in the net, threatening them with the actual penalties of the criminals if they were caught harbouring them.

Article 148. Of Judges

If a Church, or a lord, or any other man in my Empire disobey the writ of my judges whom I appoint to judge in the land, or whatever they write concerning any brigand or thief, they shall all be punished as disobedient to my Majesty.

This and the next two clauses are all part of the one series dealing with brigandage.

Article 149. Of Brigands and Thieves

And in this manner shall a brigand or thief be punished, who is taken in the act. He is deemed guilty if there be found on him a stolen thing, or if he be taken in the act of robbing or thieving, or when they are handed to the county or to the village, or to the headmen or to the lord who is over them, as written above. And these brigands and thieves shall not be pardoned but blinded and hanged.

Similar summary punishment of the "hand-having thief" is to be found in the Anglo-Saxon codes.

Article 150. Of Thieves

If anyone sue a brigand or thief in the courts and there be no proof, then shall he undergo ordeal by iron, as I have decreed. Let them take him to the doors of the church from the fire and place it upon the Holy Table.

The procedure in Ordeal by Hot Iron was as follows: a piece of iron was heated in the doorway of a church and the accused was obliged to lift it from the fire and place it on the Holy Table. If he succeeded in doing this without hurting himself he was declared innocent and discharged, but if he burnt his hands, it was deemed that God had declared him guilty. The effect was obviously to leave the decision in the hands of the priests.

Article 151. Of Juries

My Majesty commands. From now henceforward let there be a jury for great things and small. For a great matter, let there be twenty-four jurors, for a lesser matter twelve, and for a small matter, six. And these jurors shall not make peace between the parties, but shall acquit or convict. And let every jury be in a church and the priest in robes shall swear them. And in the jury those are believed whom the majority acquit on oath.

The last sentence means that the jury (*porota*) decided by a majority vote.

Article 152. Of the Law

As was the law under the Sainted King my grandfather,¹ so let great lords be jurors for great lords, for middle persons their peers, and for commoners their peers. And on a jury there may be neither kinsman nor enemy.

¹ i.e. King Milutin.

Article 153. Of Merchants

Juries for foreigners and merchants shall be made half of Serbs and half of their fellow-countrymen, according to the law of the Sainted King.

Article 154. Of Jurymen

When jurors acquit on oath according to the law, and after acquittal guilt be proved against him whom they have acquitted, I shall fine those jurors one thousand perpers each and in future those jurors shall not be believed and they may not take either husband or wife.

The jury system expounded in these four clauses is really a development of Arts. 79 and 80, concerning village boundaries, and Art. 106, about the trial of certain privileged persons, providing for the reference of the dispute to assessors of equal rank with the litigants, and to the empanelling in the proportions of half and half to represent each party, although in Art. 80 the jurors have rather the function of expert witnesses.

Here we have a Serbian custom, by no means the invention of Dušan, but the elaboration of the existing system already legalised by his grandfather King Milutin, who in his turn certainly only formalised an ancient national institution.

The *porota* was not a jury in the English sense of the word to-day, as it was used in civil but not in criminal cases. Also, it did not merely give verdicts, but actually tried cases. It had, in fact, judicial functions.

The earliest commercial treaties with Dubrovnik, as far back as the early days of King Stephan the First-Crowned (1196-1228), even before his coronation, provide courts for the settlement of disputes, which sat at an appointed place and time, that is, from St. Michael's Day (29 September) to St. George's Day (23 April), and a later enactment of the same king reserved such disputes for the king's court.

The standing court was a mixed, elected tribunal, in fact, a Court of Arbitration, held near Dubrovnik.

Apparently Milutin found that the long journey to Dubrovnik involved inconvenience and expense to his subjects, and so provided for the holding of mixed courts at any place. One of his decrees enacts that in a dispute between a Serb and a Ragusan, the decision be referred to one Serb and one Ragusan, and if between a Saxon and a Ragusan, to one Saxon and one Ragusan.

But none of the records of Milutin refer to juries and the word *porota* does not occur, yet Dušan definitely attributes the institution to his grandfather, and in an edict of the same year as the Code, 1349, granting certain privileges to the Ragusans, he provides for each side, in mixed disputes, to provide one half the jury, "one half of Serbs and one half of Latins, according to the Law as it was in the time of my father and of my grandfather the Sainted King."

It must have been an ancient institution of the Serbian people, for the word *porotnik* occurs in the Vinodol Charter of 1288, which had no connection with the Serbs of the kingdom and empire.

Art. 152 also formalises the principle of trial by peers, which was promulgated by Milutin and gave the litigants the right of protest against the presence on the jury of a kinsman of the other party or of a definite enemy.

Another interesting point is the expression "middle-class people," which seems to indicate the beginning of the breakdown of the strong distinction between the privileged and unprivileged classes: here we have the greater barons on the one hand and the commoners on the other sharply discriminated as usual, but for the first time we find a definite recognition of an intermediate class, which presumably included the lesser barons, the merchants, the townsfolk and tradesmen, superior craftsmen, who were not of aristocratic rank, but superior to the rank and file of the

commoners and countryfolk in general. Perhaps the expression "good people" in Art. 97 refers to this early bourgeoisie, in which we must probably include the foreign residents, Saxons, Ragusans and Italians, who formed the chief element in the towns.

Art. 153, in contrasting foreigners and merchants with Serbs, confirms the general impression we have of the period, that commerce was almost entirely in the hands of foreigners, mostly Ragusans, who, though they spoke the same language as the Serbs, were Latins in faith and Italian in culture. The other foreigners were the Saxon miners and metallurgists and probably Greek and Italian traders, and, perhaps, some German and Hungarian mercenaries.

The last sentence of Art. 154 is peculiar. Novaković follows the Prizren text, generally so trustworthy, which has *ni da se kto ot nich ni muž ni ženin*, "and let none of them take husband or wife." In Serb, as in Russian, different words are used for marrying according to the sex of the person. The Serbian verb for a man to marry is *oženiti se*, a reflexive verb from the word *žena*, woman. The word for a woman, in the modern language, is *udati se*, literally, to give oneself up, but in the Macedonian dialect the girls still use the old verb we have here, *mužiti se*, from the word *muž*, a husband. The words *ni muž* in the text cannot possibly be applied to a man. It must mean, if the text is correct, that in Dušan's time, women sat upon juries.

Rovinsky quotes a record from the Zeta, from the time of Ivanbeg (1465-1490), in a boundary dispute when a *porota* was summoned of *bjelošani* with their wives.

The later Athos and Bistrica texts have a different version, "and if they be found to have knowingly wrongfully acquitted or given up, or taken any bribe, having paid as aforesaid, they shall also be banished to another unknown land." This seems a more reasonable text, but it is difficult to reconcile it with the Prizren and Struga versions.

It is noteworthy that trial by *porota* seems to have been quite different from trial by the judges, as the two are not coupled together and the jury does not seem to have dealt with criminal cases.

Article 155. Of Maintenance

Henceforward the right of maintenance does not ensue, save when a great lord with a standard comes into a county, or a lesser lord who holds a fief and there is no connection between them, or between their fiefs, they shall pay.

Article 156. Of Maintenance

In the lands of my Empire, speaking of serfs, lords shall not take maintenance nor any other payment, save that they pay from the house.

The meaning of these two clauses is not very clear and there is probably something missing from the text.

It is evidently a restriction on the right of *prisēlica*, that is, board, lodging and transport (cf. Arts. 57, 125, 133 and 142), which had been abused, expressly denying it to lords in villages which belonged to the Tsar and were neither seigneurial nor ecclesiastical and were exempt from any burden, so that any visitor would have to pay out of his own pocket. Novaković considers that lords might not demand this privilege in the territories of other lords and that the people were obliged to give it only to their own overlords and not to others. An exception is made in favour

of a standard-bearer, an officer of high military rank, or of a lesser baron travelling on duty, who held property adjoining or a *pronija*. In any case, the general meaning seems to be that the right to demand this privilege is abolished except in these two instances.

Article 157. Of Guarding Roads

Where there are mixed counties, ecclesiastical and Imperial villages, or seigneurial, and all the villages are mixed, and there is not one lord over the whole county, but if there are prefects and judges whom I have appointed, let them place guards on all roads, and let them hand over the roads to the prefects, to keep them with their guards, and if anyone rob or steal or do any crime, let recourse be had forthwith to the prefect, who shall pay him from his own house, and the prefects and patrols shall seek the robbers and thieves.

The *kefalijs* or prefects were appointed by the Tsar as his representative over the towns. In addition to their former duties, they are now entrusted with that of maintaining order on the Tsar's highways and, on the old principle, are held pecuniarily responsible for robberies and thefts committed in their area, which makes this Article supplementary to Nos. 145-47.

The Article shows that, as we should expect, *župe* were often divided, and the holdings of big landowners did not necessarily coincide with the boundaries of their *župe*. Where a *župa* belonged to a single lord, there could be no question as to responsibility, the whole of which would fall upon the lord, and probably the Tsar would not be separately represented there, except by his travelling judges. Art. 160 expressly allocates the responsibility for the safety of the highways to the lord of the *župa* as to a prefect.

But in mixed *župe* there might be towns which were reserved to the Tsar himself and there the prefect carried the responsibility for the roads.

Article 158. Of Unpopulated Hills

If there be an unpopulated hill between two counties, the neighbouring villages which are around the hill shall keep the watch. If they fail to keep watch, whatsoever happen on that hill in the wilderness by way of damage or robbery or theft or any crime, then shall those neighbouring villages pay, to whom it has been ordered to keep the watch.

Article 159. Of Merchants

When merchants come for a lodging for the night, if the reeve ¹ or headman ² of the village do not admit them to rest in the village according to my law as it is in the Code, if the traveller lose aught, that reeve or headman shall pay all, for not having admitted him to the village.

¹ i.e. *vladalac*.

² i.e. *gospodar*.

Article 160. Of Guests or Travellers

If it so happen that any traveller, merchant or monk be robbed of aught by brigand or thief, or be in any way detained, let them all come

to me and I will repay them what they have lost and I will recover it from the prefects and lords to whom the patrolling of the road was entrusted.

And let any traveller, merchant or Latin come to the first guard with all that he has and bears with him, that the guard deliver him to guard all the way. And if it so happen that he lose aught, there is the jury of trusty men, and whatsoever they shall swear upon their soul to those jurors, that shall the prefects and guards pay them.

These two articles illustrate Dušan's care for the interests of commerce and his intention of protecting it efficiently. He gave protection to all travellers, but in Art. 160 he lays stress on merchants, who might be his own subjects, but were mostly Latins, that is, Roman Catholics, who were chiefly Ragusans and Venetians and occasionally, perhaps, other Italians.

Article 161. Of Jurors

When litigants are suing in court and pleading their own case and the defendant is pleading his, he is not permitted falsely to accuse the plaintiff, neither of breach of faith, nor of any other matter, but only to defend his case. But when the trial is finished, if he have aught [to say], let him discuss it with him before my Imperial judges, but he shall not be believed in anything until the case is finished.

This Article and the next two deal with procedure in the Imperial Courts. The drafting is somewhat involved, but it appears to forbid the defendant attempting to discredit the plaintiff before the evidence is heard and a verdict obtained.

Article 162. Of Officers

Officers may go nowhere without writs of the court or without my Imperial writ; but wheresoever the judges send them, they shall write them writs, and no officer shall take aught save what is written in the writ. And the judges shall keep true copies of the writs which they have given to the officers whom they have sent on business through the land. And if an officer be accused of acting otherwise than the writ prescribes, or if they have tampered with the writ, there shall be a trial for them and they shall appear before the judges, and if it be shown that they have fulfilled what is written in the copies which the judges keep, they are justified. But, if it be that they have tampered with the writ of the court, let both their hands be cut off and their tongues slit.

The *pristavi* or officers of the courts (*v. ante*, Arts. 56 and 91), had great responsibilities and many opportunities of taking advantage of their position, and this clause would hardly have been inserted in the supplementary part of the Code unless experience had shown the necessity.

Article 163. Of Judges

Every judge shall write his judgments and keep them and shall write

a copy thereof and give it to him who has won his suit. Judges shall send as officers good, honest and trustworthy men.

Article 164. Of Receiving Men

As to men. Whoso shall have harboured a man before this Council shall be tried by the first court, as is written in the first Code.

Here again we have clear evidence that this is part of a supplementary Code, published in 1354, five years after the first.

The offence of receiving or harbouring "men" or serfs from other lords, was dealt with in Arts. 140 and 141 very sharply, in contrast to the milder treatment of Art. 115 in the first part of the Code.

Article 165. Of Swindlers

If there be a swindler who lead men into deceit, lying and fraud, he shall be punished as a thief and a robber.

Article 166. Of Drunkards

If a drunken man come from anywhere and strike anyone or cut him or wound him, yet not to death, then shall one eye be removed and one hand cut off. But if a drunken man molest anyone or pull off his cap or do him other insult, but do not wound him, he shall be flogged with one hundred strokes and cast into prison, and when he is taken from prison he shall be flogged again and released.

Article 167. Of Litigants

When litigants come before the Imperial Court, those words shall be believed which they first utter, for such are to be believed, and on them shall judgment be given, but on the last words, nothing.

Article 168. Of Goldsmiths

Goldsmiths may not be in the counties and the land of my Empire, but in the market-towns, where I have ordered dinars to be minted.

Article 169. Of Goldsmiths

And if there be found a goldsmith outside the towns and market-towns of my Empire in any village, that village shall be scattered and the goldsmith branded: and if there be a goldsmith in a town who coins dinars secretly, he shall be branded and the town shall pay such fine as the Tsar saith.

Article 170. Of Goldsmiths

Let the goldsmiths be in the towns of my Empire to strike money and for other purposes.

The second half of Art. 169 occurs only in the Athos group of texts, but we may accept it as Novaković does, in spite of the omission from the older MSS.

Article 171. Of the Law

A further edict of my Majesty. If I the Tsar write a writ, either from anger or from love or by grace for someone and that writ transgress the Code, and be not according to right and the law as written in the Code, the judges shall not obey that writ but shall adjudge according to justice.

In Art. 78 the Tsar places the written law above any deeds of gift or title issued by him, but only in connection with disputes over land, where the Church is involved. In Art. 105, where his writs clash with the law, the judges have instructions to refer the matter back to him.

This practice was evidently found to be unworkable, and so the law was amended by this decree and the written Code made paramount, overriding any special edicts or writs issued by the Tsar from time to time.

Article 172. Of Judges

Every judge shall judge according to the Code, justly, as written in the Code, and shall not judge by fear of me, the Tsar.

This guarantee of judiciary independence is based on the Byzantine tradition *principes legibus alligatus* (cf. Bury, *The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 29) and it has been shown by Radojčić that these clauses are based upon a Novella of Manuel Comnenus of 1159.

Article 173. Of Lords

Lords, greater and lesser, who come to my Imperial Court, whether Greek, German or Serb, whether great lord or anyone else, and bring with them a brigand or a thief, shall be themselves punished as a thief or a brigand.

As the lords who visited the Imperial Court were usually accompanied by a numerous retinue, probably including foreign and other mercenaries and armed retainers, it was a necessary precaution to hold them responsible for the misdeeds of their party.

The reference to Germans is interesting. The Saxon mining and metallurgical engineers would hardly include courtiers among their number, and they are invariably referred to as *Sasi*. Here we have the word *Němac*, German, and the allusion is probably to officers commanding detachments of mercenaries, such as the German Palmann, or Philippe de Mezières.

Article 174. Of Hereditary Estates

Workers on the land who have their own inherited property,¹ land, vineyards or purchased estate, are free to dispose of their own lands and vineyards, to give them as dowries, to give them to the Church, or to sell them, but there must always be a labourer on that place for him who is lord of that village. If there be no labourer in that place for him who is lord of the village, the same lord is free to take the vineyards and the fields.

We have the unusual word *zemljanin*, literally, a man of the land, really an agricultural labourer; a similar expression, *ot zemskih ljudi*,

from men of the land, occurs in an edict of Stephan the First-Crowned, in contrast with the Vlah and Albanian herdsmen. In a deed of gift by Dečanski, father of Dušan, to Hilendar, we have *zemljanin* in the sense of any man holding land, whether noble or base, and in Dušan's commercial treaty with Dubrovnik, it occurs in the sense of a rural worker who sells his corn.

¹ i.e. *baština*.

Article 175. Of Judges

Whoso be judge in my Imperial Court, let him judge such crimes as occur there. The Court judges shall also hear cases where litigants happen by chance to meet in my court. But let no man summon to trial in my Imperial Court, but in the circuit of the judges whom I the Tsar have appointed. Let each appear before his own judge.

Dušan retained a judge attached to his Imperial Court, to try cases actually arising there, a germ of a King's Bench. The same function was performed by the Palatine in Frankish courts, and by the *soudi* of the early Bohemian princes.

Article 176. Of Towns

All towns which are in my dominions shall be in relation to the law in all things as they were in the days of the first Tsars. For suits which citizens have between themselves, let them be judged before the prefects of the towns. Or before the Church courts. And if a man from the country have a case with a citizen let him sue before the prefect of the town and before the Church and the clergy. According to the law.

The first sentence amplifies the confirmation of the urban rights which was granted to the Greek towns in Art. 124 and is now extended to all towns in the empire. It then proceeds to give judicial power to the prefects, here called *vladalac*, a word which is generally used for the reeve or headman of a village, and to the ecclesiastical authorities.

Article 177. Of Suits at Court

Lords who dwell always at my court, if they are sued, shall be tried by my court judges, and no one else shall try these cases.

Article 178. Of Judges' Writs

If judges send their officer or writ and any man disobey and repel the officer, then shall the judge send his writ to the prefects and to the lords in which province the disobedient party is, that these authorities execute the writ of the judge. And if these authorities do not so execute, let them be punished even as the disobedient ones.

Article 179. Of Judges

Judges who are travelling within the bounds of their circuit shall attend to and assist the poor and the needy.

Article 180. Of Stolen Goods

If anyone find aught robbed or stolen or taken by force, let each

party in the case give evidence.¹ If anyone buy anything, either in the territories of my Empire or in another land, let him give evidence touching it, and if he produce no evidence, let him pay according to the law.

¹ *svod*, which means a special process of inquiry in cases of disputed ownership and charges of theft, especially of livestock. The accused party was called upon to give an account of his possession of the animal, and from whom he had originally acquired it, that person was then sent for and interrogated, and so on, until the whole history of the animal was traced back, and the existence, or otherwise, of a theft finally proved. The Anglo-Saxon codes are full of similar efforts to deal with cattle-rustlers.

Article 181. Of Suits Before the Tsar

My decree to the judges. If there be a big case and they cannot decide it and come to a decision, however great the court may be, let one of the judges come with both the parties before me, the Tsar. And whatsoever the judge shall wish to award, let them write down each award, that there be no mistake, and that I the Tsar may decide the case according to law.

Here we have provision for appeal to the Tsar in person.

Criminal appeals seem to have usually been decided by Ordeal by Boiling Water (Art. 84), or Hot Iron (Art. 150), and this is the only Article which suggests an appeal in civil actions.

Article 182. Of Unlawful Suits

No man who is in the district of the judges may bring an action in my Imperial Court, or anywhere else. He may appear only before his own judge in whose district he is, that the matter may be tried according to the law.

This is but a repetition of Arts. 175 and 179.

Article 183. Of Shepherds

All shepherds of my Empire who have actions among themselves touching murder, brigandage, theft, killing, harbouring or land, shall appear before the judges of the court.

With this Article compare No. 103, where serfs have their petty cases tried by their overlords, but are brought before the judges on five criminal counts, namely, bloodshed, murder, theft, brigandage and harbouring. A serf could not own property, but shepherds (*stanici*) were not necessarily serfs and might have land of their own, so to this list land disputes are added.

The article was probably inspired by attempts on the part of powerful barons to arrogate to themselves the power of trying their own serfs, villeins and shepherds for all offences, which the Tsar stopped by reserving criminal cases for his own courts.

At the same time the Church retained the privilege of trying its own people, even for these offences, as is made clear in the Charter of the Monastery of the Archangel; only if one party to the case was not one of their own men was the matter brought before the crown courts. Dušan granted the same right to Hilendar.

Article 184. Of Prefects

My lords and prefects ¹ who hold the towns and market-towns may none of them receive any man for the prison without my warrant. And if any such do receive such a man without my command, let him pay me five hundred perpers.

¹ *kjefahje*.

Article 185. Of Prisons

In the same way, he who holds my prisons shall receive no man without my warrant.

The opening words of Art. 184 may be read in two ways. Either we may put a comma after the word "lords," contrasting them, as the county authorities, on the one hand, with the prefects who were in the towns on the other. Or we may follow Novaković who reads it unquestioningly as though the expression "who hold the towns" applies to the lords as well as to the prefects, which implies that lords of the county had some functions in the towns as well.

Article 186. Of the Judgment of Right and Crime

Cases which were brought for right and for crimes which were committed before the Code and which are now done, let each court go . . .

This clause is preserved only in this fragmentary form and that only in the Prizren MS., so it is not possible to establish the text or interpret its meaning.

Article 187.

Wheresoever the Tsar and Tsaritsa travel, or the herds and horses of the Tsar, in whatsoever village they rest, in that village no herdsmen may rest. And if there be one who rest in that village contrary to the law and the Tsar's command, the elder of the shepherds shall be delivered bound to that village and he shall pay sevenfold the damage done.

This Article, which is found only in the Athos and Bistrica texts, resembles Art. 82, where two parties of herdsmen are forbidden to stop in one village for fear of disturbance, and Art. 135, about the army, when the Tsar is travelling.

Article 188. Of Treasurers

The treasurers who are with the judges, whatsoever fines the judges shall impose and deliver in writing to the treasurer, such fine shall the treasurer take. And save what the judge impose and certify in writing to the treasurer, the treasurer may not take from any man.

This is the first reference in the Code to a special official of the court called *globalar* or fines-master, whose duty it was to collect the fines imposed, but only upon the written certificate of the judges.

Article 189. Of Horses and Dogs

Wheresoever the horses and dogs and sheep of the Tsar go, whatsoever is written in the Tsar's books shall be given them and naught else.

This Article occurs only in the Bistrica text, and the Rakovica copy, which has an addition, "and the kennel-men, falconers and swineherds, wherever they go, nothing shall be given them."

Article 190. Of Mast

And where in a county there is mast, one half of it belongeth to the Tsar and one half to the lord on whose estate it is.

The exaction of a tribute in mast and acorns was an old and wide-spread custom. This tribute is called in Serb *žirovina*, from *živ*, an acorn or beech-mast; it was known in Byzantium as *βάλανιστρον*; we find this word in Slavonic dress in the schedule of villages belonging to Hilendar in the *župa* of Struma, as *onomma* and *valamstro*.

Article 191.

If a brigand steal the Tsar's swine, let the neighbourhood pay. And when swine are stolen, let the swineherd be judged with the county, as the court may decide.

This and the remaining clauses occur only in the Rakovica texts. Compare Arts. 199 and 200.

Article 192. Of the Court of Justice

For three things, for treason, for blood, and for rape of a noblewoman, let them come before the Tsar.

This clause, also only in the Rakovica text, seems incomplete.

It is evidently part of a series of enactments, with 103 and 183, dealing with the sphere of the Imperial Court of Justice, Dušan's King's Bench: it is obvious that the Tsar would wish to have direct control in cases of high treason for political reasons: for murder the motive is less obvious, and as this crime is frequently referred to in other parts of the Code, there is probably a special qualification omitted.

Article 193.

In inquisitions about horses and other acquisitions, or in any matter . . . justice. What is robbed or stolen, let an inquisition be made, or let him pay everything sevenfold. But if he say: "I bought the land from So-and-so," let jurors release from fine: and if the jurors do not release, let him pay a fine.

This is also peculiar to the Rakovica text. The first part seems a mere repetition of Art. 180, an enunciation of general principles, but the second introduces sworn arbitrators (*duševnici*) in doubtful cases. The reference is to the custom of *svod*, inquisition, for which see Art. 180.

Article 194. The Law of Treasurers for Church People

The law of fines for Church people. What is adjudged before the Church or prefect, and those fines which are imposed, let the Church have them all, as is written in the charters. Those fines shall be taken from Church people, as the Lord Tsar ordained the law of the land, and let Church officials be appointed treasurers, who will collect the fines and

deliver them to the Church, and the Tsar and the prefect shall take naught.

This Article also occurs only in the Rakovica text. The intent is clearly to confirm the privileges of the monasteries granted in several charters, in cases where "people of the Church" are tried, the Church receiving all the fines, which were looked upon as a source of revenue to the Church.

King Milutin set the example in his charter to the Monastery of St. Stefan, and Dušan granted the same privileges to Treskavac and his foundation at Prizren.

The words for "fine" and "treasurer" are *globa* and *globalar*.

Article 195.

And women shall not have lodging in a Church save only the Lady Tsaritsa and the Queen.

This clause is only in the Rakovica MS.

The "Queen" is the wife of the Tsar's eldest son. Cf. Art. 136.

Article 196. Of Tonsures.

And without the blessing of the Bishop, neither man nor woman may take the tonsure. To every man the law of the Church.

Article 197.

When a man come to any lord for the winter, let him give grass-tribute; for one hundred mares, a mare; for sheep, a ewe with lamb, and for one hundred cattle, an ox.

The charters refer to *travnina*, as payment for grazing-rights, but in a vague manner. That of Prizren provides for it according to law, but does not specify the law, probably because it was a generally known custom. There was an official called *travničar*, whose duties were obviously in connection with grass, *trava*. The Dečanski charter refers to an old law of *travnina*, "of the flock, 2 rams and 2 lambs and a cheese and a dinner."

The expression "when a man comes to any lord for the winter" obviously refers to the autumn migration of the herds from the alpine pastures, where grazing was abundant in the summer, but under snow in the winter, to the valleys.

Article 198.

The Tsar's revenue, tribute in kind, tax, and harač, let every man give, a measure of corn, half clean, half [*preprosta*],¹ and a perper in dinars, and the period of delivery for wheat is St. Dimitri's Day and the second period is at Christmas. And if a lord do not pay the tribute in kind at this period, let him be bound in the Tsar's court and kept until he pay double.

From the reference to *harač*, which is an anachronism, it is clear that this is the work of a later copyist, for *harač* was a Turkish poll-tax, and the word could not occur in the pre-Turkish days. Probably the main text is authentic, though not accurate: the latter part deals only with *soć*, payment in kind.

¹ What this word means is not clear.

Article 199.

And if a horse die in a village and if the village hath not killed it, nor driven it away, but it have died by act of God, the village shall pay nothing.

Article 200.

And if any man in the land whose horse die, or a wolf have eaten it, or himself killed it, and he have taken keep for the horse, and the truth be found, if it be so, let the lord whose man he is pay sevenfold.

These clauses are as confused as the others which are peculiar to the Rakovica text, but clearly they form part of a group, with Arts. 190 and 191.

The object is to prevent barons' grooms from claiming the right of fodder for horses which may figure on the schedule as their masters' property, but have died in the meantime.

Article 201.

If a serf flee anywhere from his lord to another land, or to the Tsar's, where his master find him, let him brand him and slit his nose and assure that he is again his, but let him take naught from him.

The penalties here are quite in keeping with the whole of Dušan's legislation, but there is no confirmation of this Article by direct evidence or by inference. It is interesting that a baron had no right to seize any of his villein's property.

OBITUARIES

PAUL BOYER

I ATTENDED Boyer's lectures in the autumn of 1897 and the spring of 1898. I was only an *auditeur libre*, but he took a personal interest in me, as I think he did in all his pupils. It may have been that I came to him with introductions from E. G. Browne, afterwards Professor of Arabic and our leading Persian scholar. I did not sit under him long enough to experience the full width and depth of his teaching. What I best remember is a marvellous analysis of all the independent verbs of the Russian language, i.e. all which were neither denominative nor deverbative. He took the ending in Leskien's logical order and went through every one: they never gave me any difficulty again. Most of my other teaching I got from his *repetiteur*. Boyer had excellent *Suyazi* with people all over Russia, people to whom he could with confidence send young men, and others who would take an interest in them when planted. So in July I found myself living with a Doctor in Kazan, and the linguistic Professors Bedde and Kossakov bent a friendly eye on me and my fellow-pupil Bourgis. So when I moved to Moscow Boyer had prepared for me the favour of Fortunatov, Vsevolod, Miller, and in Petersburg for the formidable ordeal of Lamanskiys' kiss of welcome. Among his pupils the story went that Boyer was originally a medical, and that he took to Russian in order to woo Madame Boyer. She was very gracious to us, but went her independent course as a physician. Their only son died in the former war.

From what I have said it appears that I only really knew the early Boyer and only took the beginning part of his Russian course; but that was sufficient to judge of his personality. Circumstances severed me from the serious study of Russian, and I am not familiar with Boyer's writings; his personality was the main thing. It was that which elevated him to his brilliant success as Director of the whole *École des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, and which enabled him to raise so many great Slavonic scholars with André Mazon at their head. Those scholars embodied their homage in the rich *Mélanges Boyer* in 1925, when he still had before him many years of active work. Boyer was a true *tourangeois*, and never broke his ties with his native province. Whenever he could, he would take refuge in his beloved Abbaye de Cormery, there he spent most of the last few years, and there he died in October last.

He was not perhaps the greatest of Russian scholars, though his understanding and intuition lent a special quality to anything he wrote, but it is likely that he was the greatest teacher of Russian of his time.

E. H. MINNS.

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ELIN PELIN (DIMITER IVANOV)

IN Sofia on 3 December 1949 died one of the great sons of Bulgaria—the poet and writer Dimiter Ivanov, better known by his pseudonym Elin Pelin.*

Born in 1878 in the village of Bailovo, Sofia District, he grew up among the sturdy and hard-working peasants. These surroundings were to have later on a great influence on his literary work. He received his primary education in his native village but, unfortunately, he was never able to complete his secondary education. He taught for a year at home, after which most of his life was spent in Sofia: but he never forgot his native village and visited it again and again, drawing from it constant inspiration for his work.

The peasants, as Elin Pelin knew them, were a poor backward people, working the land in primitive fashion but passionately, almost mystically attached to it. He loved them and through his short stories (wherein lies his greatness) and his novels he made others love them too. Bulgarians will always have a place in their hearts for his memorable descriptions of peasant life: their land, community life and homes, family relationships, moral values, customs, traditions, etc. All these he depicted with much charm, insight and real accomplishment. ("Geratzité"; "The Land"; "Along the Furrow"; "The Joy of the Poor"; "The Crime"; "Love"; "The Cornfield Late in being Harvested"; "The Windmill"; "The Old Ox"; "The Fairy"; etc.).

The peasantry of Elin Pelin had an established social structure handed down for centuries. But he noted with sorrow how city life with its ever-changing social forces was bringing to the peasant community some of its degeneracy. Its bearers were both townsmen visiting the villages and peasants who had settled for a short time in the towns. Thus in many of his stories he illustrates how the partisan spirit, the misuse of public money, bribery, licentious living and other forms of corruption found their way into village life. ("The Adventures of an Angel in the Village of Tzepilovo"; "Profession"; "Ivan Selskyat"; "The Most

* ED. NOTE.—Stories by this author appeared in this *Review* in 1926–1927, 1932–1933 and in 1947–1948.

Honest People", "Tuberculosis"; "The Uninitiated"; "The Insane"; "Paul in Geratzité"; etc.).

Perhaps it was because the author lived in the city and observed his peasants from there that he partly idealised them, but, at the same time, it was true that most peasants mistrusted the town. They saw in some of the townsfolk and especially in petty officials—government clerks, bailiffs, tax collectors, party agents and the like, people who came either to exploit them or to offer them grandiose schemes which were never to be realised. ("Andresco"; "The Man for Whom All Care.")

In his outspokenness and his desire to educate the masses he did not hesitate to expose peasant superstitions ("God's Vengeance") and humorously to ridicule those who were ashamed of their peasant origin. ("The Baked Pumpkin"). He also showed that riches carry with them potential danger, and if unlawfully used bring unhappiness and disaster to their owners and others. ("The Land.")

Besides the peasants, Elin Pelin had a great admiration for teachers among whom he could often be found at conferences and meetings. He frequently read to them his stories about their difficulties and disappointments in life. ("The Soul of the Teacher"; "Mud"; "The Deserted", "Tuberculosis"; etc.).

One of his best characteristics was his great sense of humour. Most Bulgarians are serious people and find it difficult to laugh at themselves; nor do they discriminate easily between harmless and malicious humour. But the work of Elin Pelin is pervaded by great good humour, kindness and unfailing sympathy, although he comes near to offending churchmen since he does not spare the Bulgarian monks and priests with the edge of his wit. ("Under the Monastery Vine"; "Spring Illusion"; "Calamity"; etc.).

A special place in the work of Elin Pelin is occupied by "Black Roses," a collection of short poems written in prose; and by the attractive stories of Pijo and Pendo written in the dialect of the peasants around Sofia—unique, I believe, in Bulgarian literature.

As a poet he is chiefly known for his magnificent poetry for children, in which he expressed the beauty to be found in nature and in the moral qualities of mankind. In the schools he has always been popular and he took a lively interest in children.

In 1922 his silver jubilee was celebrated and, on 16 April 1949, his seventieth birthday and fiftieth year of literary activity were acclaimed in Sofia. He was presented with the gold medal for science and art. In a speech made on this occasion the writer, Georgi Karaslovov, said: "With the exception of Botev, Elin Pelin has written the most perfect Bulgarian. He is still unsurpassed by any Bulgarian literary man. . . ." ¹

His own words made him the most fitting epitaph: "Through my

¹ "Elin Pelin . . ." (*Fatherland Front*, p. 6, 17/IV/49), by Georgi Karaslovov.

art I have always endeavoured to exercise a salutary influence on my readers and to reveal to them beauty and truth." ²

M. KUSSEFF.

KAROL WIKTOR ZAWODZIŃSKI

1890-1949

ON 14 December 1949, there died in Toruń at the age of 60 the eminent Polish critic and historian of literature, Karol Wiktor Zawodziński.

Zawodziński came of a borderland gentry family, and in his whole make-up and temperament there was much of the *kresowiec*, the man from the borderland. Before the first world war he studied French at St. Petersburg University. Those pre-war days saw in Russia the classical "Acmeist" poetic movement at its height and the first manifestations of the future "Formalist" school of Russian literary criticism (one of its most eminent, although not most orthodox exponents, W. M. Zhirmunsky, was among Zawodziński's fellow-students). Zawodziński's marked classical inclinations as well as his interest in the problems of poetic form, especially in the problems of versification, developed to some extent under the influence of these Russian currents.

He spent the war years in the Legions, and remained in the Polish army for some years after the war had ended. He started writing in 1921, when still in the army. In 1933-1934 he was lecturer in Polish and Russian in Brussels University. Later he lived in Poland as a freelance writer. After the last war he accepted the chair of Russian literature at the newly created University in Toruń.

The first paper to which he regularly contributed was the short-lived monthly *Przegląd Warszawski* (1922-1925) which, under the editorship of Wacław Borowy and later on of Stefan Kołaczkowski and Mieczysław Treter, became the leading Polish literary review, distinguished for the excellency of its book reviews. Zawodziński wrote for it on Polish, Russian and French poetry. Soon he became known for his wide and deep literary culture and sensibility, as well as for the independence and originality of his judgment. Afterwards, he became a regular reviewer of poetry for the weekly *Wiadomości Literackie*, and he published year by year in the thirties lengthy general reviews of Polish poetic production in the successive issues of *Rocznik Literacki* (*Literary Yearbook*). Together with similar reviews of the novels done by Leon Płoszewski, they form a most valuable critical chronicle of the Polish literature of the period.

Zawodziński's appearance on the literary scene followed closely on the great uprush of new and powerful poetry generally known as the "Skamander" school (a school only in the loosest sense of the word) represented by such poets as Tuwim, Lechoń, Wierzyński, Iwaszkiewicz,

² "The Writer Elin Pelin" (*Fatherland Front*, p. 6, 18/IV/49), by Peter Ticholov).

Pawlikowska, Słonimski. These people found in him a sympathetic and penetrating critic. He was only a few years older than most of them and belonged more or less to the same generation. The "Skamander" poetry developed under marked French and Russian influences, and Zawodziński was intimately acquainted with both. It was therefore no wonder that he became *the* critic of that phase of Polish poetry, and the first to examine and to formulate its historical importance in the development of Polish literature: its exploration of new regions of sensibility, its enormous enrichment of poetical vocabulary, and its revolutionising of Polish versification.

The reaction against the "Skamander" school came in the form of the so-called "Avangarde" poetry with which Zawodziński felt far less sympathy. He tried to be fair to the new poets—loyalty and fairness were the distinguishing marks of his character—but he did not like them. His attitude towards them involved him in some bitter polemics.

In the thirties he published papers on modern Polish novelists. The three most important were: on Maria Dąbrowska's masterpiece *Noce i dnie*, the most outstanding Polish novel of the between-the-war period; on *Emancipated Women* by Bolesław Prus; the third on different trends of realism in contemporary Polish novels. In the first of these papers he astonished his readers by his deep and detailed knowledge of the social history of modern Poland, a knowledge that served him well when writing his occasional essays on social problems. After the last war there came a series of essays on Sienkiewicz, Prus and Orzeszkowa, collected in 1946 in a volume entitled *Stulecie trójcy powieściopisarzy*. This slender volume can be compared in scope and ambition with F. R. Leavis's *The Great Tradition*, aiming as it does at a revaluation of the 19th-century Polish novel; and Zawodziński's criticism—like that of Leavis—is very severe upon some established reputations.

Shortly before the war Zawodziński "discovered" J. I. Kraszewski (1812-1887) and started a campaign in his favour. Kraszewski has in point of fact always been widely read in Poland, but his reputation had never before been very high. Zawodziński tried to prove that this was so because out of the enormous output of Kraszewski: previous critics had singled out only second-class novels, whereas in other, forgotten novels Kraszewski proved himself a far greater writer. After the war, in order to prove it, he started a series of reprints of forgotten novels by Kraszewski published with introductory essays under the common title *Kraszewski na nowo odczytany*. The series was to have contained twelve volumes, but was abandoned after the publication of the third.

He was passionately interested in the study of versification. Besides a number of special papers he planned writing a great work on Polish verse. In 1936 he published the first, introductory, volume, and was working on the second when he died.

Zawodziński was a fervent admirer of Russian literature and, apart

from Prof. Lednicki, the best authority on it in Poland. His first longer essay was on the poetry of Tyutchev. He returned to him recently when he wrote an introductory essay to a volume of Tyutchev in Polish translations. He published a number of essays and reviews from the *byliny* till the present day. The title of one of his essays, *Poezja ludzka i wspólniactwo*, gives the measure of his enthusiasm for Russian literature. However, in the last two years he had to cease writing on Russian literature. Poland has recently been flooded with translations from Russian, appreciative essays on Russian literature have been extremely welcome to any editor, but the censorship has been especially touchy about anything Russian, including Russian literary classics. When writing on Russian authors the critic must strictly follow current Soviet criticism, and Zawodziński was too honest and independent to do so.

Occasionally he wrote on social and political matters. His articles always gave proof of his great independence of judgment and courage. One of them in which he fairly accurately predicted the form of defeat Poland would have to suffer in the event of war, was well remembered after 1939 by those who had read it.

He was not easy to read. His long phrases, full of parentheses and inserted clauses, can be explained by his great intellectual honesty and desire to express every shade of thought, doubt and reservation. His essays and reviews always had something of a rough copy about them, but though lacking polish were full of fresh and stimulating ideas.

WIKTOR WEINTRAUB.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Making of Central and Eastern Europe. By Francis Dvornik ; Polish Research Centre Ltd., London, 1949, pp. 350, with bibliography, 5 maps and an index, 25s.

THE largest unknown area that still remains in the historiography of Europe is that of the centre and east of the continent down to the time when the Habsburgs and Romanovs brought their realms into the general current of European history. Hitherto the educated Englishman, Frenchman or American has remained in an ignorance which was not his own fault of the instructive and significant history of the peoples of Poland before Władisław Jagiełło, of the Czechoslovak lands before Charles IV, of Hungary before Bethlen Gábor, of the Yugoslavs before Black George, and to a lesser extent of the Russian peoples before Ivan the Terrible. The well-meant efforts of patriots like Halecki, Dyboski, Lutzow, Krofta, Eckhart, Zárek and Vernadsky to instruct us in our own tongue in the fundamentals of east European history have provided a small number of rapid *aperçus*, sometimes more remarkable for their zeal than their scholarship. Hitherto, also, western scholars like Leeper, Macartney, Runciman, Cross, Ernest Denis, and Grégoire have been able to do little more than illuminate odd corners of the mediæval history of eastern Europe, and no one has yet been able to tell the story as a whole. Particularly is it true of Poland, the Yugoslavs, Hungary and Roumania that their mediæval history has been unknown and unknowable to those whose linguistic equipment has been purely western. Even that great work of collective scholarship, the *Cambridge Medieval History*, has treated of central Europe before the end of the 14th century merely in so far as it affected Germany and was available in Latin chronicles and German monographs. Much has indeed been written about the western Slavs by German and Austrian scholars, and without the labours of Brückner, Bachmann, Hauptmann, Holtzmann, Laehr, Zeisberg, Zibermayer and a score of other German Slavists mediæval studies would be even poorer than they are. But even they have not yet produced those definitive histories of the central European states which both teacher and student need as a sound basis for their studies, and too often the German monographs are so full of acrimonious and pedantic controversy, or so much tainted with pan-German prejudice, as to be barren or misleading. There is, however, a growing mass of secondary material, both monographs and formal histories, produced by native scholars, such as the monumental history of Bohemia so well begun by Novotný, Šušta, Bartoš and Urbánek, the work on Hungarian History by Homan and Sekfű, Novaković's and Županić's work on the Yugoslavs, Boguslawski on the western Slavs, Zakrzewski, Kętrzyński and Czernakowski on Poland, and Grekov, Tichomirov, Sobolevski, Šachmatov and

Orlov on Russia, to name only a few. But this material, written in languages little known in the West and not always accessible in western libraries, has been lying unused when it could have thrown a flood of light on one great area of European history, of whose importance we have long been uncomfortably and frustratedly aware.

What we needed was a man, gifted by nature with tireless industry, critical acumen, and the ability to write, and equipped by education with the technique of research, endowed by fortune with the ability to read the dozen languages necessary for the study of central Europe, and so placed as to be able to understand and satisfy the needs of western students. This formidable list of desiderata has been embodied, to our great benefit, in Professor Dvornik. Born and educated a Czech he takes in his stride all the Slavonic languages as well as German, English, French and Italian; his clerical vocation and Slavonic inclination have together made him adept in Latin, Church Slavonic and Byzantine Greek. Indeed such is his linguistic virtuosity that as one reads his books it is with unjustified surprise that one realises that Hungarian and Roumanian are not in his armoury, if in fact they are not. Thus equipped Professor Dvornik has for twenty years been interpreting the East to the West, with an enthusiasm, industry and erudition which have already made him legendary. Not only has he written a small library of monographs on a variety of ecclesiastical and ethnographical problems and a *magnum opus* on the Patriarch Photius, but he has done something which is unique in giving us a general history of central Europe in the early middle ages. The first part appeared in 1926 under the deceptively particularised title of *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX^{ème} siècle*. He has now continued that work in the book at present under review, taking the story from the collapse of the Great Moravian State soon after A.D. 900 to the establishment of German hegemony in central Europe by Henry III in the middle of the 11th century.

The century-and-a-half covered by the book, like so much of central European history, might seem at first sight to have little unity of theme and to be merely a time when multifarious groups of western and eastern Slavs, Magyars, Rumans and Balts were each concerned with primitive domestic problems of economics and organisation, complicated by meaningless internecine wars and German invasions. But Professor Dvornik, raising himself above the welter, has looked for some sign of direction in the maelstrom, and believes he has found it in the effort to agglomerate central and eastern Europe into some sort of unity and to associate that unity freely with the great imperial-papal society represented by the Holy Roman Empire. He realises that few saw the ideal or grasped the method by which it could be achieved; he knows too, and unashamedly regrets in the interests of European peace and order, that the effort failed.

This approach to the story which Professor Dvornik has to tell means in the first place that the warp of the narrative is spun from the history of

ideas, from the history of Christianity and the political thinking of Christian philosophers, prelates and statesmen. He sees the history of mediæval Europe and of the relationships of its peoples primarily as the history of Christendom; saints and mystics, idealists, martyrs, bishops, monks and missionaries are the stars among his *dramatis personæ*; those whose minds were indifferent to or incapable of these ecstatic dreams and exalted aspirations are of little concern to him. Therefore it is that his book brings the spotlight to bear on Otto III, Sylvester II, St. Adalbert and Bruno of Querfurt, St. Wenceslas of Bohemia and Bolesław the Brave of Poland, for it is they who worked consciously or unconsciously for the "renovatio imperii Romani," and Professor Dvornik believes "that such a policy was the sole hope for Europe, and that in its failure is to be seen the source of the conflict and frustration which have cursed central and eastern Europe throughout the second Christian millennium."

What in fact was the programme embodied in the "Renovatio"? Not to restore the Empire as it had been under Augustus or Marcus Aurelius or Diocletian, for that had been a pagan empire, and it was of the essence of Otto III's faith that the empire must be Christian, the City of God on earth. Nor could it be the restoration of the empire of Charlemagne and Lewis the German and Arnulf, for the Carolings had built up and maintained their empire on the two evil principles of conversion by the sword and the racial superiority of the Franks. Otto III had no desire to subdue heathen peoples by force to subjection either to the Cross or the Teutonic sceptre. It was Saxon, Greek and English blood, not Frankish, which flowed in the veins of this crowned cosmopolite. Nor was Otto III anxious to restore the empire which his own grandfather Otto I had resurrected from the débris left by the collapse of Charlemagne's fabric, for Otto I too had proceeded by the way of force: by arms he had secured his German crown from his rival brothers; with an army he had coerced Italy and blackmailed the Pope into crowning him Emperor; he had set two ruthless henchmen, Hermann Billung and Gero, "the scourge of the Slavs," to subdue and convert the Slavs of the Elbe; Otto I had made bloody war on Mieszko of Poland and had set Czech against Pole and Lusatian Serb. To repeat or continue such a policy the young Otto III had neither the wish nor the power. Indeed on the death of Otto II in 983 and during the long minority of Otto III the conquered Slavs had thrown off the German yoke, the north-western Slavs had renounced their enforced baptism, and the infant Churches of Poland, Bohemia, Hungary and Russia seemed set on developing as independent national entities, outside the framework of Christendom. It is Professor Dvornik's thesis that Otto III saw both the reasons for the failure of his predecessors and the means for the successful solution of the problem of the extension and unification of the Christian Empire. He would have to act, not as the national king of Germany, intent on securing German supremacy over Italians, Burgundians, Slavs and Magyars, but as Christian Emperor, as one who stood above race and

nation, and who was willing to enter into whole-hearted partnership with Christ's Vicar in Rome. He therefore put on Peter's throne the one man who could fully share his ideal, the man indeed who had done much to nourish that ideal in Otto's brain, the Frenchman Gerbert, educated in Moorish Spain, mathematician and scientist, schoolmaster and politician, philosopher and mystic. It is significant that Gerbert assumed the papal name of Sylvester, thereby deliberately recalling the Pope who had been the collaborator of the great Constantine, whose miracles and prayers, it was believed, had cured Constantine of his leprosy and his paganism, and had earned for the papal see the gift of political sovereignty in Rome and the West. But why did Gerbert take such a name, assuredly with Otto's concurrence, if, as Professor Dvornik rightly maintains, they both knew the Donation of Constantine to have been a forgery? It is true that Otto behaved as if he were working not on the pseudo-Constantinian theory of the territorial supremacy of the Pope in the West, but on the Gelasian theory of a division of powers between Church and State, based not on geography but on the functional specialisation of *sacerdotium* and *imperium*.

But Professor Dvornik's theory about Otto's opinion of the *Donation* is not as relevant to the history of central Europe as is his account of the work and significance of St. Adalbert. That the second bishop of Prague, whom the Slavs call by his native name of Vojtěch and the Latins by the name of Adalbert, which he received at his confirmation, was worthy of his posthumous fame as saint and martyr, no one will deny. He certainly played an important even if not a very constructive part in the history of the Bohemian Church, and it is certain too that he contributed to the establishment of Christianity in Poland, and probable that he did so, though less directly, in Hungary. Professor Dvornik has also conclusively demonstrated that Adalbert and the Emperor Otto III were friends and to some extent collaborators. Nevertheless the reading of the third chapter of his book leaves one with the uneasy feeling that he has somewhat misinterpreted Adalbert's character and motives and exaggerated his importance in the history of central Europe. It is incontrovertible that as bishop of Prague Adalbert was a failure. Three times he fled from his see and his country, seeking first the refuge of an Italian monastery and later a martyr's death in distant Prussia. It is true that as a prince of the house of Slavník he was born to political enmity with the Přemyslid ruler in Prague, Boleslav II, and that Boleslav in his anxiety to complete his supremacy over the whole country massacred most of Adalbert's kin. But Adalbert's character and conduct were determined and manifest before that event. Why did Adalbert desert his see? Professor Dvornik ascribes his defection to the highest motives, pre-eminently to his opposition to Boleslav II, in whom he saw not only the head of a rival clan, but also the opponent of the Polish Duke and the Emperor and of their plans for the *Renovatio Imperii* on the basis of collaboration between the German ruler and his eastern neighbours.

What is the evidence for this interpretation of Adalbert's defection from his native land and his episcopal duties? Professor Dvornik says (p. 123):

The pity is that Adalbert's biographers were so engrossed in the religious aspect of this contact that they had no room for information on the Emperor's conversations with Adalbert, when there is excellent reason for assuming that asceticism and piety were not the only topics of their talks. Many of Otto III's plans for the future, especially for the christianisation of the East and of Hungary, must have been ventilated between them, so that not only Gerbert of Aurillac, the future Sylvester II, but also Adalbert, the bishop of Prague, must have been to an appreciable extent responsible for the plan of the *Renovatio Imperii* as conceived and put into execution by Otto III.

This is undocumented assertion, and the reiteration of "must have been" even by Professor Dvornik cannot be allowed of itself to have the force of proof; reference to authorities, elsewhere in this book so abundant, on this vital paragraph is completely absent. The author will have nothing to do with the older view that Adalbert was always more monk than pastor, and that like so many of his contemporary churchmen he saw the noblest duties of his order in pilgrimage, eremitism, contemplation and missionary enterprise with the avowed hope of attaining martyrdom, and not in the burdensome tasks of a bishop who has to grapple with the exasperating and time-consuming problems, pastoral, moral and administrative, of running the day-to-day life of his diocese. Professor Dvornik denies too the accepted view that Adalbert fled from Bohemia because that country was still so full of pagan superstition and immorality that it was presented a problem so repellent that he fled from it. He says on page 102:

Such an explanation of the facts cannot be accepted. In the first place, the moral situation in Bohemia in the second half of the tenth century does not justify the dark picture drawn to represent it. It was certainly not so bad as to induce a bishop to break his staff over the heads of his own people and to quit his post for a monastery with the object of trying to save his own soul when he had not been able to save the souls of his spiritual children. After all, what were the abuses which in the biographers' opinion mainly forced the bishop to leave his diocese?

But Adalbert himself, though he had been dead for fifty years, answered the question, for before he allowed his tomb in Gniezno to be opened by the Czech Duke Břetislav, who had come with an army to seize his relics, the saint appeared in a dream to Bishop Sebir of Prague, and said: "Dic ista duci et suis comitibus: Pater de coelis dabit quod petitis, si non repetitis mala, quibus renuntiastis in fonte baptismatis"; and Břetislav thereupon expounded those evils to the lords and prelates in these words:

This is my first and most important decree, that your marriages, which have hitherto been whoredoms like the matings of brute beasts, shall hence-

forth be canonically solemnised, legitimate, private and indissoluble, so that henceforward the husband shall content himself with one wife and the wife with one husband. . . . If a wife break with her husband or a husband with his wife . . . let him or her be banished to Hungary and for no price shall he buy his return lest the contagion of one sheep affect the whole sheepfold of Christ. The same penalty shall fall on virgins and widows and adulteresses who have lost their good name and virtue and have conceived in harlotry. For when they are free to marry why do they commit adultery and practise abortion, which is the basest of crimes? . . . Those accused of homicide . . . shall undergo the ordeal by fire or water. Fratricides, parricides, slayers of priests and all those accused of capital crimes shall be handed over by the archpriest to the count or duke, or be driven out manacled hand to belly to wander like Cain over the face of the earth.

And in this strain duke and bishop continued antiphonally, condemning tavern keepers, "from whose houses issue robberies, homicides, adulteries," drunkards, Sunday markets and field sports, the burial of the dead in fields and woods, for "these are the things which so wearied Saint Adalbert that he left us, his flock, and preferred to go to teach the Gospel to other nations." (Cosmas: *Chronicon*, II, 4. *Fontes rerum bohemicarum*, II, pp. 73 et seqq.). But Professor Dvornik never has any use for Cosmas, the first and greatest of Czech chroniclers, because Cosmas admired Duke Boleslav II and was on his side in the conflict between Church and State, while it is Professor Dvornik's thesis that Boleslav was the enemy of Otto III's ideals and an obstacle to the union of central Europe. Indeed it is in Boleslav's rival, nephew and namesake, Bolesław the Brave of Poland, that he sees the champion and hope of Otto's plans, for the Polish duke welcomed Otto to the tomb of Adalbert in Gniezno as friend and collaborator, and, as he has shown in Appendix V, Bolesław's father Mieszko had already begun the co-operation of Poland with the Church-Empire by a solemn donation of the whole of Poland to the Holy See in the deed of gift known as "Dagome Iudex." (Professor Dvornik credibly interprets the mysterious word "Dagome" as a misreading of "PEGO ME[SICO DUX], the chrismon having been previously read as D.)

Professor Dvornik has much to say of great interest about the Polish Bolesław's effort to establish a vast western Slav state, an effort which seemed near to realisation when he conquered Bohemia in 1003. On page 235 he writes:

A Polish-Bohemian State would have had incalculable consequences for the subsequent growth of Europe. It seems that Bolesław had planned to make Prague the centre of his empire and Bohemia his jumping-off ground for the further expansion of his dominions, if possible across the lands of the Slavonic tribes living between the Elbe and the Oder—and the formation of such a nation was all but realised. At that time the difference between the Czechs, the Poles and the other Slavonic races was not so deep-seated as to preclude a speedy amalgamation into one linguistic bloc, and one can

easily imagine how differently the fate of Europe would have shaped had the scheme succeeded.

But the sober fact is that when the Emperor Henry II invaded Bohemia Bořislav's structure collapsed ignominiously, and the would-be empire-builder fled from Prague without a fight. Professor Dvornik may be right in sighing for what might have been, but the very completeness of the collapse of Bořislav's "Sclavinia" demonstrates even more decisively than the disappearance of the Great Moravian State a hundred years earlier that the inadequacy of administrative skill, the absence of educated civil servants and the difficulties of communication made it impossible in the early middle ages to keep any large state together. Not until the 16th century was it to prove possible to rule a state the size of Poland, Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia together as a single unit from a single centre.

The last chapter, on "Kievan Russia and Central Europe," is of great interest for the evidence he accumulates about the cultural, political and religious contacts between Russia and central Europe. He rightly makes much of the cult of the Czech saints in Kiev and their hagiographical importance in the beginnings of Russian literature. He is right too to emphasise the remarkable and early development of culture in Russia, where in the 11th century vernacular literature was well in advance of that in France or Germany, though his statement (p. 240) that "in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries Kievan Russia grew into a centre of culture far ahead of anything similar in the Latin West at that time" ignores the great achievement of the Anglo-Saxon poets, legislators, chroniclers and decorators.

The book ends on a note of regret that the links between Russia and central Europe were impermanent, and that neither Moravia nor Bohemia, Poland nor Hungary succeeded in permanently "setting up the independent state that central Europe needed." "The project failed," says Professor Dvornik, but he makes no serious attempt to account for that failure. Only an analysis of the economic and institutional history of central Europe in the early middle ages could begin to explain what Professor Dvornik sighs for did not happen. And it is just that sort of analysis which this book does not make. Not until scholars have built on the basic work of Novotný, Winter and Mendl in explaining the early economic and social history of the western Slavs shall we begin to understand why all the labours of Professor Dvornik's heroes and saints were brought to ruin.

The five appendixes have a value independent of that of the rest of the book as contributions to our understanding of certain problems of early central European ethnology, particularly of that of the elusive White Croatia and White Serbia of the upper Vistula and upper Oder basins. While some may think he has ascribed too big a part to these tribal agglomerations, he has here provided ample evidence to confirm

the growing suspicion that much of the early organisation of the Slavs was effected by dominant alien minorities of conquering nomads, whether Iranian like the Serbs, Croats, Antes and Jazyges, or Teutonic like the Goths and Varanginians, or Asiatic like the Bulgars, Avars, Khaars and Magyars. In the fourth appendix he deals decisively with Professor Vernadsky's theory of the Iranian origin of the name "Rus" and of the existence of a "Russian" khaganate north of the Caucasus in the 9th century. Professor Dvornik firmly takes his stand with those who still maintain that the Rus came from Sweden.

It is a great pity that this book, so scholarly and so important, should be most gravely marred by scores of misprints and uncorrected slips in orthography and reference. It is difficult to believe that the author ever saw the book in proof, else he would hardly have passed the vagaries of the printer, who can hardly get any word right in any language other than English. The rest, whether Czech, Russian, Polish, Serbian or German are mangled, sometimes beyond recognition. This is most serious in the otherwise invaluable bibliography, where, for example, in the enumeration of Zupanić's works, I have noticed twelve misprints. It is not only that throughout the book there is an absence of diacritics in the printing of Slavonic words, but there is also a confusing inconsistency in the spelling of proper names. It is confusing enough that there are three Czech Boleslavs and three Polish Bolesławs in the story, but confusion is itself confounded when they are all called indifferently "Boleslas," a form for which there is no justification, for even in Latin the name was spelled "Boleslaus." Indeed Professor Dvornik is at his least happy when he endeavours to suit Slavonic proper names to Anglo-Saxon eyes and tongues. We are used to the river Waag, and some of us have learned to identify it with the Váh; now Professor Dvornik offers us a third variant, the unnecessary and unjustifiable "Vag." It is hard to understand why he calls Saint Voltěch "Vojtiekh"; it is confusing enough to have to remember that Vojtěch is Adalbert without having the suspicion raised in one's mind by this new spelling that he was a Russian. It would be ungracious and laborious to enumerate all the faults due to inadequate proof reading. We must hope that in the next edition they will be amended.

R. R. BETTS.

The Limits and Divisions of European History. By Oscar Halecki; Sheed & Ward, London and New York, 1950, pp. xiii and 242, 10s. 6d.

"Now that Europe has ceased to be the mistress of the world the nations of Europe have suddenly realised their need of one another and of some common bond to protect them from social disintegration and economic collapse before the pressure of rival world empires, each of which is larger than the whole of Europe put together."

With these words, among others, Christopher Dawson introduces this pithy and thought-provoking book to the reader. Even if it were not the work of a leading Polish historian, some notice of its contents would be called for in these pages since it is likely to give rise to a good deal of discussion; and some mention of its significance for Eastern Europe should be made in this number which includes a longer review of M. Dvornik's book on a single phase of the same theme. Professor Halecki reveals in his Notes, in particular on p. 205, his occupation for thirty years with one or another phase of the history of the continent as "an intelligible field of study." His points of departure are given as Toynbee's *Study of History* (from which the phrase mentioned comes) and Gonzague de Reynolds' *Formation de l'Europe*—both of which works are still unfinished. But one can see from the vast range of his references, covering historians and thinkers in Romance, Germanic and Slavonic languages, how widely he has read, and what diverse views he has mustered.

Intriguing though it is, Halecki's position as to the "periods" of European history cannot be dealt with here. He registers the fact that "European history" can no longer be said to exist, either as a unit in space or as an age; but he rightly says this does not mean the end of Europe. But what does concern us here is his refusal to accept at any time since history was recorded the division of Europe into east and west or of its civilisation into eastern and western; and he refuses to accept any such division today. There may have been centuries during which a fairly clear line running from north-west to south-east marked the lands of Europe that came under Greco-Roman influence and control off from those that did not; but by the year 1000 the Christian faith had got very far beyond that line, and in one or another degree Europe as a whole has remained since that time a single cultural unit. The marshalling of data to show this engages the author's attention during the body of the book.

In turn we are shown the considerations of geography, which take up nearly half the volume, and of chronology. The general fact of human geography had already been noted, viz. a wide diversity of national cultures, existing side by side but conscious of the underlying unity mentioned above. This goes for the Slavs as much as for the Romance peoples. But Halecki reminds us that the *terra ignota* known to Herodotus as Scythia was called Sarmatia by Ptolemy—divided into European and Asiatic with the Taunis, i.e. the Don, as the boundary; and that this notion remained right down to the Renaissance—chiefly for lack of a more satisfactory line. In the meantime, however, Muscovite expansion had reached the Urals and was soon to push onward across the Siberian plains to the shores of the Pacific. The parallel with the advance of the U.S.A. across the Great Plains in the 19th century leaps to the eye, but the contrast is striking. Even when Russia had become "a leading member of the European Concert," the world east of the Urals (themselves no real dividing line) was known as and remained

Asia. (It is curious that nowhere here does Halecki refer to Sumner's notable *Survey of Russian History*.) What is more, there is nothing in the new world to match the Caucasian isthmus, regarded by Tsardom as part of European Russia! Thus we must ask, as Masaryk did in his *The Spirit of Russia*, but on cultural rather than geographical grounds—how much of the Russian empire was really European?

To this the answers are conflicting. A century ago there were two—those of the Westerners and the Slavophiles; today one must add that of the Eurasians, which is the exact opposite of the Westerners' position. To the Slavophil line, developed by Karamzin and others, which looked down on a decayed West, Ranke replied with an equally extreme view, holding that the true Europe includes only the Romance and Germanic peoples; with the result that the smaller peoples (almost all adhering to Latin Christianity) were left as a "no-man's land"—not welcomed by either party. This, says Halecki, will not do since it leaves Greece with its long Byzantine tradition unrecognised: and it takes no account of the five and more centuries of older Russian (or Ruthenian) history between the coming of Christianity and the making of Moscow into "The Third Rome," during which time and even after it the influences of Latin civilisation over wide areas were formative, or even decisive. To make the picture even more complex Peter reversed Ivan's policy and set about "europeanising" his realm, and with notable consequences. A hundred years later the Congress of Vienna left by far the greater part of the older Polish-Lithuanian-Ukrainian commonwealth under Russian control—not as some might hope, with a resulting advance of western civilisation eastward, but rather with a consistent furthering of the reverse process. Now, after the Second World War we see that process in a new stage of development, with Soviet (Russian?) controls reaching to a line that includes Eastern Germany and almost the whole of Central Europe.

This brings us to what is, for the author, the crux of the whole matter: what is the fate of "Central Europe"—an ill-defined but undoubtedly dynamically alive "zone of culture"; of which one part is solidly German, the other multinational, reaching from Esthonia (or even Finland) to the Adriatic and the Ægean. Here geography does not help us, since part of this area is "seaboard," facing the Atlantic or the "Middle Sea," while part is "land-locked" or nearly so; part is mountainous (the south) and thus difficult of access, part is plainland—facing the east. Nor does chronology give us a clear picture, since e.g. the transition through a "renaissance" from mediæval "universalism" to modern national states was arrested (notably in the Balkans), and in some areas never effected at all. In other words the Slav world, as senior members of this School have always emphasised, has moved by cataclysms—the dates being 1169 and 1238 (Russia), 1389 (the South Slavs), 1620 (the Czechs), and 1795 (the Poles) for the different areas—by contrast with the relatively unbroken march of events in the west. Of these "cataclysms,"

lasting in some cases for hundreds of years, the one which affected the continent most deeply, whether on the score of the balance of power or from the angle of international ethics, was (says Halecki) the partitioning of Poland. This act of high policy, confirmed later by the Congress of Vienna, can be called a "revolution" just as what was happening during the same years in the New World or in France

Thus were laid the foundations for "the state of mortal sin" in which Europe lived from 1815 to 1914, which provoked the first *World War* (not really one), and in turn the second, in which military operations on a new scale were conducted in every ocean and (save the Americas) in every continent. His brief chapter in closing Halecki calls "the Basic problems of European History": he could just as well have said "of mankind." For Soviet Russia, as this reviewer sees it, the problem of high policy today is whether to seek "eternal friendship" with one part (the non-German) or with the other (the German) half of Central Europe: for the western Allies, on the other hand, the problem is—can they keep the Germans as a nation well-disposed to the "western" (Halecki would say "European") traditions to which they have for the most part belonged, without helping them back to a level of strength in which they may again be a threat to the peace of the continent?

W. J. ROSE.

Soviet Civil Law: Private Rights and their Background under the Soviet Regime. Volume I, Comparative Survey. Volume II, Translation of the Civil Code, Code of Domestic Relations, Judiciary Act, Code of Civil Procedure, Laws on Nationality, Corporations, Patents, Copyright, Collective Farms, Labor, and other related laws. By Vladimir Gsovski; Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Law School, 1948, price of the set \$15.

THESE new volumes in the Michigan Legal Studies appear under the general editorship of Professor Hessel E. Yntema, who also contributes a Foreword. They are exceptionally interesting and despite their very high price since devaluation merit inclusion in any serious library. They are, moreover, not designed purely for the professional lawyer; for the most part they should be reasonably intelligible to the layman, though those who are not familiar with the general outlines of Continental private law will undoubtedly miss something. They are perhaps more accessible to the layman in that the author has on the whole excluded from his comparative survey those topics on which the Soviet Law does not materially differ from most other Continental systems; and on the whole it is precisely those topics that the layman finds most difficult to understand.

Over a quarter of the first volume is devoted to a general survey containing full discussions of such subjects as the history of the Soviet system, the economic and social aspects of the present order, the Soviet

concept of law in general, the theory of private law and its sources, and the role of the judiciary. For all of this part the reader will be better prepared by a general knowledge of recent Russian history than of law. But the lawyer will be exceptionally interested in the question how far the laws and customs of Tsarist Russia have survived or have been revived under the present regime. Here the author gives not only his own personal opinion, but also a considerable amount of original evidence which goes far to substantiate the view that the break made by the October Revolution was by no means so complete as is usually thought. It is also very interesting to a lawyer brought up under liberal systems of law with their insistence on the hierarchy of legal sources to note that in Soviet law such hierarchy hardly finds any place. One would probably not go far wrong if one said that any act that could in one way or another be considered to have been emanated from the central power in the Soviet Union supersedes any earlier act to the extent that the two are repugnant to one another, even though the former of the two acts is a regularly enacted statute or even constitution, and the latter is merely an executive act or a resolution of the Communist Party. In other words any expression of the sovereign will is as good as any other. I think that a little reflection will show that though this solution is surprising, it is not at all unreasonable, the more so as the Soviet system denies in principle the validity of any separation of powers.

On the other hand the bourgeois lawyer will remain shocked by the position and powers of the Ministry of the Interior, which controls a secret police operating in very much the same way after various changes of name, and will be not only shocked but also surprised at the curious practice of enacting laws which are kept secret until there is some need to put them into operation. In so far as this merely operates as withholding the publication of essentially secret plans until they are to be put in operation, there is nothing to complain of: one may very well regard the act as only a draft until publication. But it seems that secret laws are also used in order to penalise persons for disobedience to orders of which they could not possibly have had any knowledge at the time when they were disobeyed.

All these curious elements of tyranny which are characteristic of Russian Government, and in many respects represent only a return to Tsarist models, are at first sight hard to reconcile with the increasingly bourgeois quality of Soviet private law. But perhaps one should see in the existence side by side of these two essentially different kinds of law nothing more than a persistent characteristic of benevolent despotism, as common in the France of Louis XIV, and almost everywhere in the 18th century, as in the Soviet Union. If there is one thing that seems regular in countries with a Roman law tradition—and Russia is one of these—it is that one may have a remarkably liberal private law co-existing with a claim to absolute power on the part of the State, and a consequent denial of anything that can be called in the true sense public law.

That Soviet private law is becoming more bourgeois, and is being more and more licked into shape by the legal profession, there can be no doubt. Even in the law of property, where Socialist ideas are most marked, there are clear evidences of a steady return to private ownership, not only in consumer goods, a category which the author rightly criticises as being too vague for legal purposes, but also of houses, and even of the land on which the houses stand. It is perhaps not so surprising to find that after a relatively brief attempt to break up the family by loosening the marriage tie, and treating illegitimate children on the same lines as legitimate, the Soviet system now makes full use of the family as a stable element in Society; though it comes with something of a shock to find that divorce is not only more difficult to obtain than in many Western countries, but is also in most cases quite expensive. So also there is some difficulty in comprehending how a complete recognition of inheritance, coupled with considerable freedom of testation and a virtual absence of death duties, can be reconciled with a socialist system of property and the absence of all outlets for private capital investment, for it is well known that some citizens of the Soviet Union, in particular the great scientists, enjoy remarkably large incomes on something like the American scale.

However, I choose to dwell for a longer period on a particular topic of which I have more personal experience, namely that of responsibility for damage to persons or property. Here the draughtsman of the code, Goikhbarg, undoubtedly influenced in part by the more radical French jurists of the time, but also, as the author says, perpetuating to some extent the older Russian tradition, tried to introduce a strict liability for damage, irrespective of any fault on the part of the person causing it. Liability was to be based not on fault, but on mere causation. However, it was impossible to avoid some mitigation of the strict principles and so Article 403 of the Soviet Code says the defendant is absolved from liability, if he proves that he could not prevent the injury, or that he was privileged to cause the injury, or that the injury was caused as the result of the intent, or gross negligence of the person injured. At first the Article was interpreted as creating strict liability subject to very restricted defences. But fairly soon a reaction set in, and jurists were found to say that if the defendant could exculpate himself by proving that he could not prevent the injury, then he would be free from liability if he was not at fault. Hence, this school, the views of which gradually prevailed, held that the liability was clearly a liability for fault, though it differed from liability under the bourgeois codes of Western Europe in presuming fault, and throwing upon the defendant the burden of proving that he was not at fault. "However," says the official Soviet Law Textbook of 1944, "because the Soviet civil procedure liberally admits the initiative of the Court in collecting evidence, the imposition of the burden of proof upon the one who caused the injury does not handicap him seriously. If necessity arises, the Court will come to his aid." Thus in the end the

governing principle of Responsibility (in English the Law of Torts) is not very different from that of such a typical bourgeois country as France, and in fact is probably a good deal less favourable to the injured party. No doubt there are very good socialist reasons for the change. We are not to think of the Soviet Courts as being unduly favourable to defendants; for in most cases where the damage is serious the plaintiff will have been in contact with some vehicle or machine, and most vehicles and machines are the property of the Soviet Government. None the less, it may be suspected that the change in standpoint was to some extent brought about by the steady tendency of professional lawyers to bring the Law under the categories with which they are familiar, and to persist in their secular habits of thought.

This return to traditional private law attitudes of mind is the more remarkable in that in socialist theory no distinction should be made between public and private law, or rather private law should be completely absorbed by public law. Moreover it is not too easy to know how seriously one should take the tendency. The Soviets have so often made strategic retirements, with the intention of succeeding them by something more radical than ever before, that one ought perhaps to regard it as merely temporary. It does however seem that the Soviets have definitely renounced the notion that new arrangements should come by pure creation after a period of anarchy. There seems to be plenty of evidence that they do not always know what particular policy they are going to follow next, and in the meantime they must achieve some sort of stability, even if on bourgeois lines. Thus, one ought not perhaps to regard their acceptance of the family as permanent, but even the traditional family is obviously in their eyes preferable to anarchy during the period when they are deciding what to replace it with.

Much of the later chapters in the first volume is taken up with agrarian questions, including the Law of the Collective Farm. Here there is no real doubt as to the Soviet policy, which is clearly to socialise all means of production, nor is it hard to understand why a certain amount of small private farming should have been allowed to survive, though probably only as a temporary measure. The opinion has been frankly expressed by Stalin that until the Soviet Union becomes extremely rich a period of socialism must precede communism, and socialism does not exclude a certain amount of private enterprise. What is much more interesting is the evidence which the author produces to show the instinctive peasant reaction against collective farming. However, in a matter like this it is quantity that counts, and in the nature of things only the Soviet Government itself can know how serious the problem is. Doubtless the author, who is an émigré, living in America, may be inclined to overestimate the reaction, but even a jurist writing in Russia could have hardly greater opportunities of exact knowledge. He would certainly not be in a position to express his opinion on such a topic.

Above all, for the non-lawyer, this account of Soviet private law is

of peculiar interest as offering an opportunity of looking beyond the iron curtain. Much of law may in certain circumstances amount to mere propaganda, and this is probably peculiarly true of contemporary Russia, where the Courts are manned with much inferior human material, and where as Lenin himself said in the period of militant communism, they must not expect to have the laws literally obeyed. Still, on the whole laws are made to be obeyed, and however secret some of the Soviet legal methods seem to be, one cannot systematically run a double system of law, one to be obeyed and the other for purposes of mere propaganda. Thus any honest account of Soviet private law based, as this one is, on official books published in the Soviet Union, must contain a large mass of hard fact, and this is the truer in that much of what is surprising in this account—perfectly substantiated from the original texts—is not the sort of thing that one would expect to be put forward for propaganda purposes. Indeed, astute specialists could find a good deal of material for counter-propaganda, especially in the clear evidence which is displayed, for instance, by the universal preference for piece-work, the rejection of minimum wages, the hardness with which the workman is treated where his employer, as is almost universal at the present day, is a state organ, and also the opportunities, which seem undeniable, of amassing great wealth and transmitting it to one's descendants, or still more freely, by will.

The second volume contains translations, accompanied by copious comments, of the most important statutes relating to private law and civil procedure. They are (1) the Civil Code; (2) the Code of Laws on Marriage, Family and Guardianship; (3) various laws on Soviet Nationality; (4) Governmental Quasi-Corporations; (5) on the Civil Status of Churches; (6) on the Admission of Foreign Firms; Trade Missions; Standard Salvage Agreement; (7) on Patent and Copyright; (8) Agrarian Legislation; (9) on the Judiciary; (10) Labour Law; (11) on Civil Procedure; (12) on State Secrets. There is also a short supplement containing a few important laws which came to the author's notice after he had finished the main body of the book. From this list it will be seen that the volume is remarkably comprehensive, and of interest to laymen as well as to lawyers. All but a very small portion of this material is here translated into English for the first time.

It must be noted that the Russian editions of the Codes, at any rate of the Civil Code, with which alone I am familiar, contain notes to many of the articles, which appear to be as authoritative as the articles themselves; moreover, after the Code itself, they print supplementary annotations, usually containing pronouncements of a quasi-legislative character, made by the Supreme Court, formerly of the R.S.F.S.R., more recently of the U.S.S.R. For the law of civil responsibility (torts), at least, they are every bit as important as the Code itself, which, though not so fragmentary as many others, gives a very incomplete picture of the present law. The author prints an English version of almost all these supple-

mentary annotations, and he adds much else from other legislation and judicial decisions. Indeed, without this material, his account would often be quite false. The Soviet authorities do not bother to clean up their various codes when parts of them are impliedly superseded by later legislation. Thus there is much in the Civil Code which is on all hands admitted to be quite obsolete. For example, there is no point in studying the law of private (i.e. non-government) trading companies, when such private companies no longer exist in the Soviet Union. One hears everywhere that the Civil Code is in process of revision, but it is hard to ascertain when, if at all, the revised version will appear. In the meantime, Soviet private law texts are peculiarly difficult to handle, much more difficult than those of this country or the United States, which are generally considered difficult enough. An outsider cannot be certain that the author's assemblage and treatment of his materials is perfect; one must hope for the best, with the knowledge that he has done his work honestly and has probably had better access to the sources, through the Library of Congress, of which he is head of the Foreign Law Section, than anyone else could hope to have outside the Soviet Union.

I have checked the English translation only of the Civil Code, and even that only in part. I find it trustworthy but not very scholarly. It gives the sense of the original and even where it is rather truncated or approaches a paraphrase, I can see that the author has been above all concerned to make a readable version for those who have no knowledge of Russian. But occasionally he has, mistakenly, I think, substituted a term of English law for a more literal translation which would have been quite familiar to readers acquainted with Roman and modern civil law. Thus, in translating art. 115, he used the term "joint and several liability" for "solidary liability," a regular term of Roman law which describes a concept not quite the same as anything known to Anglo-American law. Moreover, he sometimes uses the same English word to translate different Russian words, and sometimes different English words to translate the same Russian word. Although this would hardly matter in the translation of a literary work, a more pedantic correspondence with the original is better in a highly technical document such as a code. However, the point is a fine one: literal interpretation of the words of a statute is far rarer in continental than in English law, and seems to be quite exceptional in Soviet law.

F. H. LAWSON.

A Handbook of Slavic Studies. Edited by Leonid I. Strakhovsky; Harvard University Press, 1949, \$12.50.

It was the highest time that a book of this kind should appear. As its Editor, Professor Leonid Strakhovsky, aptly points out, the entire work aims at giving a "digest of the history and literature of all the Slavs so

as to serve as a reference book for the student, the scholar and the general reader alike." Within these limits—the limits of history and literature—the *Handbook* certainly fulfils its purpose: the more so because it is primarily informative. This does not mean that its twenty-eight chapters contain no controversial matter at all. On the contrary, some of them are full of it, but only by implication.

Another interesting feature of the book is that it is a result of team work, of a collective effort on the part of American and Slav scholars. Ten of the eighteen contributors are Americans, six are Slavs (living in America), while one of them is a Canadian and one a Swiss. Yet in spite of such a mixture of nationalities, the enormous material tackled here is sufficiently well co-ordinated to be of use to any British or American reader anxious to obtain some orientation in the bewildering mazes of the Slav problem which—for the time being at any rate—so largely coincides with the problem of East and West. As it takes us only up to the end of 1946, there are bound to be certain gaps, due not to the authors, but to the hysterically rapid pace of contemporary events. On the other hand, the student will be compensated by a most valuable bibliography on practically all the topics discussed. In the case of the Ukraine it is longer than the text.

It would of course be a miracle if a book of such a size and character were devoid of omissions or even of repetitions. For one thing, in its historical part (covering more than one half of the book) there is not one map. Such excellent summaries as the one of the early Slav history by Professor S. H. Cross, or Professor Harrison Thomson's *The Conflict of Slav and German*, and especially *Partitioned Poland* by Professor Oscar Halecki call for maps, and many of them.

In the literary sections again there are a few annoying misprints and minor inaccuracies which we hope will be corrected in a new edition. This is noticeable in the chapter on Yugoslav literature which, incidentally, should not be lumped together with the literature of Bulgaria. Even in the earlier section on Slav linguistics, the statement that the Tchakavian (instead of the Shtokavian) dialect has served as the basis for the Serbo-Croat literary language, should be corrected. So should a few misprints in the chapter on Yugoslav literature itself where we read *Hibanja* instead of *Ribanje*—an important work of the 16th-century Dalmatian author Petar Hektorović; Crnović instead of Crnojević; and Heduvary instead of Hederváry. Nor was Aškerc a follower of the novelist Josip Jurčič, but (together with Simon Gregorčič) a leading Slovene poet during the last two decades of the 19th century, i.e. before the advent of such ambitious "moderns" as Dragotin Kette, Ivan Cankar and Oton Zupančič. It is a pity that the pattern and the impact of the Illyrian movement has not been given a little more space. The same applies to such a phenomenon as the Slovene poet Francè Prešeren (d. 1849) who—almost out of nothing—created a poetry which would do credit to any European nation, large or small. Finally, at least some

mention should be made of the recent official creation of a Macedonian language and literature.

The surveys of Russian, Polish, Czech and Slovak literatures contain a fair amount of interpretation as well, but only within the restricted space allotted to each of them. For all that, the English-speaking readers would probably be glad to know a little more about the English influences (apart from Byron) on Pushkin, since the greatest Russian poet still remains also the greatest bridge between the two literatures. Dr. Rádl's brief characteristics of such Czech authors as Mácha, Neruda, Zeyer, Vrchlický and Karel Čapek are to the point. All the same, one wishes he could have said something more about Otokar Březina—a Czech counterpart of Rilke and one of the greatest poets in modern Europe.

The section dealing with literary Poland (by Professor Francis Whitfield) makes pleasant reading but does not sufficiently explain that nationalist—as distinct from national—element which has so far prevented even the greatest Polish poets and authors from winning abroad the recognition they deserve. Whereas Russian literature is national without being nationalist, the literature of Poland was only too often compelled by the historical circumstances to stress the nationalist factor as such. This is why even men of the stature of Słowacki and Wyspiański are scarcely even names outside their own country.

One could cavil at several other points, but it would seem both unfair and pedantic. The book as a whole is certainly good enough to redeem its faults, and this is the main thing. In welcoming it we can only express the hope that it will be followed by other works similar in scope and range, as well as in quality.

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SOME CRITICAL NOTES ON POPULAR HISTORIES OF RUSSIA

Crankshaw, Edward. *Russia and Britain*. London: Collins. (N.D.), pp. 128, ill., col. plates.

Marriott, Sir J. A. R. *Anglo-Russian Relations, 1689-1943*. London: Methuen, 1944, pp. viii and 227, maps.

Price, M. Philips. *Russia through the Centuries*. The Historical Background of the U.S.S.R. London: Allen & Unwin, 1943, pp. 136, maps.

Rutley, C. Bernard. *The Story of Russia*. (The Laurel and Gold series, vol. 135.) Collins Clear-Type Press, 1943, pp. 160.

Segal, Louis. *Russia*. A Concise History from the Foundation of the State to Hitler's Invasion. London: W. H. Allen, 1944, pp. 262, ill., maps.

Thomson, Joan. *The Making of Russia*. O.U.P., London: Milford, 1943, pp. viii and 132, ill.

- Thomson, Joan. *Russia : the Old and the New*. London : John Murray, 1948, pp. vii and 195, ill., maps.
- Wolfe, Lawrence. *A Short History of Russia*. London : Nicholson & Watson (N.D.), pp. 160.

THE abundance of popular histories of Russia published during the last war, and in the early post-war years, is in itself not surprising. The reappearance of Russia as an ally, and her subsequent dazzling military achievements were of course bound to give a fresh impulse to the interest in all things Russian—both present and past. But in view of the remarkable progress of Russian historical studies during the preceding quarter of a century (cf. : *Some Recent Books on Russian History*, by the present reviewer, in *History*, September 1943, p. 207 *sqq.*), it is startling to see the recklessness with which most of these "histories" have been compiled. Of all the works listed above the little book by Rutley alone might have a chance of standing up to more or less strict tests. It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that owing to the combined efforts of the historians concerned few basic facts have survived undamaged, and that odd things have been lavishly produced along the whole course of Russian history—starting with the Scythians who in view of their great artistic talents have been credited by Miss Thomson with works of Greek origin (*The Making of R.*, ill. on p. 18).

In connection with the troubles caused by the Pechenegs to the rulers of Kiev Miss Thomson also relates that "Igor was eventually, in 945, ambushed and killed in battle" (*Russia*, p. 7), but according to the Russian Chronicles this was the fate of his son Svyatoslav, in 973, correctly described two pages further, while Igor was killed by the Drevlyans for his attempt to extort excessive tribute.

According to Mr. Price (p. 23), "A good picture of what life in Russia must have been like during the height of the Mongol raids of the 13th century is obtained in the opera *Prince Igor*," in the first scene of which "Tartar horsemen appear," and in the second scene "the Russians are seen captives in the Tartar camp." Unfortunately nothing is said as to how this picture is to be reconciled with the commonly accepted tradition—strictly upheld even in the opera—that Prince Igor's ill-fated campaign was undertaken against the Polovtsy, in 1185, roughly 35 years before the first appearance of the Tartars.

In spite of his three decisive and individual victories—(1) in 1240, over the Swedes, on the Neva, (2) in 1242, over the Germans, on Lake Peipus, and (3) in 1245, over the Lithuanians,—even the records of one and the same author suggest that Alexander Nevsky had been fighting quite indiscriminately—against all and any forces, and at any time. In *The Making of Russia* (p. 22), Miss Thomson describes how, in 1242, "Alexander Nevsky of Novgorod"—called upon by the people "to lead them against the Swedes and Germans"—completely routed the Swedes on Lake Peipus, while in her *Russia* (p. 20), we hear "of the

fact that in A.D. 1236 he defeated the Swedes on the river Neva," and that "he also fought and won a tremendous battle on the ice of Lake Peipus, against the Germans and the Lithuanians, in 1242." At the same time the chronological tables of both books (pp. 131, and 184, respectively) are unanimous in stating that, in 1242, "Alexander Nevsky defeats Swedes and Germans on Lake Peipus." Other authors (Rutley, p. 19; Price, p. 21) prefer to give only the wrong year 1236 for the defeat of the Swedes. Remarkable are also the deeds of Dmitry Donskoy who—according to Miss Thomson—in 1380, with only 400,000 (*sic!*) men defeated 700,000 (*sic!*) Mongols (*Russia*, p. 21). The author does not seem to have been puzzled by the comparative insignificance of the opposing forces in 1812—Alexander's 260,000 against Napoleon's 470,000 men—more or less correctly assessed by her (on p. 75 of the same book). Rutley (p. 25), on the other hand, is content to say that, in 1378, "Dmitry raised a big army and defeated his overlords in a pitched battle"—evidently not realising that the battle in 1378 was only a preliminary victory to the great event of 1380.

However, in a really interesting way the story begins to develop in the 16th century—from the reign of Ivan IV who, we are told, introduced "a system of education in Russia" (Wolfe, p. 49), and who after "liquidating" the Boyars "set up a 'court party' of his own which organised the so-called 'oprichniki' or secret police" (Price, p. 35). Of Ivan's increasingly cruel régime "the culminating cruelty was to institute (or follow) the Russian fashion of murdering his eldest son and heir. Ivan was, accordingly, succeeded (1584) by another son, Theodore (Fedor I). . . . Theodore's duties were actually discharged by his brother-in-law, Boris Godunov. . . . In the following (*sic!*) year the *Sobor* elected Boris himself as Tsar, but his rule was disputed by a Pretender who personated Dmitri, the stepbrother of Theodore I. Dmitri had in fact been murdered in 1591" (Marriott, p. 21). Unfortunately, the actual chronology was not quite as favourable for Godunov since he was elected as Tsar only after Theodore's death, in 1598. But that of course does not alter the fact that Godunov was "dogged" by the suspicion of having murdered Dmitry, and that "this incident of Russian history is well shown in Pushkin's great opera, *Boris Godunov*" (Price, p. 40).

According to Mr. Crankshaw (p. 64), "Ivan's nephew, Boris Godunov" sent "his four young nephews (*sic!*) to receive their education in England. And when Boris died by his own hand (*sic!*) and Russia found herself launched into the dreadful epoch of the 'Troubles' the four nephews of Boris Godunov chose to remain in England rather than risk assassination at the hands of the successful Pretender . . . who had seized the throne on their uncle's death" (p. 72). We are also told that the only one of the four "nephews" who survived became an Anglican parson in this country, "known as Nicholas (*sic!*) Alfery," and how he refused "repeated invitations from Michael Romanov . . . who ascended the throne in 1611 (*sic!*) and, in his anxiety to gather all possible loyalty round him,

wanted Alfery to return and become an Imperial Prince (*sic*!). But the nephew of Boris Godunov preferred the quiet English parsonage to the dubious and perilous privilege of helping to stabilise Russia . . ." (p. 72). About the date of Michael's accession the author seems to have had some afterthoughts because (on p. 74) he gives also the right year 1613, but judging by the insistence with which they are repeated—obviously no doubts whatsoever have occurred to him with regard to the fanciful details of "the story of Nicholas Alfery, Grand Duke under the first of the Romanovs . . ." (!) (p. 73).

Mikephor Alfery is, by the way, not the only "Russian Royalty" of the period to be persistently given a wrong name. "King Sigismund of Poland took advantage of the confusion," says Sir John Marriott (p. 22), "to get his son Vladimir (*sic*!) elected Tsar, but Vladimir never really established his position" (had Władysław called himself Vladimir—things might have gone better for him!) . . . "In January 1613 Michael Romanoff was elected as Tsar . . . Michael was a grandson of the first wife of Ivan IV, and a cousin of Theodore Ivanovitch. His father, Theodore Romanov (better known as the Patriarch Philaret), had, with all his kinsmen, been banished by Boris Godunov, but after returning from exile in Poland, he was largely responsible for his son's election as Tsar . . ." (p. 22). And here we are confronted with a series of new problems. Tsar Fedor was a son of Ivan's first wife. Had Michael been her grandson he could have been only Fedor's nephew. In reality however he was her brother's grandson. Michael's father was in Poland not "in exile," but in captivity having been detained on a mission to the King during the negotiations concerning Ladislas. He returned to Moscow only six years after his son's election in February 1613; and it was only after his return that he actually became Patriarch, although it is true that the second Pretender had tried to install him already in Tushino (Segal, p. 50).

The genealogy of "the new and fatal dynasty" (Crankshaw, p. 72) seems to have been a particular source of trouble for many authors. That Patriarch Nikon who "hoped to liberalize religion" (Marriott, p. 24) "was the Tsar's uncle" (meant is Tsar Alexis: Segal, p. 62)—is but a minor point. The real problem child appears to have been "the third (*sic*!) of the Romanovs" (Crankshaw, p. 74)—Peter the Great (grandson of Tsar Michael, son of Tsar Alexis, and successor of his elder step-brother, Tsar Fedor, and for some years co-ruler of his younger step-brother Ivan). In her first book Miss Thomson avoids particulars: after having mentioned Tsar Alexis she merely adds that Peter was "his younger brother, who became Tsar in 1682" (p. 29). However, five years later, in her more extensive work, Miss Thomson not only prefers to see Peter in the rôle of Alexis's grandson—"Alexis was succeeded in 1676 by his son Fedor, whose wife, mother of Peter the Great . . ." (*Russia*, p. 41)—but she has also provided a complete account of the whole family: "His father, Fedor, died in 1682 and left a son, Ivan, by his first marriage

who was very much older than Peter, a child by Fedor's second wife. Ivan was not, however, a very capable person. . . . He had a sister, Sophia . . . whose rival to power was her father's second wife, Natalie, mother of Peter" (p. 42). As the son of his own step-brother Fedor, Peter obviously becomes his own step-nephew, and can thus join the other "nephews" on more or less equal terms.

Apart from family mysteries there are records also of other queer happenings during the same periods. In connection with Fedor who succeeded his father in 1676, we are told that "one incident of note during his reign was the abolition of the Table of Ranks, which had long been an anachronism and a nuisance. According to the Table of Ranks no noble could occupy a position inferior to that attained to by his father. The burning of the Russian Debrett, the book which contained the record of all ranks and honours held by nobles, had therefore rendered a service to the country" (Segal, p. 66). This was indeed an "incident of note," in view of the fact that the Table of Ranks was only introduced by Peter forty years later, in 1722, and had nothing in common with any Debrett. All the details about nuisance and burning refer to the old service registers, the so-called *razryadnye knigi*; moreover, the cause of the nuisance was not that no noble *could*, but that no noble *would* occupy a position inferior to that attained by his father.

Although Prussia became a kingdom only in 1701, and Frederick William ascended the throne in 1713, Peter "visited King Frederick William and learned how that monarch had remodelled his state and modernised his administration"—already in 1697 (Price, p. 55), i.e. when Frederick William's father, the Elector Frederick III and future King Frederick I was still ruling.

Some unusual things can be found also as to the external and internal policies of Catherine II and of her successors. "Thoroughly incensed by British high-and-mightiness, she sent 20,000 men via Persia and Thibet to fight us in India" (Crankshaw, p. 85), and Paul it appears only "revived his mother's crazy idea of invading India" (p. 87). At the same time "like his mother, he had no use for his landed nobility and he too tried to curb their power" (Price, p. 65). Although the job had been accomplished already by Paul, "Nicholas I's wars included the annexation of Georgia" (Wolfe, p. 97). But easily the most surprising revelation about events in the 19th century is the one made by Mr. Wolfe (p. 108) concerning "Alexander III, Alexander II's son, who was married to an English Princess (a daughter of Queen Victoria)." Unfortunately the name of the bride is not mentioned.

That Goncharov, the celebrated author of *Oblomov*, in Miss Thomson's book is repeatedly called Gorchakov, may possibly seem a comparatively harmless slip, but it fits marvellously into the picture (*Russia*, twice on p. 92 and in the index).

These are only a few of the more remarkable oddities which it is fairly easy to pinpoint. Along with minor inaccuracies regarding figures and

names, many things of greater importance can be mentioned only in passing since it would take pages to deal with complicated problems which keep on appearing as if in a distorting mirror—things not absolutely wrong, but at the same time definitely not right.

In spite of all the diversion one can get out of them it is sad to think that most of these books were published at a time when the English edition of Platonov's unsurpassed textbook on pre-revolution Russian history was sold out and remained out of print, and Sir Bernard Pares's up-to-date History—though republished in the States—was almost unobtainable in this country.

LEO LOEWENSON.

Yugoslavia, ed. Robert J. Kerner; Univ. of California Press, C.U.P., 1949, pp. 558.

THE problems facing anyone who attempts to write a history of Yugoslavia are manifold. There is first of all the difficult question of where Yugoslav history begins. Yugoslavia only became a nation state after World War I, but the genesis of the state had its roots far back in the history of the South Slav peoples; and the writing of this early history is complicated by the fact that the historian has to deal with both eastern and western Europe—the Serbs under Turkish occupation, and the Croats and Slovenes in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The history of Yugoslavia as a nation state has the added difficulty that it can as yet only be written by contemporaries. Moreover the struggle of the South Slav peoples to gain, regain and maintain their freedom—right up to the present day—has been such that it is apt to arouse violent passions or at least partisan feeling in all who write about it.

In view of these difficulties, and of the dearth of reliable factual histories of the Yugoslavs, this new book is very welcome. The editor says in a foreword that the contributors to this volume have endeavoured to write with "scrupulous care for accuracy, impartiality and understanding" and it must be said that to a large extent they have succeeded though the scope of the book is so wide, and the accumulation of facts and detail so great that the reader gets little impression of the Yugoslavs as people. The book contains a wealth of material, a good (if not complete) bibliography, some indifferent photographs and insufficient maps. It will certainly be most useful to all interested in Yugoslavia.

The book would have been even more useful had it covered less ground, or been more ruthlessly edited. It contains nine parts comprising twenty-one chapters, and has fourteen different contributors in addition to the editor. The standard of work is very uneven and there is a lot of unnecessary overlapping with repetition of facts and statistics as for instance in Chapters X on "Agriculture" and XI on "Foreign Economic Relations," in XIX on "Foreign Policy in the Second World War" and XX, "The Second World War and Beyond." Indeed, the uninspiring

catalogue of the manoeuvres of the Yugoslav government in exile which is retailed in Chapter XIX might have been omitted in favour of a development of the more penetrating analysis of policy given by the author of Chapter XX. There are other chapters too that could have been dispensed with or incorporated in other material without loss to the book as for instance Chapter XII on "Social Structure" and Chapter XVIII on "Yugoslavia, the Little Entente and the Balkan Pact."

Chapter XIII on "Education" is a superficial account which reads as if it had been based on a government hand-out for journalists in the pre-1941 period. Salient facts about Yugoslav education could have been given more briefly and the space thus saved made available to extend the chapter on Yugoslav literature which unfortunately only takes the subject up to the outbreak of World War I, thus omitting all literature written since Yugoslavia became a nation. The chapter on language also will probably not satisfy the linguistic experts.

The two chapters on "Constitutional Development," VII (of Serbia up to 1914) and VIII (of Yugoslavia to 1941) attempt the very difficult task of describing Yugoslav political history. It is perhaps a pity that the author limited himself to constitutional history since constitutions for Serbs and Yugoslavs have been more honoured in the breach than the observance, and students would have found most valuable an account from the pen of this author of how political power was exercised centrally and provincially both in the Serbian and Yugoslav states. Some of the most valuable source material which throws light on this subject has recently been made available in London (Public Record Office Foreign Office Documents 105) and there are plenty of Yugoslavs at present in exile both in Britain and the United States who played important political rôles in the country in the period between the two wars, who could give their versions of the working of the political system, which would amplify the material available in Belgrade. The author gives insufficient weight to the relationship between political power and economic control which led in Yugoslavia to widespread corruption and which impeded the modern developments that might have been expected to take place in a country so richly endowed with natural resources. Chapter XX also takes too kindly a view of King Alexander's dictatorship.

In these chapters and throughout the whole book too little space is given to the Croats. Very little is written about their political and economic conditions under the Austro-Hungarian Empire thus making it difficult for the reader to understand the reasons for their intransigent attitude during the Yugoslav kingdom. These weaknesses in the political account are no doubt due to the difficulties of dealing with a wide and complicated period in such a short space.

In the economic field, though the chapters are of necessity few, they are packed with useful information; some of it, as in Chapter XI, has not been available to students before. The author does not emphasise sufficiently the importance of the non-ferrous metal industries in Yugo-

slavia, and the account of post-war recovery (Chapter XXI) needs to complete it some account of the currency reform of 1945 as well as an appreciation of the importance of voluntary work, the brigade system, and shock workers, in the attempt to tackle the labour and output problems of present day Yugoslavia.

Chapter X on "Agriculture" gives a good account of the situation in between the two wars though the effect of the growth of population on landownership should have been more stressed, also the statement that "agrarian reform in Yugoslavia was of doubtful benefit" is only a half-truth since it is clear that reform alone and of the limited character of that in Yugoslavia in this period needed to be complemented by a further policy of changing the type of production. It is a pity that the author was not able to give a more detailed account of agrarian reform since 1945. It is true, as one of the authors so forcibly remarks, that Yugoslavia is one of the most difficult countries to get reliable statistics from, but even so, it is possible by visiting the country and analysing trade statistics from many sources to obtain an adequate idea of the present agrarian situation in Yugoslavia. It is certainly easier to assess the agrarian situation than the present position of Yugoslav industry about which information has only become available since the publication of the book.

Chapter XX, "The Second World War and Beyond," must have been one of the most difficult chapters to write. The author—who has obviously been in close touch with wartime events—has succeeded remarkably well—as well as could be expected of anyone so soon after the event. The occasional errors in detail will doubtless be corrected in later works but the general account of what happened in Yugoslavia during the war in all its complicated tragedy is told clearly and almost without bias; the author gives a balanced and understanding account of the history of Milhailović and the Četniks—an account which is borne out by the most reliable British sources. This is one of the few chapters which is written in a style which arouses the reader's interest.

The same cannot be said for the greater part of the book, which is remarkable for its dull, lifeless style. The result is that though this book provides much information about Yugoslavia, the Yugoslavs as people do not emerge alive from the pedestrian narrative. Even the heroic revolt of the Yugoslav people against the Tripartite pact with the axis made by the Cvetković government is passed over (Chapter XIX) with the only comment "Hitler . . . regarded the developments in Belgrade as an open challenge to Germany." And from the whole book the reader gains no impression of the distinguishing Yugoslav characteristics of courage, overweening self-confidence, enthusiasm, of their remarkable capacity to accept tragedy and then put it behind them, of their tremendous lust for life. These qualities were recognised by historians of the Serbian people even in the 19th century, they were commented on by Westerners who shared the experiences of 1875, of 1912-1913, of the great Serbian retreat during World War I; World War II demon-

strated that these qualities were not a monopoly of the Serbs but were shared by other Slav peoples of Yugoslavia. Today, courage in the face of tremendous odds and an almost fanatical enthusiasm for building a new independent state are to be found in all parts of Yugoslavia. These qualities have played, and are playing today a very important rôle in the history of the South Slav peoples.

PHYLLIS AUTY.

Trité nai stary jitiya na Prepodobny Ivan Rilsky (The Three Oldest Vitæ of St. John of Rila). By the Very Rev. Prof. Ivan Goshev; Annuaire de l'Universitaire de Sofia, Faculté Theologique, Tome XXV (1947-1948), pp. 72.

MOST foreign visitors to Bulgaria are taken to see the famous Rila monastery, a beauty spot situated high up in the mountains. The chief reason for this lies in the fact that for many centuries Rila monastery has been a sanctuary: during the long centuries of Turkish oppression (1396-1877) it preserved the national consciousness of the Bulgarian people and the hope of better times to come.

Its original founder, St. John of Rila, was not only the first Bulgarian hermit but also the founder of Bulgarian Monasticism. He was born about 876 and died in 946. After his death his remains were carried to many places—Sofia, Esztergom (Hungary), Tirnovo and Rila—and his fame spread throughout Balkan countries. Consequently as many as eight *Vitæ* have been preserved, each of which exists in several copies; many services are held in his honour, and various local traditions are connected with him.

Professor Goshev has selected three of the oldest and most important *Vitæ* of St. John and has translated them into modern Bulgarian, adding a historical and liturgical commentary. He shows how, for the historian, these *Vitæ* offer information concerning Bulgarian folklore, social conditions of the masses, historical events, the character of Bulgarian literature and the development of the language between the 9th and 14th centuries. As he points out in his introduction, he has attempted to reveal the close relationship which exists between the *Vitæ* and the liturgical hymns composed in St. John's honour, and how the latter are usually based on the former. He also adds a chronological table of events connected with the life and death of St. John.

Unfortunately Professor Goshev does not give any data about the history of the three *Vitæ* and how they came to be written. The reader must go to other sources for this information.

The oldest existing life of St. John is the so-called *Popular Vita*. When dating it one must bear in mind that the last event to be narrated is the transfer of the relics of the Saint from Rila to Sofia. The later transfers to Hungary in 1183 and to Tirnovo in 1195 are not mentioned. Thus this *Vita* must have been written before these two dates. On the

other hand it cannot be dated 10th or 11th century on linguistic grounds for it is written in Middle-Bulgarian. The accepted date is the 12th century. This *Vita* exists in six copies, the earliest of which is a 15th-century edition. Its translation is made from a MS. (1/26—15th century) in the library of the Rila monastery. The *Popular Vita* has some apocryphal elements (such as the appearance of St. John the Divine) but it has been accepted by the Church as canonical. Most probably it was written in Rila monastery, though the possibility of its being written in Sofia must not be excluded.

The *Popular Vita* tells the story of a certain poor man who, possessing only an ox, decided to live apart from the world. One day he goes out from his village taking with him his ox. His brother and fellow peasants follow him and try to persuade him to return. This he will not do but he leaves them the ox and departs to Rila mountain. At a place called Golatz he spends over seven months and then moves to a cave. His nephew, a young man, comes to share his life in prayer but the angry father arrives and takes him away. On the way back a serpent bites the boy and he dies. The penitent father brings the body back to St. John and it is buried nearby. Later St. John climbs a huge rock near his cave and spends there another seven years. At the end of this period he visits several places and finally returns to his cave.

Tsar Peter, when visiting Sofia, desired to meet the famous hermit but Rila mountain proved too high for him to climb. It was arranged that the Tsar should reveal his position by setting up a tent and that smoke from a fire should indicate St. John. Thus they saw each other and made their bows. After the death of the saint his body was discovered by hunters, brought to Sofia, and buried with due honours.

The second *Vita* exists in five copies and was written by the Greek, Georgios Skilitza. The original Greek text is lost and only Slavonic translations have come down to us. Skilitza was a high Byzantine official, as he tells us himself in the *Vita*. Professor Goshev believes that Skilitza knew of the *Popular Vita* and used it as one of his sources. The accepted date is the 12th century, though the oldest existing copy belongs to the 15th century. The translation is made from a MS. (1/26—15th century) from the library of the Rila monastery.

In comparison with the *Popular Vita* Skilitza's version is highly elaborate. It has a long introduction and is written in eloquent language with a strong biblical background. Many new facts are added: St. John lives in a hollow tree; shepherds following lost sheep find him; he heals a man with an unclean spirit; some followers come to live with him, build a monastery and are given a rule of life; when in Sofia his coffin helps to put out a fire. The hagiographer relates that the body of the Saint had healing powers, and that not only was he himself healed from a disease but also the Emperor Manuel. Since he was a Byzantine official, Skilitza naturally omits the stories connected with the Tsar Peter. He also omits the episode concerning the boy and the serpent.

The third *Vita* translated by Professor Goshev is that of the Bulgarian Patriarch Eutimii, of the second Bulgarian empire. It exists in several copies and like the work of Skilitza it is ably written. It begins with an introduction and then narrates the life and miracles of the saint. Like the second *Vita* it ends with a prayer. Its new elements consist of the transfer of the Saint's body from Sofia to Esztergom (the older capital of Hungary), the punishment of the local Bishop for his unbelief and the return of the body to Sofia. Later by order of the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Assen the body was carried to Tirnovo, the older capital of Bulgaria. In his work Patriarch Eutimii follows closely the second *Vita* and also borrows facts, omitted by Skilitza, from the *Popular Vita*. After the third *Vita* Professor Goshev gives a short résumé in German. He also adds an index and reproduces a facsimile from MS. N 47 of the Skilitza *Vita*.

One of the chief merits of this work is, I think, that for the first time the average Bulgarian reader can enjoy reading some of the lives of St. John of Rila in a scholarly translation. Moreover these three *Vitæ* are essential to the study of St. John, since the remainder contain material either derived from them or from later events concerned with the history of Rila monastery. A final word may be added about Professor Goshev's extensive notes on the text, which provide invaluable material for any research work on the subject.

METHODIE KUSSEFF.

Die Anfänge des Polnischen Staates. By H. Ludat; Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Deutsche Ostarbeit, Krakau. Sektion Geschichte. Band 3. Krakau, 1942.

In the inter-war period Polish and German historians expended much ingenuity on the exegesis of the scanty information available about the beginnings of the Polish State. Their motives, often political, and their methods, not always scholarly, caused them to drift wider and wider apart in their views. In the end, instead of meeting one another half-way—where the truth probably lies hidden—each school evolved its own theory, contradicting the other on every important point. According to the Germans, the founder of the Polish State, Mieszko-Dago, was a Viking conqueror. Defeated by the Germans, he was compelled to pay them tribute for his lands as far as the Warta. After his conversion to Christianity in 966 the diocese of Poznań was established under German auspices and the donation of Poland to the Holy See was made not in opposition to Germany but with the Emperor's sanction. In the year 1000, at Gniezno, Mieszko-Dago's son and successor, Bolesław I, was raised to the dignity of patrician and Poland incorporated in the Roman Empire. Neither this promotion, however, nor the foundation of the metropolitan see of Gniezno affected the relationship between the two countries which remained one of vassalage. The "ruthless *Machtpolitik*" which Bolesław

followed after the death of Otto III brought the young State but ephemeral success. Bereft of its able captain, the unwieldy and prematurely launched craft soon foundered and could be salvaged only with German help. Polish historians, on the other hand, believe that the appearance of the Polish State was the outcome of a long process of inter-tribal unification, finally accomplished by Mieszko's Polanian ancestors. Mieszko himself was not a Viking but a Piast; an independent ruler who established diplomatic relations with Germany in order to obtain military aid against the Polabian Slavs. In return he agreed to pay the Emperor tribute for his conquests in Western Pomerania. The setting up of a Polish missionary bishopric at Poznań was the fruit of successful negotiations with Rome over the head of the Emperor. Mieszko's subordination to the Empire was purely formal and the year 1000 saw his successor's complete emancipation from the Imperial tutelage. Bolesław bequeathed to his descendants a State whose tradition and organisation were powerful enough to withstand and recover unaided from civil war, pagan reaction and foreign invasion.

The German occupation of Poland and what in 1942 seemed to Dr. Ludat to be the final *Ausschaltung* of Polish historical scholarship together with Polish independence, convinced him that the moment had come to sum up and pass a final judgment on the achievements of both sides. Since he takes for granted the impartiality of German experts in the field and the "chauvinist" bias of their Polish counterparts and dispenses with a critical examination of the sources as well as of their conflicting interpretations, it is not surprising that the verdict is largely in favour of the German theories. Only in two instances does he accept the views of Polish scholars: he agrees that the diocese of Poznań was a Polish one, founded without the participation of the Empire and that the Scandinavian origin of the Piasts cannot be proved. The latter admission he qualifies, expressing the adequately founded belief that the thorough investigation of Scandinavian influences on 10th-century Poland for which he calls should show their effect to have been far more profound and lasting than is generally supposed.

Work on the beginnings of the Polish State published in Poland since the end of the war by Lowmiański, Widajewicz, Wojciechowski and notably by G. Łabuda render Dr. Ludat's study obsolete. It may, however, still be found useful as an introduction to the subject and a bibliographical guide up to the year of its publication.

L. R. LEWITTER.

L'État polonais au moyen-âge: Histoire des Institutions. Par Zygmunt Wojciechowski. Traduction de M. Bernard Hamel; Paris, 1949, pp. 336.

THIS comprehensive book on Polish institutions by the well-known historian, Professor Zygmunt Wojciechowski of the University of Poznań,

will be a great boon to Western students in its French translation. In a preface making sound generalisations on medieval Polish history, M. Pierre Petot, president of *La Société d'Histoire du Droit*, stresses the astonishingly rapid advance made by Poland after a late beginning—a phenomenon which continued to be characteristic of the development of Polish civilisation in which several factors caused a series of dramatic changes followed by periods of assimilation. While pointing to the great debt the Poles owed to the West in forming new institutions, Professor Petot emphasises the originality of Polish law and practice in the development of these institutions. For instance, in contrast to the history of France, an hereditary monarchy became elective in the later middle ages, high offices never became hereditary and the clan traditions of the *szlachta* gave it a unique position in history.

The book itself is translated from the original Polish work of which the first edition appeared in 1945, the second in 1948, and which was dedicated to the great medievalist Oswald Balzer. The book is divided into four chapters. The main portion, 267 pages in length, deals with medieval institutions in two parts: firstly the period of the predominance of the prince, secondly the age of the *État corporatif*. Before this main part there is a short, but very important section on the formation of the Polish state. Finally there is a short section of a general nature. The author and the translator have to face many difficulties in terminology especially when dealing with three languages and discussing the nature of such institutions as the Tribe, the Clan and the Family. On the whole these difficulties are overcome, though in English another word may be found necessary for clarification, e.g. for *opole* (*vicinia*). The mention of the tribes on p. 9 is not quite clear till they are discussed in more detail on p. 17. In such matters lucidity is often difficult to achieve unless the writer is prepared to be dogmatic in the text and confine his discussion of other theories to the notes. Here the author is very sound as when he warns his readers not to speak prematurely of the western group of tribes as Silesians, as is often done in the interests of lucidity. He is particularly enlightening in presenting the sources of our knowledge of the Silesians and Vistulans, showing how dangerous it is to invent fixed tribes at an early date. He is more dogmatic in assuming that *civitas schinesne* is Stettin, and his suggestion that Alemure is probably Olmütz is old. He deals firmly with the ancient theory of the Norman origin of the Polish princes, and advances to the attack when he expresses astonishment that the Germans, whose country was a geographical name till Napoleon began a process of unification, should accuse the Slavs of inability to integrate their provinces into political unity. There has been an increase in the support given to such theories by German scholars since the appearance of the document *Dagome Iudex*. The author himself adheres to the school which interprets the first words as *Ego Mesco*.

Characteristic of the qualities of the writer is his discussion of the origin of the Polish *szlachta* and his treatment of the division of his lands

among his sons by Bolesław Krzywousty. This was not, of course, an innovation. Suzerainty of one prince over others had existed before. The main difference was that Bolesław made a rigid line of succession with special rights for the eldest brother and with an extensive central principality including Cracow, Sieradz, Łęczyca, Gniezno, Kruszwica and Eastern Pomorze. Other excellent sections are those concerning the difficult question of the capitals and the first contacts of Mieszko with the border Germans and the Emperor.

These few illustrations show the scope and quality of Professor Wojciechowski's work. Older scholars will value its learning, its comprehensiveness and its lucidity. Younger scholars will find in it an acute analysis of all the newer theories and discoveries of the last fifty years, bringing them deftly into the main stream of Polish historical thought. In the latter respect this book puts out of date such great works as Kutrzeba's *Historia Ustroju Polski w Zarysie*, which can still challenge it in lucidity and arrangement. The author is no mere nationalist in his outlook. He pays tribute to the research done by modern German historians and considers their theories seriously. Well equipped with notes and references, with a table of the rulers of Poland, a full bibliography and three maps (in which Dantzig and Cracovie appear in western guise beside Wrocław and Kołobrzeg, and "Legnica" is incorrect) the book is an important work of reference, full of the sounds of discussion, of new discovery, of criticism and ruthless analysis. It will remain for some time a storehouse of learning for students of Polish history as well as for those who will read it for the study of comparative institutions.

A. BRUCE BOSWELL.

Die Rechtsumwälzung unter Iwan dem Schrecklichen und die Ideologie der russischen Selbstherrschaft. By Victor Leontovitsch; K. F. Koehler Verlag, Stuttgart, 1949.

THE theories of government expounded by Ivan IV mark, according to Leontovitsch, a revolution in Russian political thought. They constitute, he claims, the transition from a feudal conception of law as a complex of private rights and duties to the "modern" idea of law as the command of a law-giver. Such is the thesis introduced with quite unnecessary elaboration in the early part of this study.

Ivan's correspondence with Kurbski provides ample proof that the Tsar held or professed to hold a high view of his office and refused, in practice and even in theory, to acknowledge any human limitation on his power. Was this a revolutionary doctrine invented by the formidable Tsar or was there precedent for his political philosophy? It is a pity that when discussing this question the author does not trouble to examine what is known about the views on government held by Vassili III and by Ivan III, the first of the Russo-Byzantine Grand-Dukes, but chooses

instead to indulge in a totally irrelevant disquisition about the "subjective" character of the public law prevailing during the *Udel* period of Principalities.

Even without considering the views and opinions of Ivan's immediate predecessors, however, Leontovitsch establishes that there is abundant precedent for the views held by Ivan IV and thus himself demolishes the whole of his elaborate theory. In discussing the view of Djakonov that Ivan's ideas followed a well-worn pattern of Byzantine-Orthodox theology expounded by the Russian Orthodox clergy and Fedotov's rival opinion that the Tsar's ideas, though rooted in the Russian Byzantine-Orthodox tradition were distorted by Ivan's extreme formulation into something novel and non-religious, Leontovitsch decides to follow Djakonov (p. 44). The evidence he adduces convincingly supports this decision. If, however, Ivan's philosophy was no more than his own personal variant of the prevailing doctrine of his age, it is absurd to speak of a revolution in legal philosophy (*Rechtsumwälzung*) in connection with his ideas.

Leontovitsch is on firmer ground when he examines the practical application of Ivan's ideas. There can be little doubt that the famous Ukaz of 1556 together with its subsequent enforcement by the *Opritchnina* constitutes an act of policy novel in character and fraught with far-reaching effects for the future of the Muscovite state. For the first time, the fateful idea of state-service makes its official appearance.

Leontovitsch attempts to show that this new policy was the outcome of a passionately held ideology. Ivan, it is contended, was throughout his reign a consistent enemy of the aristocracy as a class and finally became the exponent of a regular doctrine of anti-boyar terror. Numerous quotations from Taine's *Les Origines de la France contemporaine* are adduced to establish similarities between Ivan's reign of terror and that of the French Jacobins. The comparison is as pointless as is the whole argument about the doctrinaire character of Ivan's innovations. The elimination of a feudal nobility by the agents of a "New Monarch" is a well-known historical process. What, it may be asked, is more natural for a ruler of strong will endowed with a high view of his office than to try and reduce aristocratic privilege, to abolish immunities and special rights and, if necessary, to terrorise an old and privileged aristocracy into submission? This is essentially what was done in England by the early Tudors and in France by the two great Cardinals, and in neither case is it necessary to postulate an elaborate anti-feudal theory of government. Ivan IV in many respects was the typical "New Monarch" but, as befitted barbarous Muscovy, his measures were of a character more drastic and more repellent than those of his western counterparts. It is to Henry VIII and to Richelieu rather than to Robespierre or St. Just that Ivan should be compared. In many respects indeed, it is even more tempting to seek a real parallel to the philosophy and policies of Ivan IV in the methods of government inaugurated three hundred

years before by the Hohenstaufen Frederick II in his South Italian kingdom.

Leontovitsch's dissertation contains little that is new. Surely the doctrines expounded in Ivan's correspondence with Kurbski have by this time been exhaustively analysed and examined from every conceivable angle. It is only as an attempt at re-interpretation that the study is of some value. If there is a conclusion to be drawn from the evidence presented here it must clearly be that if Ivan IV was an innovator it is in the field of administrative practice and not in the realm of political thought that his innovations are to be found.

W. E. MOSSE.

A History of Russian Literature and Contemporary Russian Literature
By D. S. Mirsky. New Edition edited and abridged in one volume,
by Francis Whitfield; Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1949;
pp. xi, 518, and (Index) xxiv, 25s. net.

D. S. MIRSKY's two volumes, *A History of Russian Literature from the Earliest Times to 1881*, and *Contemporary Russian Literature* first appeared in 1927 and 1926. They remain the most intelligent and least dated works of their kind, thoroughly covering the ground from the late 18th century to the beginning of the Soviet period, with sketches of developments up till 1925. Their present re-issue in one volume is a welcome recognition of their lasting value.

This abridged edition reduces some 700 pages of text to 500 in a slightly larger format. It omits Mirsky's original bibliographies, instead of bringing them up to date. It gives instead only a brief list of general works in English. The addition of a modest and well-balanced postscript, dealing with the whole Soviet period in twelve pages, is unfortunately out of scale with the more substantial treatment elaborated by Mirsky. Perhaps some natural regrets, felt by the student and scholar, will be outweighed by the general reader's satisfaction at being able to skim the cream of Russian literature in a single compact and lively volume. Granted the need for cuts and condensation, the editor should be congratulated on having performed the operation with efficiency and skill.

A glorified textbook of literary history easily degenerates into a drearily comprehensive catalogue of names and dates, or into a patchy series of selections based on tenuously personal judgments. Mirsky avoided both these pitfalls. His erudition is solid, but it never crushed his imaginative vigour; he selects with discrimination, and his judgments, though often sweeping and intolerant, conform to a bold and consistent psychological pattern. Born in 1890, he had the good fortune to spend his formative years in the thick of a cultural upheaval, which, in his own words, "changed the face of Russian civilisation between 1890 and 1900." The so-called decadent period of European literature found of course a suitably lurid counterpart in the "advanced" circles of Petersburg and Moscow;

but it was redeemed by an exhilarating revaluation and rediscovery of the Russian national classics. Had Mirsky been born a decade earlier or later, he might have missed this vital impulse to free Russian literature from the accumulated varnish of didactic criticism and the dust of intelligentsia *clichés*.

Never had Russian men of letters been simultaneously so international in their scope and sympathies, and yet so acutely aware of their distinguishing national merits. This factor in Mirsky's outlook, more than any other, makes it difficult for his work to be superseded. For a contemporary foreign interpreter of Russian literature, whatever his other talents, rarely gets quite under the Russian skin. And a Soviet-educated Russian critic is automatically protected against acquiring any international or comparative standard of values.

It is important for us to realise the extent to which Mirsky, while maintaining the highest Russian literary standards, revolted against traditional methods of Russian literary criticism. A long line of magisterial radical critics, beginning with Chernyshevsky's distortion of Belinsky, and reaching a climax among the Tolstoyans who misunderstood Tolstoy, had hammered into Russian heads the *idée fixe* that a literary work was valuable solely for the moral and social utility of its message. There is plenty to be said, both for and against this attitude. Mirsky recognised that it at least gave literature a reasonable chance of being taken seriously by the reading public. Perhaps it also safeguarded the novel from meretricious pornography. But he showed how in the long run it encouraged an execrable platitudinous journalese, and led to a slovenly neglect of craftsmanship which nearly ruined any literary standards.

Writers of genius went their way impervious to the blasts of critical command. Pushkin and Griboyedov wrote their pure idiomatic Russian before the language was defiled by the jargon of graduates from German universities. But Mirsky emphasises how the bulk of the 19th-century Russian intelligentsia remained scornfully indifferent or hostile to Pushkin. Even his ardent admirers, like the isolated critic Apollon Grigoriev, or Dostoevsky in his pan-Russian mysticism, were men of an alien spirit. "Their cult of Pushkin was the religion of a Paradise Lost" (p. 98). Tolstoy quarrelled violently with Nekrasov and won his own reading public in the teeth of deprecation from the leading critics. He found the pretensions of the city-bred intellectuals intolerable, yet even he was infected by their atmosphere. Though a superb and immensely painstaking artist of words, he liked to give the impression that form and construction were unimportant.

As Mirsky rightly observes, the persistence of the utilitarian attitude to literature impeded the rejuvenation of stereotyped and hackneyed forms. The novels of the later 19th century reached saturation point in the stale small beer of idealised positivism. "Whether they applied the realistic manner to give a fresh appearance to the historical novel,

or used it to make propaganda for or against radical ideas, or to describe the virtues of the peasant commune and the vices of capitalistic civilisation, they are all equally unoriginal, uninteresting and unreadable" (p. 292).

The didactic approach to literature, ingrained by the critics in the Russian public, did them still graver harm during the disillusioned period which followed Russia's defeat by Japan and the suppression of the 1905 revolution. Mirsky holds it responsible for the absurdly serious reception given to Artsybashev's once-famous novel *Sanin*. Instead of being read as a puerile lascivious book, it was acclaimed as the latest social revelation and code of personal conduct. The popularity of Andreyev's morbid exaltation of sex and death was largely due to similar causes. Of course the old-fashioned critics cried out against the immorality of these authors, and the more modern ones deplored their lack of literary merit, but the reading public was no longer in a mood to listen to either. They craved for new sensations, while never forgetting the good old lesson of "Chto Delat" that literature told you how to model your life accordingly.

The virtual abolition of the censorship in 1905 also promoted the spread of worthless or licentious literature. Mirsky noted with approval the later action of the Bolsheviks in putting *Sanin* and several other products of this period on their index of forbidden books. But a far more important result—in Mirsky's view—was the ample scope provided for treating political issues in the daily and weekly press, the more topical and practical attitude to political discussion at last enabled literature to be emancipated from its cramping obligation to serve political and civic purposes. Faith in this promised dawn of creative autonomy for writers and artists inspired many of Mirsky's contemporaries, who were revolutionary in their conceptions of culture while remaining firmly a-political. This faith survived through the early years of the Bolshevik régime, when the Communist Party favoured the competition of rival literary groups, and rather unexpectedly defended some of the more talented non-Communist Serapions and Fellow Travellers against the strident attacks of the overwhelmingly numerous left-wing hooligans.

Mirsky seems nevertheless to have recognised that sooner or later the Party would make itself the sole guardian of Proletarian purity in literature. He described Mayakovsky's suicide (1930) in almost Marxist terms as "a recognition of the fact that the new Soviet literature does not need the individualistic literature that had its roots in pre-revolutionary society." It is all the more surprising that he placed such exaggerated confidence in the Party's temporary delegation of responsibility to Maxim Gorky, a writer whose roots in the past went deeper than Mayakovsky's. Gorky had been entrusted with the reorganisation of the "literary front" by means of the newly-created Union of Soviet Writers (1932). Mirsky was persuaded to return to Moscow, where he became an active member of the new organisation but shortly afterwards mysteriously vanished from the scene.

Another important factor in Mirsky's outlook which imparts a piquant

flavour to his book is his somewhat petulant impatience with European intellectuals, especially with the English intelligentsia's appreciation of Russian literature. Mirsky's critical standards, though unorthodox, remained essentially those of an internationally educated Russian connoisseur. But he wrote his books in English, and had to bear in mind "the spice-craving palates of Latin and Anglo-Saxon Russopaths." He complained that Western readers had made up their minds as to exactly what they expected from Russian literature. Consequently Pushkin and Lermontov were too broadly European, too universal, Leskov too racily, earthily Russian to satisfy this stubborn Western prejudice. On the other hand, the readiness of the genteel middle class to swoon over Dostoevsky's novels profoundly irritated Mirsky. He detested what he called "the Pecksniffian sobstuff" of Middleton Murry's eulogies of Dostoevsky as the Russian genius *par excellence*. Nor could he understand why English critics lost their national virtue of understatement the moment they started to praise Chekov's plays. Mirsky's argument rather falters when he tries to explain on the same hypothesis how Turgenev won his established fame abroad. An Anglo-Saxon craving for its own pet idea of "Russianness" could not possibly have kindled their enthusiasm for the most mellowed European of all the great Russian authors.

One cannot expect that a work so packed with factual detail, names and references, should be entirely free from minor errors. There is one on page 331, which occurs also in the original. It reverses the sense of an essay by Konstantin Leontiev in calling it "The Average European as the Means and End of Universal Progress." The correct title, under which it was published in Leontiev's works, is, "The Average European as the Ideal and Instrument of Universal Destruction."

RICHARD HARE.

Three Poets of Modern Russia. By L. I. Strakhovsky; Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, \$3.00.

THIS is a tantalising book. It gives us short sketches of three outstanding Russian poets of the generation which came to maturity just before the October Revolution.

Mr. Strakhovsky's method, a free mixture of his own and other people's critical views, interlarded with biographical detail, arouses one's interest without satisfying it, because his material lacks coordination, and his style is hampered by an uneasy command of the English language, which often mistakes the trite for the apposite.

This is particularly unfortunate in the study and translation of acknowledged "craftsmen of the word," whose chief claim to fame is based on a new minting of language which gives their verse its startling freshness and force.

Nevertheless, to the English reader this book affords new material,

and a fuller appreciation of an important movement in 20th-century Russian poetry. The Acmeists brought Russian poetry back from the metaphysical preoccupation and supercharged idiom of the Symbolists to the concrete word of Pushkin. Gumilyov, Akhmatova and Mandelstam, despite striking differences in thought and style, share a craftsman's respect for his material, that meticulous understanding of both the potentiality and the limitation of the word, that alone can give literary expression mastery.

There can be no disagreement with Mr. Strakhovsky's verdict that each of these poets was, in his own way, a master. What is open to question is whether the content of their verse made the fullest possible use of this technical virtuosity. Gumilyov's eye and ear were those of a hunter; he can transpose the sight, smell and sound of distant and exotic lands into poetry charged with sensory impressions. Only rarely, however, does his verse make a profounder impact on the mind and heart. The youthful vigour and virility which charmed a faded and disillusioned Russian have their obvious limitations: Gumilyov's ideas are limited, his emotion often adolescent.

Akhmatova abundantly possesses the emotional maturity which Gumilyov lacked. Intensely feminine, preoccupied with the pain of love, she perfectly portrays the narrow but profound element in which she moves. Deceptively laconic, but unerring in their metrical and verbal felicity, her poems instantly strike a responsive chord in the reader. A return to the common conversational language of men to describe their common emotion won her immediate success. But Akhmatova never transcended the prison of her own emotions: this restricts the appeal of her poetry though it does not mar its intensity. Any single theme constantly reiterated inevitably becomes monotonous.

Osip Mandelstam is the least known of the trio and far less appreciated than he deserves. Nevertheless the very nature of his poetry must limit the size of his audience. It has none of the infectious zest of Gumilyov, none of the affecting emotion of Akhmatova. Mandelstam has distilled words into such refined use, disciplined syntax into such ordered symmetry, weighted his verse with so many literary allusions, that it will unfold its full significance, only to a reader soaked in the linguistic and literary culture that he himself substituted for life. Writers will read him for an anatomy of verse, but the general reader may find him too austere and recondite.

Mr. Strakhovsky does ample justice to the technical accomplishments of these poets, but he nowhere indicates their limitations. Gumilyov's sensuousness, Akhmatova's emotional perception, Mandelstam's poetic erudition were all qualities that produced remarkable poetry. What they lacked was that larger understanding of man which gives universality to both the personal theme and the individual voice.

B. MALNICK.

Arianie polscy w świetle własnej poezji. By Jan Dürr-Durski ; Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, Warszawa, 1948, pp. 319.

J. DÜRR-DURSKI'S critical anthology belongs to that field of studies to which the Polish scholarship of the present century has already made important contributions. Our knowledge of the history of the Polish Arians (Socinians) is indebted to the research work of A. Brückner, S. Kot, T. Grabowski, K. Górski, M. Wajsblum, L. Kamykowski, L. Chmaj and others.

Dürr-Durski has provided the wider reading public with carefully edited texts and this task of presenting the poetry of the *Polish Brethren* as an inseparable part of Polish literary tradition needs no apology. The baroque style of the 17th century in Poland would be simplified, if we considered it only from one religious aspect : the deepening of lyrical awareness was then a result of intellectual conflict, and although that conflict often led to personal tragedy, its compensation in literature was simultaneous poetic climax (e.g. in Zbigniew Morsztyn, the greatest genius of the movement).

Already the publication of J. J. Trembecki's collection *Wirydarz poetycki* (by A. Brückner in 1910) showed the wealth of 17th-century lyric as well as its complexity, and it asked for far-reaching revisions of the views previously held by historians of literature. Z. Mianowska's illuminating study on Z. Morsztyn's poetry, published in 1930 in Poznań, was an answer to the challenge, but the texts were not yet available. It is a disturbing feature of Polish criticism that comments too habitually precede the editions of texts (the case of Norwid is most typical). Dürr-Durski has compiled his anthology of Arian poetry for the use of high schools, hence its illustrative purpose which is indicated by the headings of the parts : "The problems of the dogmas," "Political and social ideology," "Educational and literary activities," "Persecution and exile." The introduction and notes help to understand the background of the edited texts : sometimes this illustrative purpose overshadows the æsthetic appreciation of the texts, but the editor was fully aware of his method and even pronounced an opinion on its application in his work. His introduction draws attention to the influence of the Polish Socinians on Western thought ; his subtle taste recommends not only Morsztyn's *Emblemmata*, but also Karmanowski's *pieśni*, yet he seems to overrate the purely poetic qualities of W. Potocki (e.g. *Smutne rozstanie* . . .) whose verse fills up one third of the anthology.

Karmanowski's songs (especially *Pieśń 6*) reveal a poet of major stature ; he deserves to play the rôle of Herbert in Polish religious lyric, provided his works meet with a more popular esteem. One cannot but be grateful to the editor for the texts of Zbigniew Morsztyn's poems (especially *Emblemmata* : 5, 12, 21, 68). Dürr-Durski now promises us a complete edition of the *Emblemmata*, the cycle which may well prove to be one of the most outstanding works in Polish poetry. This poet,

not unlike the John Donne of *Divine Poems*, has at last found a competent editor who will introduce him to the reading public.

Let us hope that the social interpretation of the work of the progressively-minded *Polish Brethren*, however justified and convenient, will not obscure the lyrical quality of their literature. For there, in the poetic passion of their conflict with the contemporary world, lies their most enduring achievement. Durr-Durski's anthology paves the way for the direct understanding of that achievement.

J. P.

May. By Karel Hynek Mácha. English verse by H. H. McGovern, M.A. (Oxon.) ; Orbis, Prague, 1949, Phoenix Press, London, W.8.

THE pitfalls that beset the translator of poetry are many. An original work of art is lifted out of its native setting and transferred to another. Its new readers have a different educational background, a different conditioning. Moreover, the translation is bound to show distortion, either of diction or of imagery, or both. The translation may be as good as, even better than, the original ; it can never be the same.

This said, it remains to consider what poetry is worth translating. What may be good by local standards may be mediocre by others. Will the new public appreciate the newcomer when it has so many literary giants of its own ?

Byron has never been considered one of this country's Olympians, and it is on two of his works (" *Parisina* " and " *The Prisoner of Chillon* ") that Mácha's " *May* " is based. Mácha's poem also shows traces of " *The Corsair* " and " *The Giaour* ."

Mácha's chief work, for such is the " *May* " poem, is that of a young man who died at the age of twenty-six, the year of the poem's appearance. This was the year 1836 when Čelakovský's reputation was at its zenith, folksong was the rage, and " *Byronism* " was as yet unheard of. Like most innovators, he suffered the obscurity of the precocious. His posthumous fame created a movement to which Neruda and others subscribed ; his influence lasted until well into the '70s.

To call Mácha a romantic is to apply a false though facile label. Had the poet lived, his reputation might have been heightened ; it would certainly have been different from the one created by the " *May* " poem. For here is both genius and naiveté, lyricism and melodrama. Here is the passion of youth, unbridled and uncritical.

A journey to Italy and an affair with " *Lora* " put Mácha on common ground with his master Byron. Both were self-dramatisers, both strove for exaggerated effects of light and dark : lurid skies, gloomy cells, pale moonlight, deep green lakes, awful mountains and hideous human scenes. All reeks of the theatre, indeed the opera-house, since characterisation is absent ; emotions are reduced to their simplest and most tragic terms ; drama, lighting and off-stage effects are as stark as in Italian opera. The

clang of chains, naked lights in gloomy cells, the splash of water, all recall the stage.

Byronesque poetry is difficult to assess in Britain, which has almost no opera worthy of the name, and which betrays by this its own antipathy toward theatrical art. A protestant country is indifferent to external effects of light, sound, colour; no wonder the majority of Britons are unimpressed by Byron and his like; no wonder he is the idol of the Italians and the French. But there is a minority—and Mr. McGovern is of this minority.

Mr. McGovern clearly likes Byron and Mácha. Himself a stagecraftsman of no mean talent—he organised a theatre for his fellow internees in Germany during the late War—a chance witness of Mácha's reburial at the time of the German invasion of Czechoslovakia, a victim of four years of imprisonment in Germany, what could lead an experienced speaker of Czech more naturally to Mácha's "May", a tale of a bandit who is caught for killing his father, of his imprisonment by a lakeside, his broodings on the void of space and time as he hovers between dream and reality, and his gruesome execution and impalement? Here is the stark tragedy of man in a setting of Maytime bliss, the perfect model for the "May poets" of later years.

Mácha's poem is in carefully modulated language, alliterative and assonant. Though the scanning is awkward and irregular the rhyming is meticulous. Crudities and repetitions abound, and the poem sometimes falls from lyrical heights to the depths of bathos. To all of which shortcomings Mr. McGovern has added many of his own.

I do not like Mr. McGovern's translation. I say this with sorrow, because I know how strongly the translator feels about his model. I do not like Ginsburg's translation any better than this one, though Ginsburg's translation scans, while McGovern's frequently does not. To do justice to the present version I will quote a few lines from it.

Mácha thus literally: And lightly the ripples play by the lake's farness below the tower; therewith the ripples whisper. They seem to be lulling the prisoner, who lies in a deep stupor.

McGovern thus.

Beneath the tower in the depths of the lake
The whispering wavelets softly break,
And their hush-hush-hush as they gently play
The prisoner in his deep swoon doth sway
So softly sway as a babe to sleep—
As o'er the lakes surface they murmur sweep.

Here is Ginsburg's rendering for comparison:

Lightly the waves play o'er the deep
And 'neath the tower, near the shore,
The whispering waves that churn and break,
Seem to have lulled the man to sleep
Upon the stony prison floor.

Such is the distortion of sense wrought by the tyranny of rhyme. Some of McGovern's best lines are his own, not Mácha's. On page 23, for *příští den* we read "When this my earth with earth is laid." Again "Darkness the warp, darkness the woof" is not in the original. For *to Smrteľný je mysle sen* (that is the mortal dream of the mind) McGovern has these strikingly good, albeit unfaithful, lines:

This formless chaos where the soul
Doth stumble, groping for its goal.

Opinions differ about the reversal of verb and object at the ends of lines. McGovern has well over a dozen examples.

Triteness is all too common. Thus we have:—"the horrid jangling"; "a ghastly sight"; "yet mayn't depart"; "his brow beaded with blood and sweat" (the expected "tears" occur in the next line); "we to his funeral feast are hieing"; "of mine old host," etc. The word "beautiful" occurs even more frequently than "lovely."

Not far removed are the ponderous clichés, a currency whose images, though worn, are still allowed to circulate. Such are (in "May") "stardust"; "aspect gay"; "lofty air"; "lofty halls"; "silence reigns"; "midnight booms"; "weary of mien"; "baleful glare"; "sward"; "earth's womb"; "blue verge"; "glorious psalm"; "lilting voices"; "the people hie"; "back they reel"; "he unscathed"; "the hapless man"; "wend [*sic*] the crowd"; "dark bourn."

Some of the more striking crudities of imagery are: "the rising sun stains the prisoner's pallid cheeks"; "his gaze *flies* . . ."; "a lofty crag The blossoming shore of the lake doth *jag*"; "embrace the secret *edges* of the earth"; "you *dissolved* stars"; "and while upon your *skies* voyaging"; "prepares to *quit* this mortal ken"; "bared . . . his breast of *white*"; "about the hill The countless multitude did *mill*"; "the pilgrimage of a *wisp far-spèd*"; "thus *forming* a dark cloud-ceiling"; "a hushed whisper, low wailing doth *foam*", "a giant crag . . . into the rose of heaven *sweeps*"; "those *levels* where no oar did ply"; "the people *eddy*"; "*posies* and plume"; "whisp'ring waves are *swaying*"; "dark night now lets her *sable* pall . . ."; "where the mountains their *rims pursue*"; "o'er the waters *darkling bright*"; "o'er the *lambent* heavens steal"; "the stars *cast out* a dying glow"; "from the far-darkness *shivers* the owl's shrill cry."

The last quotation is an attempt to meet the alliteration of the original: *z dálky se sova ozývá*, and throughout the translator has made an honest effort to do justice to his model in this respect. An excellent rendering is

Hush'd are the waves, the wistful waters rest.

but this standard is not maintained.

Pleonasm abounds both in "May" and in the prose supplements. Thus in "May" alone we have: "from off"; "into the lake's deep

mere"; "precipitous steep"; "holy fane"; "into the blue azure"; "my only mother"; "pine-spruces"; "each Yearly Season's sped"; "the olden days of yore." One line contains a triple pleonasm: "Across its surface swift skiffs speed in race."

I should like to end on a happier note. The following quatrain is entitled "A Fragment" and is worth quoting in full:

Two friends whom love hath truly tied,
Nor land, nor sea, nor Time may sever,
Each in the other's heart doth bide—
And loving once—they love for ever.

STUART E. MANN.

Russian and the Slavonic Languages. By W. J. Entwistle and W. A. Morison; Faber & Faber, London, 1949, pp. 407 with maps, 50s.

JOINT composition is certainly no new thing in serious scholarship, just as it is not in works of fiction, but the present reviewer does not think he is guilty of exaggeration in suggesting that so successful a collaboration as that shown in the present manual is rare; particularly rare when it is appreciated what were the difficulties under which Professor Entwistle and Dr. Morison had to work. From the informative and modest preface we learn that the book had to be compiled during the stress and turmoil of war, at a time, in other words, when for both writers serenity of approach was impossible. Slavonic philology and indeed, for Dr. Morison, academic pursuits of any kind were then a side-line. Distance was too great for either of them to meet regularly and discuss their opinions in person. They had little opportunity for consulting libraries or technical literature bearing on their subject. Often they had to be content with writing chapters in hotel bedrooms or in railway carriages!

A disproportionate or premature creation might easily have been the offspring of so difficult a labour. All the more credit goes therefore to these two distinguished scholars—one of whom is known mainly as a student of Spanish while the other is as much a poet and *littérateur* as a philologist—for their signal success in giving us for the first time in English an account of the Slavonic language-group. Furthermore, it is justifiably claimed that the exposition of Slavonic linguistic development along historical and cultural rather than analytical lines has not previously been attempted by writers of any other country.

The "Great Languages" series to which the authors have now added new lustre is already well-known for breadth of outlook and soundness of learning. Until the series began some twenty years ago English linguistic scholarship as presented in manual form had nothing which could be compared with the Heidelberg-Winter series or, in a much smaller and more exclusive field, with the *Collection de grammaires de l'Institut d'Études Slaves*, just as it had nothing in the potted line which could be set alongside the wonderful *Goeschen* collection.

Messrs. Faber & Faber can claim the gratitude of all scholars for their initiative in supplementing authoritative works on Greek, French, German, Spanish (and other peninsular languages) and Chinese by this new one on Russian and Slavonic—to be followed later by manuals on Indian, Semitic, Celtic, Latin and (last but not least, we can hope) English.

The scope of the book is wide and the reader who has had no previous experience of a Slavonic language or who has no training in the methods of historical and comparative philology will find the going hard. Even if he is familiar with Slavonic and knows something of the background of the subject, he will, often enough, still be held up and may sigh for a somewhat simpler presentation. This criticism is not meant to imply that the text is obscure or tangled or purposely highbrow, but simply to warn the young student that he would do well to familiarise himself first, preferably under the oral instruction of a competent teacher, with the elements of scientific linguistics, as well as with some practical knowledge of one or more of the Slavonic languages and of the cultural influences exercised on the language of his choice. Otherwise terms like “hypothetical reconstructions” or “loan words” and the assumption that phonetic transcriptions are plain-sailing may prove a stumbling-block and dishearten a promising autodidact.

The balance of the book is well contrived. In the first two chapters, which between them cover rather more than a tenth of the total four hundred pages, the history of the early Slavs, their original homeland and the relationship of their language to Indo-European and to the closely related Baltic group, the debt owed by Slavonic to Iranian and to Greek, and numerous other matters of concern to the philologist, the historian, the statistician and even the politician, are concisely and authoritatively discussed. There then follows a ten-page chapter on the alphabet, which I take to be from the pen of Dr. Morison. It is excellent, and will be welcomed by the non-specialist reader, who will probably have found the preceding one on Balto-Slavonic and Proto-Slavonic a hard and tough mouthful. How many are they, I wonder, who were first led to a study of Russian by the mysterious, yet attractive, letters in which the language is written? Such at least will take delight in the expert description given, and will avidly swallow the Comparative Table with its useful notes. In the Table references to other alphabets abound, and there is no danger that serious misstatements will have crept in, because the authors—and I think I may here single out Dr. Morison in particular—are familiar with all the languages of Central and Southern Europe and have an acquaintance, more than nodding, with Finno-Ugrian and Turkish. To read therefore (p. 67) that the “Roumanian alphabet . . . officially written in Cyrillic until about 1860 . . . conformed to Bulgarian idiosyncrasies . . . and has, in its turn, influenced the new Turkish alphabet” is an epitome of reliable and exciting information that could emanate only from the expert.

Chapter IV on the sounds, forms and words (i.e. the vocabulary and

semantics) of Common Slavonic and Old Bulgarian takes up a full quarter of the whole volume, and will be to the taste of the specialist or, at least, of the advanced student. For the first time the findings of international scholarship on the Slavonic refashioning of Indo-European are in detail set out in English. The chapter no doubt does not in the main lay any claim to originality (though here and there personal opinions and hazardings of considerable shrewdness do occur), but it is more than a mere compilation, since the forest is never lost sight of for the trees and speculations are never pursued to the point of being wearisome. The tables of paradigms (nouns, pronouns, participles and verbs) are well selected and of importance to the specialist learner.

As is implied by the title of the book, the longest and to the average reader of today, the most interesting and valuable chapter is the fifth—of some 120 pages. It is devoted to Russian, which is dealt with along the same lines (historical phonology, morphology and vocabulary) as were followed in the chapter on Old Bulgarian, except that there is an additional and valuable account of the genesis and development of Russian style. The paragraphs devoted to this thorny matter begin by exemplifying the characteristics of the Slavonic sentence and then pass on to a review of the Kievite prose style (with a discussion on the *Slovo o polku Igorevë*), the Chancery and Literary Styles, Peter the Great's reforms, the Lomonosov age, Pushkin and his successors. The language and style of present-day Russian are discussed or dismissed in two paragraphs—no doubt because, as the authors stress, the effects of the October Revolution have been too notable to be measured at present and because "there is every reason to believe that we are contemporaries of one of the most active periods in the history of the Russian language" (p. 280). The decision to abstain from writing on contemporary Soviet style will be regretted by many, but can be blamed by no one prepared to ponder on the impossibility of assessing from first-hand practice how far the printed word consistently represents the language as actually spoken behind the Iron Curtain.

The few paragraphs which end the chapter on Russian are devoted to the "dialects"—a term embracing not only the unwritten forms of Great Russian but also two varieties of Russian, which elsewhere than in this book are today almost universally accorded the names of languages in their own right—Ukrainian (called by the authors Ruthenian) and White (*alias* Byelo-) Russian. An illustration of the differences between the "three Russians" (Great, Little and White) is provided by a short text of an interesting political character—viz. the nomination of Deputy Vyshinsky as Prosecutor of the U.S.S.R. It is the only text of the kind!

The chapters on West Slavonic and South Slavonic, consisting of sixty and forty pages respectively, are conceived and executed in the expected manner, and contain a wealth of material, sifted and passed through the fine mill of the authors' research and practical, as well as

theoretical, experience. To all but the hard-bitten enthusiast for phonology and morphology, the section on the vocabulary of the diverse languages in these two groups and on the influences to which they have been subjected will undoubtedly prove instructive and even entertaining. The emergence of a new literary experiment, Macedonian, is touched upon in one paragraph, the last in the book: it is typical that the wide linguistic knowledge of the authors should be shown in their concluding words which point out that the one characteristic peculiarity of Macedonian (namely the use of a pronoun-object *before* together with a noun-object *after* the verb) has a parallel in Albanian and—further afield—in Spanish.

The book has three valuable and clearly printed maps (Slavonic diffusion in the 10th century: the Extension of Russian: Slavonic Languages and Dialects in the 20th century), a bibliography, and a list of Slavonic words.

Errors (chiefly perhaps misprints) and ignorance of some of the research done in recent years must inevitably occur in a pioneer work on Slavonic, in whatever country it is produced today, but the shortcomings will assuredly prove slight and some of them will be corrected in a second edition. If that edition can maintain its present price of 50s. it will prove a bargain no less than a boon to Slavonic students at all stages and of all lands.

N. B. JOYSON.

Cambridge.

Ukraïnskyyj pravopys (Ukrainian Orthography). By the Narodnyj Komissariat Osvity URSR; Ukraïnske Deržavne Vydavnytstvo, Kiev, 1946, pp. 179.

THE rapid multiplication of books in the Ukrainian S.S.R. during the last generation has not yet given us a large authoritative treatment of the living language, and for finer details of its literary dialect we still have to consult the orthographically "dated" materials of A. Krymskij, S. Smal-Stočkyj, V. Simovyč and I. Ohijenko. For ordinary purposes however the present work, planned and written under the direction of the Ukrainian scholar L. A. Bulachovskýj, remedies this deficiency, for though ostensibly a guide to present-day Ukrainian spelling, it is in fact something much more than this. In the absence of a standard grammar *Ukraïnskyyj pravopys* adequately fulfils the requirements of an introduction to modern Ukrainian as well as to its recently reformed spelling (officially approved in 1945) and its punctuation. About a quarter of the book (pp. 57–100) contains a *précis* of morphological information presented from the orthographic point of view. The compilers' dependence on Russian grammatical terminology was almost inevitable and is illustrated by several items in the Ukrainian-Russian and Russian-Ukrainian glossary of grammatical terms at the end of the book (pp. 157–72). Apart from

fundamental terms like *vyhuk* (interjection), *vidmina* (declension), *dijeslovo* (verb), *zajmennyk* (pronoun), *zaperečennja* (negation), *naholos* (stress), *pidmet* (subject), *prykmetnyk* (adjective), *pryslivnyk* (adverb), *prysudok* (predicate), *spolučnyk* (conjunction), *sposib* (mood), *stan* (voice, diathesis), *čas* (tense) and some others, the later, mostly international, terminology (e.g. *analogija*, *grafema*, *defis*, *leksema*, *palatalizacija*, *semasiologija*, *fleksija*, etc.) is freely imitated from Russian rather than Polish.

Comparison of the Ukrainian alphabet (p. 5) with, say, that in V. Simovyč's *Grammatyka ukraïnskoj movy* (Kiev-Leipzig, 1919²), shows that the latest orthography has abandoned only Meletyj Smotryčkyj's 17th-century ꙗ for velar g (a foreign phoneme in Ukrainian) and writes the 19th-century ĭ as the symbol of *ji* only initially (e.g. *iža*) and after vowels, the "soft sign," and the apostrophe of consonantal "hardness" (e.g. *kraïna*, *Vinbĭ*, *z'izd*), so that Simovyč's *dilyty* and *lizty* appear as *dilyty* and *lizty* (cf. B. Hrinčenko, *Slovař ukraïnskoj movy* I-IV, Kiev, 1907-1909). This implies that if a consonant is capable of palatalisation (e.g. *t*, *d*, *n*, *s*, *z*, *c*, *l*), it is palatalised by *i*, and that *ĭ* merely represents *ji*. The other "soft vowels," i.e. those preceded by *j*, are indicated Russian fashion with separate letters (я, е, ю), except in the case of *jo*, where two digraphs are preferred to Karamzin's Russian ъ, viz. *ĭo*, *jo*, which were first used in the Budapest Ukrainian periodical *Rusalka Dnĕstrovaja* (1837), the pioneer of modern Ukrainian spelling. All these superfluous and confusing vowel symbols could be dispensed with by introducing Latin *j*, as Vuk Karadžić did into Serbian Cyrillic.

The phonetic part of *Ukraïnskyj pravopys* contains a detailed treatment of Ukrainian apophony (*čerhuvannja*), which in view of the characteristic and widespread *o/i* and *e/i* alternations (e.g. *kiĭ/konja*, *viv/vola*) is rather more important grammatically than its Russian counterpart. The numerous exceptions (*vidchylennja*) are listed on pp. 12-13, and historical explanations are given, where necessary, in notes printed in smaller type. In this respect, as well as in its fullness and thoroughness, the book differs from its predecessors of the nineteen-twenties. The vexed question of the apophony of *v/u*, which is purely a matter of spelling and not of phonetics, is lucidly dealt with on pp. 15-16, and the admission is made that either symbol may be used indifferently in a number of cases (e.g. *naša včitel'ka* or *naša učitel'ka*), in accordance with the varying tempo and rhythm of speech. The conjunction *i*, we are also reminded, alternates with *j* (ĭ) in the same positions as *u* with *v*. The influence of a palatal consonant on a preceding one is not indicated where its palatal quality is not in doubt (e.g. *volossja*, *soncja*, *slid*). Curiously enough, forms like *svit* and *smich* are quoted here as examples of palatal phonemes, though in both of them the labials are immune from palatalisation. Among prepositions and prefixes the two allotropic forms of *z* (Russ. *s*), viz. *iz* and *zi*, must detain our attention for a moment: *iz* appears to be the more usual when followed by *z* (e.g. *iz zemljakom*), *st* (e.g. *iz statti*) and certain combinations of *z* with other consonants

(e.g. *iz zhodoju*); *zi* is found in such cases as *zi mnoju* and *ziznatysja*. The common "hard" ending of Ukrainian surnames (e.g. *Ivasénko*, *Hordi-jénko*) must not be confused with the hypocoristic "soft" suffix *-énko* (e.g. *Ivasehko*, *Hordijenko*). The difference here is pointed also by an accentual shift. And lastly, the subtlety of the distinction between *ne* as a detached particle and *ne* as a proclitic affix is brought out effectively in the parallel sentences *cej budynok ne staryj* ("this house is not old") and *cej budynok nestaryj* (i.e. "recently built"), where the first implies an absent copula (*je*) and the second illustrates the semantic modification of an adjective by a prefixed *formans*.

The morphological section of the work under review begins on p. 57 with the noun and ends on p. 100 with the gerund (*dijepryslivnyk*). Here, as elsewhere in the book, the mobile and irregular accent is marked with an acute in all cases, and this is particularly important, because stress-play in flexion is as much a feature of Ukrainian as of the two other East Slavonic types. The nouns are carefully sorted out into paradigms, and these are given in tabular form, but unfortunately for clarity the tables are not marked with the appropriate numbers, so that reference has to be made to the preceding and especially to the following pages. Moreover the orthographic details adduced for the first two declensions are missing for the other two, and this also makes the arrangement of the section unsatisfactory. The alternative masculine genitive singular *-u/-ju* for inanimate nouns is barely suggested in the paradigms (p. 61—*kraj/kraju*), whereas the other alternatives are all mentioned as they occur (e.g. dat. sg. *robitnykov/robitnykú*). The choice of examples both in the tables and in the detailed annotations on them perhaps accounts for such discrepancies. In this respect too, as in the vocabularies and in the numerous illustrative sentences and extracts, the influence of Moscow and Russian is paramount. The adjective is declined in full and emphasises the predominance of the pronominal ("articulate") endings as in Russian, though this is partly masked in the normal nominative series (e.g. *harnyj/harna/harne* and *synij/synja/synje*). There is a complete parallel to the Russian periphrastic comparison with *boleje* in the use of Ukrainian *bilš* (e.g. *bilš hlubokyj*). The curious numeral *sorok* ("forty") is found in both languages as an interesting annotation to Old Russian trade, in which a sack (*sorok*) of forty sable pelts was a high monetary unit. Among pronouns, the series *vin-vona-vono* illustrates two details of historical phonetics, and the Russian *kto* is represented by *chto*, a form common enough in Moscow. The relatively less complicated verb has fewer pages assigned to it than the noun. Its peculiarly Ukrainian character comes out in such forms of the 3rd singular and 1st and 3rd plural as *ide*, *idemo*, *idut'*, which are all quite different from the corresponding Russian forms. The "soft" ending of the 3rd person plural survives from medieval times, and the ancient *-sy* of the 2nd person singular still clings to the athematic group (e.g. *dasy*, *jisy*), where Russian has the predominant *-š* (e.g. *daš*, *ješ*), and the full infinitive ending

-ty (e.g. *chodyty*), found in rare counterchange with the shortened -t' (e.g. *kazat'*), is another mark of Ukrainian linguistic conservatism.

The section on the spelling of foreign loan-words and names again illustrates Russian influence (e.g. Джерсей for Jersey, бульон for *bouillon*), and it is here that we find O. Henry written as О'Генря, as if it were of the same type as О'Кейси (O'Casey). Here too we get a glimpse of the relative vitality of the four classes of declension. The first two have absorbed most of the loan-words (e.g. I. *kapsula*, II. *blok*). The third declension is barely productive (*magisral'* is given as the only example), and the fourth is merely a small collection of petrified types, to which no new ones can be added. Hesitation in gender and consequently in declension (for the two are complementary) may be observed in *adrésa/ádrés* (the latter Russian) and in *teza/tezis*, where the full Greek form competes with the Greek root (*tez-*) for acceptance. Hesitation in accentuation pertains to only one case in Section IV ("Orthography of Proper Names"), viz. the name *Masaryk*, which may be stressed Czech-fashion on the first syllable or Polish-fashion on the penultimate. This section is especially valuable for its profusion of examples, many of which are Russian place-names preserving their Russian stress (e.g. *Kólgujev*, *Bolohóje*, *Velýkyj Ústjuh*). The remainder of the book (pp. 124-56) is concerned with the use of punctuation marks, and here the multitude and variety of illustrative sentences and passages give a shrewd idea not only of Ukrainian punctuation, but of Ukrainian syntax.

W. K. MATTHEWS.

A Modern Ukrainian Grammar. By George Luckyj and Jaroslav B. Rudnyckyj; The University of Minnesota Press, 1949 (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), pp. 186 (lithographed from Authors' typescript by Edwards Bros. Inc., Michigan).

THE appearance of the first adequate and modern "practical" grammar of Ukrainian in English is greatly to be welcomed. The authors are to be congratulated on having produced a very handy manual for students not having any knowledge of another Slavonic language. They follow the method of teaching the declensions case by case, without facing the learner with formidable tables too early. Exercises for translation from and into Ukrainian are given throughout, together with samples of typical proverbs and idioms and a vocabulary. The literary reading texts given in the later lessons are a very happy and characteristic choice. Such texts as the poem *Орен* by Pan'ko Kulish, the selected lyrics from Shevchenko, and the passage by Panas Myrnyj entitled "Весна в Україні" are a delightful introduction to Ukrainian literature. The material is divided into 39 lessons, with a summary of the main points of the morphology and a very full and reliable vocabulary at the end and also a (rather rough) map of the Ukrainian-speaking territory.

From a practical point of view it is to be regretted that the brief introduction to the phonetics of Ukrainian is so sketchy and unreliable as a guide to the pronunciation. To say that the letter *и* is pronounced like the *y* in English "myth" is to leave the learner virtually in the dark as to the real quality of this characteristically Ukrainian vowel. The information about the pronunciation of *и* and *ї* is also not consistent. Nor is it true to say that *all* verbs in Ukrainian have a gender. In the academic transcription of *ч, ш, ж* the accent *˘* is erroneously omitted. (And is *р* really pronounced like *h* in "home" in all parts of the Ukraine?)

The English-speaking student must also be warned that the alphabet and accidence used in this book are not in all respects identical with that adopted in the Ukrainian S.S.R. in their latest Orthography (Український правопис, published by the Ukrainian Commissariat of Education, Kiev, 1946). The Canadian authors, although they mention and quote freely from the Soviet Ukrainian poet, Pavló Tychnýna, ignore his work as Minister of Education. In fact, he has helped in evolving an orthography for Ukrainian which, while preserving its traditional, largely phonetic and consistent, individual character, yet does not deliberately differentiate Ukrainian from its sister languages, Byelorussian and Russian.

The main differences between the two works are on the following points:

	<i>Лискуй and Rudnyckyj</i>	Правопис
The Gen. sg. of fem. <i>і</i> -stems nouns	-и or <i>i</i>	only <i>i</i>
Forms of the 3rd person personal pronoun with <i>и</i>	<i>can</i>	<i>must</i> be used after prepositions.
Instr. sg. masc. and neut. of увесь	усим (an error?)	усім
90	дев'ятдесят (archaic according to Kalynovych)	дев'яносто
Compound ordinal numerals	<i>may</i> have ordinal form throughout	ordinal form only in last figure
2½, 3½, etc.	півтрьєтя, півчверта	not mentioned
The Past Participle Active in -вши	given	omitted

There are occasional inadequacies of grammatical definition and slips in English. For instance, to mention a few salient points: On p. 22 *весна* is not a good example of a closed syllable according to the Slavonic division of syllables *ве-сна*. The meanings of the declensions are not given till p. 55. P. 42: hand's, head's window's, book's, bed's [*sic*]. P. 69 states that the personal pronouns are *always* used with the Past Tense. P. 80: *відціпне* means "smart-money" or "paying off," rather than "pittance." It is also to be regretted that the aspects (p. 117) and the prepositions (p. 133) are not dealt with more clearly and methodically. No guidance is given as to *which* prefix the student should use to render an ordinary perfective with no additional meaning, formed from a simple verb. More examples are needed of the use of prepositions.

The authors are to be thanked by English-speaking people for throwing much light on "the unknown depths of the Ukrainian language" and also on its power and beauty.

R. G. A. DE BRAY.

Manuel du Vieux Slave, Tome I, *Grammaire* ; Tome II, *Textes et Glossaire*.

By André Vaillant ; pp. 369 + pp. 126 (Collection de manuels publiée par l'Institut d'Etudes Slaves, VI, Paris, 1948).

THE instruments of research in Old Church Slavonic have been enriched by a very valuable handbook, for which students and scholars will remain grateful to the distinguished French Slavonic philologist, André Vaillant.

After Leskien's handbook, which reached the 6th edition in 1922, several handbooks and grammars of Old Church Slavonic have been written by outstanding scholars, each treating this first literary language of the Slavs mainly from a historical point of view : V. Vondrák, *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik*, 2nd edition, Berlin, 1912 ; S. Kul'bakin, *Le vieux slave*, Paris, 1929 ; P. Diels, *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik* (with an anthology), Heidelberg, 1932 ; M. Weingart, *Rukověť jazyka staroslověnského*, Praha, 1937-1938. N. van Wijk's *Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache*, I (Berlin-Leipzig, 1931) considers the grammar of O.C.S. from an historical point of view, but it pays attention also to the structure of the language as it stands in the texts.

Vaillant's handbook has broken with the historical and applies the descriptive method almost exclusively, carrying van Wijk's attempt to the end. He explains Old Church Slavonic as a system in itself, eliminating comparisons with other linguistic systems, and avoiding the history of the language, not being concerned with its developments. The author however confesses that it is impossible wholly to eliminate the comparative and historical points of views in the study of a language which represents two centuries of literary development and covers a territory from Moravia to Macedonia and even up into eastern Slav lands.

When you have to distinguish between old and new in Old Church Slavonic, you are compelled to use the comparative method : so the author cannot avoid comparing the language he *describes* even with Greek, whose literary language was imitated by the Slav translators. By adopting the descriptive method he has succeeded in presenting to the student the clear system of the language based on its own structure and not confused by historical excursions. The description is not based on an entirely new re-examination of the texts. Textual studies have still to be made in Old Church Slavonic, and good editions are not available for all texts, but the author has re-examined some and has compared them with the Greek original. This has given him a sure foundation for his study.

After a succinct introduction, which gives the main bibliographic data of the subject, the material is treated in four chapters. The

Russian studies, and the "joy of discoveries" in a new field of research. This preface as a whole would have certainly exceeded the scope of the monograph in French. However, it would have been quite useful to find at least an extract containing Stählin's bibliographical comments.

LEO LOEWENSON.

Khrestomatiya po Istorii S.S.S.R. Tom I. S. Drevneyshikhivremen do kontsa XVII veka. Sostavili: V. I. Lebedev, M. N. Tikhomirov, V. E. Syroechkovsky. 3-E Izdanie, Ispravlennoe I Dopolnennoe. (Chrestomathy of the History of the U.S.S.R. Vol. I: From the earliest times to the end of the XVII century. Compiled by V. J. Lebedev, M. N. Tikhomirov, V. E. Syroechkovsky. 3rd rev. and augm. ed.) Moscow, 1949, pp. 507.

ALTHOUGH since it was first published, in 1937, the basic design, and in particular the chronological arrangement of this "Aid for Teachers of History in Secondary Schools" has remained unaltered—the selection and grouping of historical texts have been overhauled for the 3rd edition once more, and almost as thoroughly as for the 2nd in 1939. There has been also a tendency to increase the number of dogmatic labels. The documents are reproduced as before—partly *in extenso* and partly in extracts, and old texts are again accompanied by translations into modern Russian.

But the actual revision of the material seems to have been less thorough. In any case one rather conspicuous error of fact which first emerged in the 2nd edition has again been overlooked in spite of the sharp scrutiny to which according to the prefatory note the 3rd edition had been submitted before publication. The anonymous eye-witness's account, describing the Moscow rising in 1648, reproduced in the 2nd edition on pp. 370–75, and reprinted in the present volume on pp. 408–14 and with literally the same wrong comment—is not the so-called "Dutch Pamphlet", but a German report found in Stockholm (cf. the relevant details in *The Moscow Rising of 1648*, in this *Review*, No. 68, pp. 146 *sqq.*, and in particular notes 15 and 23). The mistake is more than strange in view of the correct reference to the original publication of the German Document.

L. L.

Stalin and the Poles. Ed. Bronislaw Kusnierz; Hollis & Carter, London, 1949, pp. xx and 317, 16s.

THIS volume, modest in size and restrained in tone, is everything else than trifling in content and implications. True to its sub-title "An Indictment of the Soviet Leaders" it sets out what is called by August Zaleski in a brief Foreword "the painful truth" about the way the Soviet Union has taken the fate of the Polish nation into its own hands and, in effect, refused to let anyone else have any say in the whole matter. The

indictment is severe in that it relates the post-war lot of the Polish nation to the treaty of 23rd August 1939 between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany and to the grim speech of M. Molotov delivered six weeks later. The main body of Part I deals with the actions of the Soviet leaders in the occupied provinces of Eastern Poland—the annexation and the mass deportations, and with the murder of the 8,000 Polish officers at Katyn. The final word has not yet been said with regard to this last matter, but until Moscow explains to the outside world the points raised on pp. 106–08, the Soviet authorities cannot escape the grave suspicion resting on them.

Part II sets out step by step the series of moves made, even before the outbreak of war, but still more with the mounting dissolution of the German armies in 1943–1944, in the direction of undermining the authority of the legal, and by no means indifferent, Government in London, and the foisting of a puppet administration on the country, to the exclusion of all influences on affairs which might in any way question the ambitious claims of the Soviet idea and ideal of life to be arbiter of the nation's future. One feature of this was the harsh treatment shown to the Home Army which had done so much to help in the defeat of Hitler's hosts—it seemed as though to have risked life and property in the cause had become a crime rather than a recommendation. The last seventy pages set out the sequence of events since 1945, through the elections of January 1947 and the creation of a one-Party regime, by which Poland has been made a satellite state of the U.S.S.R. This book represents one point of view and that is the author's purpose; we await with interest an adequate reply from the other side.

W. J. ROSE.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE EDITOR,
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I

At the outset of her review of my book, *Man and Plan in Soviet Economy*, Dr. Margaret Miller asserts that it "relies largely" on "long quotations" from Lenin, Stalin, Kautsky and others, and from the proceedings of Communist meetings; buttressing this with the insinuation that the reader of the book is expected to accord "uncritical admiration and credence to such authorities."

To borrow from her own vocabulary, her statement is a "distortion . . . particularly misleading for less experienced students."

The illustrative quotations from Lenin, Stalin, other Soviet leaders, Communist Party resolutions—and Kautsky—number 45: and their aggregate length is 29 pages, out of a total of 291 pages of text. I wonder whether Dr. Miller would have thought this proportion so excessive, and the quotations themselves such "dull reading," if they had been made in order to demonstrate what she calls "negative aspects of government policies on the life of the ordinary people"?

Moreover, Dr. Miller actually refrains from mentioning that in every case these statements of policy by Soviet leaders are accompanied by numerous facts and figures—taking much greater space in the book—by which the reader can judge whether the statements bear any relation to the reality of Soviet economy. For a reviewer who professes that, on the working of the Soviet economic machine, "it is hardly possible to have too much information," this is a somewhat strange omission.

Yet it is characteristic. Dr. Miller asserts that industrialisation "has involved serious sacrifices in the standard of living of the workers." If this means anything at all, it means not merely that at one stage—the first Five Year Plan—there were such sacrifices, but that they apply to the whole period since 1929. She does not attempt to challenge the ample evidence to the contrary (e.g. in my pp. 28, 34, 181, 183–87, 228; or in Dobb, *Soviet Economic Development*, pp. 285–88), i.e. that the temporary sacrifices of the first Plan (1929–1932) were more than compensated by the swift rise in living standards from the end of 1934 onwards, up to the outbreak of war. There are, moreover, precise figures of consumer goods bought by the population (e.g. Markus and Arutiunyan, pp. 527, 564) to disprove her suggestion that price movements "went far to cancel out" these improvements. As for the situation today, after all the destruction of the war, let her try to challenge the evidence of the recent Scottish miners' delegation on the subject.

Again, without discriminating between kulaks, middle peasants and village poor, Dr. Miller sweepingly asserts that the agricultural revolution "has meant a violent and painful change in the traditional possessive attitude of the peasant towards his land"—a change on which she suggests I am silent. She conveniently evades the crucial question: painful for whom? She ignores the years (1925-1929) when expanding agricultural co-operation (45 per cent. of households) and bulk contracting with the State (nearly all industrial crops and 20 per cent. of grain crops) prepared millions of peasants for the "violent" change. She ignores the inrush into the collective farms in the summer and autumn of 1929. She ignores the striking fact of 1930—that even after the "compulsory collectivisation" of the winter months had been severely repressed, and full freedom of the peasants to leave the collective farms at will had been restored, 24 per cent. still remained: and equally ignores the steady rise of voluntary entries to over 60 per cent. by October 1931. And she makes the same mistake as Hitler when she imagines—against all the material evidence—that collective farmers today have any less sense of possession of their flourishing co-operative enterprise than they had as poor and middle peasants (95 per cent. of the total peasantry).

But my book was not written as a history of Soviet economic development. What historical material it contains serves only to illustrate the growth of particular features in Soviet economic structure today. And on those features Dr. Miller's review contains a series of no less unpardonable misrepresentations of fact, as well as distortions of what I have written.

She has the hardihood to impute to the fourth Five Year Plan the "specific intention . . . to enhance the defensive power" of the U.S.S.R. "before any mention is made of raising living standards." In reality, the words she quotes come from the *fifth* of a series of clauses, of which the *second* states that the aim is "to promote agriculture and the industries producing consumer goods in order to raise the material wellbeing of the people of the Soviet Union and to secure an abundance of the principal items of consumption goods" (*Law on the Five Year Plan*, London, 1946, p. 9).

She suggests that it is because of the turnover tax (the main source of accumulation for capital investment) that most Soviet people "still live at a very low level of general comfort." This Olympian "forgetfulness" of the results of German devastation on living standards is all the more shocking because the book she is reviewing provides considerable material on the question (pp. 40-52, 199-201, 244-45)—a fact which she also forgets to communicate to her readers.

Dr. Miller refers ambiguously to "political control over collective farm administration" doing "much to nullify the freedom of the peasants." If she means that the public authorities—Ministries and local Soviets—have power to prevent management committees from breaking the law by maldistribution of funds or wilful negligence, she is merely stating

the obvious. Soviet economy works through planning, not anarchy. But the plans are drawn up with the maximum participation of the peasants themselves: of this I provide many pages of evidence (pp. 188-99, 211-17)—and this evidence my reviewer once again ignores, just as she ignores the material demonstrating how severely outside interference with the freedom of the collective farmers to plan and manage has been condemned (pp. 205-09, 218-19).

She complains that I give no idea of the weight of compulsory deliveries to the Government, "a heavy burden on the peasants." Yet on p. 169 I give exactly what she wants—the total proportion of deliveries in kind, both compulsory (fixed-price) and contractual (higher-price)—13.7 per cent. of the harvest. To speak of this as "a heavy burden," when the peasants pay no rent or mortgage interest, and only a very low tax in cash, is grotesque.

Dr. Miller attempts, in dealing with my chapter on Socialist emulation, to make me responsible for her own comparisons between capitalism and communism. But this is what the Russians call "s bolnoi golovy na zdorovuyu." I must repudiate the honour. The passage she quotes (p. 161) makes no such comparison, nor does any other in my own text (although there are such comparisons in two quotations from Lenin). The reason is obvious. My book was written to promote "better understanding of the strength as well as of the difficulties of the Soviet economic system," not to compare it with that prevailing at present in Great Britain. Had matters been otherwise, Dr. Miller can be assured that the comparisons would not have been confined to incidental references in my Afterword, when dealing with the 1947 White Paper. But it is an old story—as old as 1917—that one cannot even begin factual correction of the oceans of falsehood told about the U.S.S.R. without being accused of "communist propaganda."

However, Dr. Miller involves herself in considerable difficulties by her attempts to decry Socialist emulation. She makes its existence dependent upon a "dangerously low level of productivity" among the Soviet workers. Why, in that case, has it become particularly extensive and effective since 1935, in the shape of the Stakhanov movement, a form of emulation specifically dependent upon the effort of highly-skilled workers? She assures us that "the same thing can and does happen every day in the working of the capitalist system"; but unfortunately omits to mention where this inspiring spectacle can be observed. Had she condescended to give her readers some notion of the concrete evidence accumulated in my book (pp. 111-37, 140-60), they might well be asking her the same question. Again, as regards getting the workers to produce more in order to be able to enjoy a higher standard of living, she says herself that in Great Britain it is a "lesson . . . which the T.U.C. and the mass of the people do not readily absorb"; but seeks consolation in the statement that the Soviet Government meets in this respect "as many difficulties as does a capitalist government." Yet it is only her

cavalier treatment of the evidence that permits her to venture this : the Soviet Union *has* had a growing Socialist emulation movement for many years, now involving tens of millions and performing miracles of reconstruction, based on that very "lesson." I give ample evidence for this—but Dr. Miller, intent upon my dull quotations from Lenin and Stalin, forgets to mention it.

"Any virile and patriotic people in times of acute national peril and crisis," she writes, would display the same "special efforts put into restoring war-devastated cities, etc." Very well. No one can deny these qualities to the people of Britain. Why is it, then, that the hideous traces of war damage are being so rapidly wiped out in Soviet cities like Leningrad, Stalingrad or Kalinin, while far lesser damage still looms so painfully obvious in Liverpool and Plymouth, Coventry and London? I can but strongly endorse her advice, however, to study Soviet experience in this respect.

Her "minor points" also call for some comment. She states that high-pressure propaganda makes subscription to State loans "practically compulsory." This is very remote from the truth, as anyone who has worked in a Soviet institution knows : but if it were true, why is it that in 1938, when there were over 100 million adult wage-earners and peasants, the number of holders of loan bonds (including youth and children) was about 50 millions? She tells her readers that, in mentioning the present plan to spend 115 milliard rubles of State funds on making good war damage, I am inferring that the State is "bestowing a gift upon the people." Yet a simple reference to the page she quotes would show that no "gifts" are mentioned (her quotation marks, not mine), and that the comparison is with the petty amounts to come in by way of reparations from Germany, as far as could be foreseen in 1946.

Perhaps the most fantastic suggestion of all is that in Soviet State planning the community has no say "in what it wants to have produced." For one thing, the whole process of planning itself involves the Soviet community : most of my book is devoted to showing this, and Dr. Miller has not once attempted to challenge this central fact. But furthermore, the return of easier conditions in the last two years has produced, just as it did in the years 1938-1939, constant insistence in the press, that managers of Soviet co-operative shops and general stores must study the demands of their customers, as well as increasingly frequent conferences of trade workers and public, meetings of consumers and factory representatives, etc. At these meetings there is free expression of "consumers' choice" which planners can only ignore at their peril.

I have left to the last, because it was utterly irrelevant to the character of my book, Dr. Miller's discovery of "the Marxian doctrine of the inescapable hostility between the capitalist and communist systems," to explain difficulties in "securing cooperation between East and West." As applied to relations between capitalist and Socialist *States*, there is no such "doctrine," and never has been. Of course capitalists don't

like Socialism, and those whom Marx and Engels—or even Blatchford and William Morris—would have recognised as Socialists don't like capitalism. Of course capitalists don't believe Socialism will work, and Marxists are sure that capitalism will be overthrown by its own workers. Of course the first Socialist State was never content to trust its safety to that ultimate consummation, and armed itself from the very first, to avoid regrettable accidents. Lenin, on one famous occasion during the Civil War (1919), even had to remind advocates of a Red Army composed of irregulars that armed conflicts with capitalist States—not *all* capitalist States—were “inevitable.” Of course, too, Soviet leaders have always said that if the U.S.S.R. were dragged into war, the chances were that some capitalist governments would be missing at the end of the fighting.

But never has there been any *doctrine* of “inescapable hostility.” On the contrary, Soviet leaders have always insisted on the theoretical and practical possibility of peaceful co-existence and collaboration with the capitalist world, if even part of the latter wanted it.

When Dr. Miller writes of “distortions and omissions,” one is reminded of the good old Russian saying, “chya by Korova ne mychala, tvoya by molchala.”

II

G. V. Plekhanov evidently possesses for Mr. Berlin all that power of romantic inspiration which Marxists who desert the revolutionary camp usually present to those who, in their wishes at least, have buried the Marxist cause; and I have no inclination to interfere in his dithyrambs or disturb his illusions. Moreover, I accept in all humility his strictures on my translation of *In Defence of Materialism*; although it is not very clear what the “almost conclusive evidence” of police forgeries has to do with the historically established fact that Chernyshevsky was building an illegal revolutionary organisation.

I am even ready to forgive his assertion that Plekhanov was “the founder of the Russian Social Democratic Party”—although not even the Menshevik writers he quotes (e.g. Dan, *Proiskhozhdenie Bolshevizma*, or Martov's chapters in the *Granat Istoria Rossii v XIX Veke*), for all their tributes to Plekhanov's pioneering work in popularising Marxism, hint at such a defiance of historical facts.

But Mr. Berlin complains of my introduction. He talks of my “masters” and my “faithful reproduction of the present Soviet party line” on Plekhanov's differences with Lenin. He airily advises me to “look at the documents of the Party.” I change masters for the time being, and follow his advice. What do I find?

First and in general, that my account of Plekhanov's “lapses from grace,” i.e. of his siding in 1904–1908 with the Menshevik policy of support for the liberal bourgeoisie, and of his ridiculing the alternative policy of fighting for the “revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry,” coincides not merely with the *History of the Communist*

Party, but also with Plekhanov's own writings of the period (volumes XIII and XV of his *Collected Works*).

Secondly and particularly, that while at the moment of Plekhanov's break with Lenin (November 1903) the issue *seemed* to be one of organisation, and of what Mr. Berlin calls "differing temperaments"—just as the break between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks had seemed at the Party congress a few months before—in a very short time it turned out that behind questions of organisation (as always in politics) lay profound theoretical differences. These differences were already hinted at by Plekhanov himself in January 1904 (*A Sad Misunderstanding*) and May 1904 (*Centralism or Bonapartism*); and a full admission of this, "not altogether surprisingly omitted" by Mr. Berlin, was made by Plekhanov as early as July–August 1904 (*The Working Class and the Social-Democratic Intelligentsia*).

Thirdly, that by November 1905 it was quite clear—again on the evidence of Plekhanov himself (e.g. No. 3 of *The Diary of a Social-Democrat*)—that, while formally acknowledging the revolutionary possibilities of the Russian peasantry, Plekhanov insisted that for immediate practical politics the working class must support the bourgeoisie (*not* the "radical Liberals of the Left" as Mr. Berlin asserts). He made clear that in his view the revolutionary rôle of the Russian peasantry would only begin *after* the revolutionary function of the bourgeoisie—still to come in the form of a revolutionary democratic government of the capitalists—was over.

Fourthly, the alternative to which Lenin was pointing—alliance with the peasantry for a rising against Tsardom and against the bourgeoisie, to establish the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship" of the common people—Plekhanov was already calling "betrayal of the proletariat" (April 1905), "bourgeois-proletarian dictatorship" and "Blanquism" (August 1905), "irresponsible chatter about insurrection" (November 1905).

That was all I said myself of Plekhanov at this time, in my introduction. And his own former Menshevik associates have admitted no less—that behind "differing temperaments" were differing politics (e.g. Volfson, *Plekhanov*, 1924, pp. 110–13, or Gorev, *The First Russian Marxist*, G. V. Plekhanov, 1923, pp. 41–45).

It seems unfortunate that Mr. Berlin, who is so concerned for scholarship, does not appear to have looked up these elementary facts before instructing me in the differences between Plekhanov and Lenin.

ANDREW ROTHSTEIN.

Dr. Miller writes:—

It is unfortunate that what constitutes the "truth" about the Soviet Union cannot at present be objectively ascertained, and must, therefore, remain a matter of conjecture and opinion. This will persist

as long as the Soviet authorities treat all information on their internal economic conditions as State secrets, and fail to publish anything remotely approximating to the wide range of facts and figures on industrial and social developments made freely available in countries such as the U.K. and the U.S.A. It will also go on until foreign observers of all shades of opinion are given reasonable facilities for travel inside the U.S.S.R.

The reasons for the adoption of the policy of secrecy leading to the present abnormal state of affairs are, of course, far too deep-seated and complex for any brief discussion. But mention may be made of the dilemma in which Soviet authorities have found themselves since the beginning of the five-year plans, in their endeavour to reconcile the two incompatibles of rapidly industrialising a poor and predominantly agricultural country on the basis of internal resources on the one hand, and, on the other, building up the legend that this can be accomplished without any sacrifice in the standard of living of the population.

The driving force behind this endeavour has been the conviction, held with a high degree of emotional intensity, that the Soviet Union, as the leading representative of socialism in a capitalist world, is surrounded by enemies who will interpret any admission of hardship inside the U.S.S.R. as a sign of weakness.

It is obvious that Mr. Rothstein shares this conviction, and its attendant delusions of persecution, to the full, and that any effort to meet his objections on a basis of reason is doomed to failure. The following brief observations are accordingly addressed to readers who are able to take more detached views.

The actual number of pages occupied by the illustrative quotations from Lenin *et al.* is beside the point. What matters is that these people are all leaders or convinced supporters of the Soviet régime, and their "facts and figures" are not susceptible of any independent check. There is therefore no reason why their conclusions should be uncritically accepted outside the U.S.S.R.

Controversy on the standard of living in the U.S.S.R. is bound to be inconclusive as long as the Soviet authorities do not publish a cost of living index or other official data against which the statements of Mr. Rothstein and others could be evaluated. In the absence of any such information, discussion can only be a matter of assertion and counter-assertion.

Mr. Rothstein's views on collectivisation are based on the premise, unacceptable to Western democratic opinion, that because the "kulaks" are a minority, it is justifiable to disregard their views and liquidate them as a class. He also fails to explain why, if collectivisation had gained such universal acceptance before the outbreak of the recent war, the Soviet Government has had to make such strenuous efforts in the last few years to re-impose controls loosened by the exigencies of war.

It is of little importance whether the official announcement of the fourth Five-Year Plan gives second, fifth or any other place to declarations

of intentions with regard to raising the material well-being of the population. What does matter is the proportion of the national resources which the plan does in fact allocate to industries producing the means of production as compared with those serving the needs of consumers, and this, as is well known, is heavily weighted in favour of the former.

To say that socialist emulation serves as a useful means of raising the level of skill among Russia's unskilled workers is not in any way to decry the significance of the movement. Among the skilled workers, its popularity is surely bound up with the very extensive system of piece-work and bonuses which relate effort and material reward as closely as possible, over the whole field of economic endeavour.

The internal trading system in the U.S.S.R. has never functioned at a high level of efficiency, and the fact that periodic campaigns are instituted to enforce improvements in service to the consumers does not prove that the mass of Soviet citizens has any real say in drawing up the plan, or in influencing the amount of capital investment in the light industries—the only means of securing for them more adequate supplies of consumer goods.

In his final paragraph Mr. Rothstein is merely playing with words. Hostility between the communist and capitalist systems may be variously described as a doctrine, a belief, an attitude of mind, or anything else. The capitalist world however has to reckon, not with words and phrases, but with the acts and policies of the Soviet Government. These reflect all too clearly the belief that every capitalist state is an implacable enemy and that only the destruction of these states can ensure the safety of the Soviet Union. No amount of smooth talking about "peaceful co-existence" can veil the unwelcome fact of Soviet intransigence in this respect, or transfer the whole burden of preserving peace on to the shoulders of capitalist countries.

MARGARET MILLER.

Mr. I. Berlin writes:—

Mr. Rothstein clings to his mis-statements with a most regrettable persistence, and it seems best to try to dispose of them in his own order, here and now.

1. The Chernyshevsky case. On page 67 of his book Mr. Rothstein observes that the eminent publicist was arrested "while actively engaged in forming a secret organisation aimed at armed insurrection" and this, he adds in his letter, is a "historically established fact." While there is some evidence to suggest that Chernyshevsky was in touch with, and sympathetic to, individual members of underground organisations, I know of no evidence for holding that he was himself engaged in "building a revolutionary organisation." This was precisely the charge of the Tsarist police supported by forgeries and later exposed by Lemke and other Socialist scholars. I can only conclude that Mr. Rothstein must

have access to unpublished data for the opposite conclusion. Not even the Shorter History of the Communist Party goes as far as he.

2. The causes of Plekhanov's break with Lenin. On this Mr. Rothstein is quite explicit and certainly wrong. In his introduction (p. 23) he writes "Plekhanov's errors of 1903-5 . . . centred round his refusal to accept Lenin's conception of the Russian proletariat as ally of the peasantry and leader of the people in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and round his own counter-conception that only the bourgeoisie could play that part." And he makes this point again elsewhere (p. 13, lines 18-24, and p. 13, *sub fin.*), in which he correctly ascribes to Plekhanov the Social Democratic view whereby "the coming Russian revolution was bourgeois in character . . . led by the bourgeoisie." The unwary reader would assume from Mr. Rothstein's account that Lenin believed the opposite of this, and that his somewhat obscure formula of "bourgeois-democratic revolution" was opposed to alliance with the bourgeoisie, or at any rate left the bourgeoisie out. But it was Lenin who wrote on the 18/31 January 1905 (Vperyod No. 4), "We Social Democrats can and must march independently from the revolutionaries of bourgeois democracy . . . *but we must go arm in arm with them* when the rising occurs . . . when we attack the Bastille of the accursed enemy of the entire Russian people" (my italics), and in *Two Tactics* (1905) he observes, "only the most complete ignoramuses can disregard the bourgeois character of the democratic upheaval which is occurring; only the most naive optimists can fail to remember how little the mass of the workers still know about the purposes of socialism and the methods of its realisation . . . whoever wishes to move towards socialism along a road other than that of political democracy must inevitably arrive at absurd and reactionary conclusions both economic and political." Of course there were profound differences both in general outlook and of tactics between Lenin and Plekhanov, of which the split over the organisational question in 1903 was merely the climax. There is a strong strain of "direct action" Blanquism in *Who are the Friends of the People*, which Plekhanov condemned as early as 1901 in a letter to Axelrod (cp. Plekhanov's letter to Vera Zassulich in the correspondence of Plekhanov and Axelrod, vol. 2. p. 167, Russian text). Of course I should not deny that Plekhanov distrusted the peasantry more than Lenin, despite the pro-peasant Menshevik resolution at the Geneva Congress, 1905 (Iskra No. 100, supplement) which advocated forcible seizure of the land and demanded that the "anti-revolutionary and anti-proletarian character of bourgeois democracy of all shades" be fully explained to the workers; nor is Menshevik support at this Congress of the control by local committees of peasants, as against the Bolshevik demand for nationalisation of the land, a move against or away from, the peasant masses.

But the crucial point is that the notion of the inevitable bourgeois stage before the final seizure of power by the proletariat (or the proletariat in combination with the poorer peasants) is a social democratic

dogma, defended by Plekhanov against Marx himself and shared alike by Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.

Two Tactics is quite unequivocal about this: "the democratic revolution in Russia will not weaken, but will strengthen the domination of the bourgeoisie." No doubt Lenin said many things inconsistent with the above at this and other times; but then the consistent Lenin is a figment of the thirties and forties. There is no evidence that Lenin abandoned this particular position or its corollary—that the first revolution must be bourgeois in character and establish a democratic republic—before his sudden *volte face* in 1917 (*vide* Lenin's sharp attacks on his own Bolshevik left in 1915-1916). Mr. Rothstein maintains in his letter that Lenin differed from Plekhanov in wanting a proletarian-peasant rising against the bourgeoisie in 1903-1905, which is not compatible with Lenin's disbelief in an anti-bourgeois dictatorship until 1917, and his attacks on Trotsky and Parvus, who preached it, precisely for this glaring heresy against Marxist orthodoxy. While it is true that Plekhanov sided with Lenin on the organisational question at the 1903 Congress, the alliance did not last long, because, left face to face with Lenin, Plekhanov became more and more nervous of Lenin's obviously authoritarian leanings towards dictatorship by the Party which derived from Babeuf and Tkachov rather than Marx. The conflict was one between two conceptions of Russian Marxism, the democratic—"soft"—theory held by Martov and Rosa Luxemburg, and Lenin's Jacobin (or Communalist) belief in the suppression of dissidents by the nucleus of professional revolutionaries, which had little in common with Western social democracy. Mr. Rothstein deplores Plekhanov's condemnation of the Moscow Rising in 1905, although its benefits from the point of view of Russian socialism are not clear; but even if Plekhanov was wrong in this, it was a difference about strategy and not about the peasants versus the bourgeoisie.

Mr. Rothstein's thesis, which has no application to his chosen date of 1903-1905, is perhaps more plausible after 1907 when Plekhanov certainly quarrelled with Lenin and wanted his followers to vote for the Kadet list; and thereafter the differences between the two men did include—although not very prominently—a difference of attitude to the peasants, only thinly disguised by the manifestos of the two factions of the Russian Social Democratic Party. After this date Lenin's stress on an alliance with the peasants does crop up, but it is incomparably less important than the fundamental difference of conception of the duties and purposes of socialists and revolutionaries which emerged so dramatically in 1917. Plekhanov's Menshevik biographers, cited by Mr. Rothstein, reasonably say that behind "differing temperaments there were differing politics," and this somewhat obvious point triumphantly advanced by Mr. Rothstein is one on which in my review I laid if anything too much importance. But what has this to do with the point under discussion? Radical differences, of course, there were, but to reduce them to a difference of

attitude, in 1903-1905, (*a*) towards the peasants and (*b*) towards the part to be played by the bourgeoisie, when (*a*) was at most one among many points of difference, and that only at a later date, and (*b*) did not, after Lenin's early pre-Marxist writings, emerge explicitly until 1917—that really does seem to me to be an extraordinary declaration in an uncensored publication in 1950. I may have misjudged Mr. Rothstein's motives; but not, I fear, the reliability of his conclusions.

ISAIAH BERLIN.

ERRATA

In H. Batowski's "Poles and their Fellow Slavs in 1848," No. 69, 404-12.

- p. 404, l. 7: in 1848 *should read* in 1848-49
- l. 3 from bottom: Wład. Wiśłocki *should read* Wład. T. Wiśłocki
- p. 405, l. 16 from bottom: Žáček *should read* Žáček
- l. 3 from bottom: up to the Congress, *should read* up to the Congress of Prague
- p. 406, l. 4: Italian and Polish *should read* Italian and Slavic
- l. 20: reaching as far as the Slavs of Austria *should read* reaching also sometimes the Slavs of Austria
- p. 407, l. 11 from bottom: with the Polish nation *should read* with the Polish policy in Slavic matters
- p. 408, l. 4: in Italy *should read* in Italy in March 1848
- l. 21: and the Adriatic *should read* and the Adriatic and Black Sea
- l. 3 from bottom: Pučić *should read* Pucić
- p. 409, l. 11: Peter I, who as an adorer of Russia *should read* Peter II, who although an adorer of Russia
- l. 2 from bottom: Polish émigrés *should read* Polish left émigrés
- p. 413, note 28: Butashevich and Pietrashevsky *should read* Butashevich-Petrashevsky

A PARTING WORD

AFTER fifteen years of association with this *Review*, including a short period as responsible Editor, the undersigned lays down his office with this number. He wishes to thank all who have helped so loyally during rather difficult times, and to wish his successor the same co-operation which he himself enjoyed.

WILLIAM J. ROSE.